LIBRARY
OF THE
Theological Seminary,
PRINCETON, N. J.

Case, SCC Div. III
Shelf, #3247 Sec. 10
Book, v.1 No.

49—2

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. VII.

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

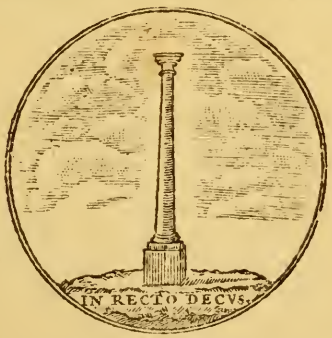
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART,

VOL. VII.



LONDON:

Printed for S. RICHARDSON, T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR, JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, P. DAVEY and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

M.DCC.LIX.

Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK XI.

Deſcription of the Countries contained in the farther Peninſula of India.

CHAP. I.

General Deſcription and Hiſtory of this Peninſula.

THE farther peninſula of *India*, properly ſpeaking, is bounded northward by a line, drawn from about the eaſtern mouth of *Ganges*, to the bay of *Tong-king*, in twenty degrees of latitude. But as ſome of the principal kingdoms belonging to it lie partly without thoſe limits, and uniformity requires that we ſhould give the deſcription of each country intire, and in one place, without dividing it; we ſhall therefore conſider this peninſula in a more extended ſenſe, ſo as to compriſe the whole of thoſe dominions with its limits. In this large acceptation it will be bounded on the north by part of *Tibet*, and *China*; on the eaſt by *Tong-king*, and the gulf of *Kochin-china*; on the ſouth by the gulf of *Siam*, and ſtraits of the *Sund*; and on the weſt by

Farther peninſula, its bounds.

by the bay of *Bengâl*, and the river called the *Great Bramaputren*; which, according to our ideas, rises in the mountain bounding *Tibet*, and, running southward, separates the countries included in this peninsula from *Hindustân*, and the territories of certain *Râjahs*.

Extent and situation. THE bounds and dimensions of this peninsula are pretty well ascertained on all sides but this to the west: for, on the north, they are determined in consequence of the situation given those of *Tibet* and *China*, which have been, of late years, accurately surveyed by the Jesuit missioners; and the sea-coasts by the draughts and observations of skilful navigators. Its situation likewise, with respect to the heavens, is no less accurately fixed, by the astronomical observations made at *Siam* and *Malakka*, as well as those in its neighbourhood, at *Kanton* in *China*, and in *Bengâl*. So that although the interior parts of it are not so well known as those of the hither peninsula, yet its coasts and borders may be said to be more exactly settled than those of most countries of *Asia*, excepting *China*.

THESE things being premised, we may, on good grounds, advance, that this peninsula lies between the first and twenty-seventh degrees of latitude, and the 107th and 127th degrees of longitude (‡): so that it is about 1000 miles long, from south to north, and 900 in breadth, from west to east, where broadest; but in some parts, especially the peninsula of *Malakka*, very narrow, not exceeding 150, 100, or even 50 miles, in one or two places.

Soil in general. THIS vast region is, in general, a very plentiful country, for fruits, silks, elephants, metals, drugs, corn, rice, pepper, and oil. Besides this, it is rich in gold and precious stones, such as diamonds, rubies, topazes, amethists, and other kinds, with which a great trade is driven there. *Tongking*, it is true, has neither corn nor wine of its own: but, to make amends, it enjoys a very good and temperate air; while most of the other countries suffer under the excessive heats.

Countries contained in it, THIS peninsula, according to some early travellers, was formerly divided into a great number of kingdoms, some of a vast extent, governed by mighty emperors. But either they were imposed on by the informations of the *Indians*; or imagining the country extended northward from the coasts of *Bengal* and *Pegu*, as far as *Tartary*; they formed imaginary dominions there, to fill up the vacant space. The truth seems

(‡) Reckoning always from the isle of *Ferro*, about 20° west of *Paris*, and 17° 35′ west of *London*.

to be, as will appear in the courſe of our hiſtory, that this north part of the peninſula was divided among a great number of petty kings, or *Rájahs*; who, at length, going to war, the weaker were ſubdued by the ſtronger. So that, at preſent, the dominions compriſed within this third part of *India* may be reduced to the following nine; *viz.* thoſe of *Aſſam*, *Tipra*, *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, *Ava*, *Laos*, *Siam*, *Kamboja*, and *Kochin-china*; to which we may add *Tong-king* (by ſome included within the peninſula), in order to give it a place in our hiſtory.

but little known.

THE inland countries, which are *Azem*, *Tipra*, *Ava*, and the *Laos*, as well as the inland parts of the reſt, are very little known to us at preſent. The beſt memoirs relating to them being thoſe left us by the early travellers; who, invited by the flouriſhing ſtate of them, particularly *Pegu*, went thither for ſake of commerce, in the ſixteenth century; of which number were *Edoardo Barboſa*, *Cæſar Frederick*, *Gaſpar Balbi*, and our *Ralf Fitch*. We muſt, however, except *Siam*, whoſe interior parts the *French*, by their embaſſies and relations, brought us acquainted with, towards the end of the laſt century. However, all this information does not amount to much; nor are the maritime parts of thoſe countries better known to us: for although they have been viſited by merchants, as well as miſſioners, yet their relations reſpect chiefly the inhabitants, and give very little light into either the geography or hiſtory of thoſe countries. The truth is, that, after trying the diſpoſitions of the people, both in a religious and mercantile way, there hath been found but little encouragement either for converſions or commerce; and therefore thoſe coaſts are not much frequented at preſent, by either merchants or divines. Hence it is, that, although revolutions happen very often in thoſe countries, we are yet almoſt intire ſtrangers to them: and that we find more materials for political hiſtory in the ancient voyagers than in the modern. The beſt, if not only good ones among the latter, relating to the parts in queſtion, being thoſe of *Dampier*, and captain *Hamilton*, who, in his *new account of the Eaſt-Indies*, has given us the preſent ſtate of all the countries and iſlands, lying between the *Cape of good hope* and *Japan*.

The cauſe thereof.

Imperfections and

AFTER what has been ſaid, our readers cannot reaſonably expect any-thing like a complete hiſtory of the countries within this farther peninſula: but if they conſider the great imperfections of our materials, and the difficulty of connecting the ſcattered and diſcording ſcraps, when brought together, in order to form ſomething of a conſiſtent hiſtory, they will, we preſume, be very well pleaſed to find it it is no worſe.

errors of authors,

THE fame may be alleged in behalf of the geography; which, however defective, may yet be faid to be the only thing tolerable of the kind that hath hitherto appeared. The early geographers, not excepting the *Sanfons*, have exhibited the countries in queftion very erroneoufly, and in great confufion: they have extended them northward, vaftly beyond their bounds; introduced imaginary kingdoms; and, relying on impofing authors, fuch as *Mendez Pinto* and *Le Blanc*, have derived all the great rivers from an imaginary lake, called *Chiamay*, *Singapamor*, and *Kunebetec* by the firft of thefe authors. Mr. *Del'ifle*, it is true, in his maps, publifhed the beginning of the prefent century, corrected thofe errors, by the help of later informations; but fell into others, for want of farther affiftances. In particular, by relying too much on *Loubere*'s map of *Siam*, he has placed the northern borders of that kingdom four degrees, as we conceive, too high: in confequence of which, by making it almoft contiguous to *China*, he has left no room for exhibiting the fpacious countries which lie between; and has likewife over-much contracted the dominions of *Ava* and the *Laos*, efpecially the latter. He has likewife been at a lofs as to the parts where the great rivers rife, which pafs through this peninfula, from north to fouth; and the places where they entered the feveral countries which they water. But thefe miftakes we have been able to rectify, chiefly by means of the above-mentioned furveys of the Jefuits; which not only exhibit the courfe of all the rivers of any note, which pafs out of *China* and *Tibet* into this peninfula, according to their due fituations and diftances; but alfo mark the places where the frontiers of the countries, contiguous to *China*, which are *Tong-king*, *Laos*, *Pegu*, and *Ava*, begin and end: fo that we are able, with more certainty, to affign thofe kingdoms their proper limits, as well as judge to what fouthern rivers the northern belong.

who treat of them.

The inhabitants,

THUS much we judged neceffary, in our own defence, to be premifed to the following collections. But before we enter upon a particular defcription of the countries within this peninfula, it will be proper to mention fomething in general with regard to the inhabitants. According to the hiftories of *China*, this empire, among the other kingdoms and ftates included within its wide dominion, numbered thofe, at prefent found in the farther peninfula of *India*, as *Tong-king*, *Kochinchina*, *Siam*, *&c.* (A). Nor is this authority to be fufpected, fince

(A) The *Chinefes* fay, that *Shi-hoang-ti*, about the year 236 before *Chrift*, fent out his fleets, which conquered the maritime countries,

ſince travellers diſcover very evident proofs of the footing which the *Chineſes* have had in all thoſe countries. *Methold* obſerves, that the inhabitants of *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, *Tenaſſeri*, and *Siam*, reſemble the *Chineſes* in features, as well as agree with them in cuſtoms and religion [a]. *De Faria* ſays the ſame, with regard to the people of *Lao* (B), *Lanjang*, *Jangoma*, *Bimir*, *Ava*, and *Kamboja* [b].

and their religion.

HOWEVER, this conformity does not extend ſo far as to exclude certain variations, which almoſt inevitably ariſe from accidents and other cauſes. Thus, with regard to religion, though at bottom the ſame through the whole peninſula, yet one nation differs from another in their ceremonies, in their images, their ſaints, and even the founders of their reſpective laws; which are to be conſidered as ſo many different ſects of the ſame faith. Nor are our readers, on account of the great agreement which appears in the external form and objects of worſhip, uſed by the inhabitants of the farther peninſula of the *Indies*, compared with thoſe found among the people of the hither peninſula, to ſuppoſe that the religion is the ſame in both regions: for the idolatry of the *Malabars*, *&c.* conſiſts in tritheiſm, or the adoration of three inferior gods, directed by the ſupreme being to make and govern the univerſe. Whereas that of the *Peguers*, *Siameſes*, *&c.* comes originally from *Tibet*; and has for its founder, as well as prime object of worſhip, a perſon, who, about one thouſand years before the Chriſtian æra, broached his falſe religion in that country.

Its origin, and deſign.

IN forming his plan, he ſeems to have had a view not only to eſtabliſh a new religion, but alſo to contrive one fraught with ſuch high characters, as ſhould give it the ſuperiority of all others, eſpecially that of the *Indians*, which was then perhaps in higheſt reputation. Thus, whereas the *Bramman* theology propoſed three gods for the prime objects of worſhip, ſubordinate to, and created by, the ſupreme being; this impoſtor declared himſelf to be the ſupreme being, who had aſſumed a human nature. Secondly, whereas the *Indian* deities were inviſible to their worſhippers, he propoſed to reſide corporally among his votaries, and receive their adorations in perſon. Laſtly, to give his followers a more con-

[a] METH. ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005. [b] DE FARIA, Port. Aſia, vol. ii. p. 12.

countries, as far as *Bengal*; and, at the ſame time, marched an army by land, which reduced all *India*, as far as *Kambaya*. See *Martini* hiſt. Sinic. p. 223.

(B) *Kæmpfer* confirms this of the *Laos*, with reſpect to their perſons. Hiſt. *Japan*, vol. i. p. 26.

vincing proof of the transformations of their god, as well as the doctrine of the metempsychósis, than the *Indians* had, he gave out that he would, from time to time, ascend to heaven, and return again in a different body.

Vast extent of it.

ACCORDINGLY, if you will believe the people of *Tibet*, he hath resided among them ever since, excepting in the intervals when he thought fit to disappear. This sect, for a long time, had gotten footing in the hither peninsula of the *Indies*; but the *Brammans* never rested till they had excited the *Râjahs* against them, who rooted them out with fire and sword. It may likewise be presumed, that, to take down the high pretensions of this *Tibetian* deity, and make him inferior to their own gods, in point of origin as well as antiquity, they have invented the ninth transformation, or incarnation, of *Wishtnû*, in the form of *Budda*, or *Budha*; which is the name given by the western *Indians* to this pretended deity, who, in other parts, has different appellations. In *China* he is called *Fo* and *She-kya*; in *Japan*, *Shakka*; in *Tong-king*, *Thikka*; and in *Tibet*, *La*. We shall only add, that the idolatry of *Tibet* is six times more extended than that of the *Brammans*; being spread over *Great Tartary*, from west to east, *China*, *Japan*, and the oriental islands, besides the country contained in the farther peninsula of the *Indies*.

CHAP. II.

Account of the Kingdoms of Assam *and* Tipra.

SECT. I.

The Kingdom of Assam.

Assam kingdom.

OF these two countries we have a knowlege but little more than their names. The first lies so much out of the way of travellers, that, if it had not been for the expedition of the famous Amîr *Jemla*, made into that *Indian* state about the middle of the last century, in order to annex it to the crown of *Hindûstân*, it is possible that we might never have heard of it. As an account has been already given of that expedition [a], and almost all the geography, as well as history, we have relating to *Assam*, is comprised therein; we shall only here say a few things touching the situation, the country, and the two or three places whose names we meet with in that account.

[a] See before, vol. vi.

ASSAM,

ASSAM, called alſo *Aſham*, and *Azem*, has on the north the mountains of *Tibet*, in that part called *Laſſa*, or *Barantola*; on the ſouth *Tipra* and *Arrakan*. It is uncertain whether it be bounded on the eaſt with the great *Tſanpu*, which paſſes through *Arrakan*, or a river more to the weſt; and its weſtern limit ſeems to be the great *Bramahutren* before-mentioned. This river is called *Barremporter* in a ſurvey made of the mouths of the *Ganges* (A), by order of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company; and this, in all probability, is the river up which the Amîr conveyed his army in boats: for it enters the *Ganges* by one of its branches, ſix leagues to the eaſt of *Dakka*, capital of *Bengâl*, agreeably to the above-mentioned account of the expedition [b]. But that account ſays nothing with reſpect either to its ſpring or courſe, farther than that the army ſhaped their courſe north-eaſtward, as far as the fortreſs of *Azo*, 100 leagues from *Dakka*. The above-mentioned ſurvey exhibits its courſe for near 80 leagues above the place where it enters *Ganges*, to be almoſt due north and ſouth; and from thence, a few leagues farther, where the ſurvey begins about north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. Which ever of the two is right, it may be preſumed, that it hath its ſource in the mountains of *Tibet*, to the north or north-eaſt of *Azo*; but at what diſtance is uncertain, unleſs we knew more preciſely the ſituation of that fortreſs. *Name and limits.*

AZO, or *Azoo*, we are told, belonged properly to *Bengâl*, from which country it had been diſmembered by the *Râjah*, or king, of *Aſham*. This is all *Bernier* ſays concerning it; excepting that it was retaken in fourteen days by Amîr *Jemla*. But *Tavernier* relates ſomething more remarkable about it. According to him, the tombs of the kings of *Aſem*, or *Aſham*, and all the royal family, were in this city. He adds, that, for many ages paſt, the kings had built chapels in the great pagod for their ſepulture; and laid up in vaults, made there for the purpoſe, great quantities of gold and ſilver, with other rich effects. It was cuſtomary alſo to bury, with the deceaſed prince, whatever thing of value he moſt eſteemed in his life-time, that it might be of ſervice to him in the other world; and this, he ſays, was the reaſon why Amîr *Jemla* found ſo much wealth in *Azoo* [c]. But if this was a city newly conquered from *Bengâl*, how could the tombs of the ancient kings of *Aſem* be found there? *Azo city and fortreſs.*

[b] BERN. hiſt. Mogol. part ii. p. 111. TAVERN. trav. part ii. p. 187. [c] TAVERN. ubi ſupra.

(A) To be found in *Thornton's Engliſh* pilot; but the ſcale of latitude ſeems not to be well adjuſted to it.

Chamdara *city.*

THE first place in the kingdom of *Assem*, according to *Bernier*, was *Chamdara* (B), twenty-six days journey from *Azo*; whence it may be inferred, that the country between the two cities was conquered lands. Four days journey (C) from *Chamdara* is *Guerguon*, the metropolis of *Assem*, which *Jemla* pillaged; the *Râjah* having abandoned it on that general's approach, and fled to the mountains, doubtless of *Tibet*: from whence he sent down people to carry away all the provisions in the country [d], which shews that city was not far distant.

Guerguon *the capital.*

Kemmeroof *city.*

TAVERNIER mentions neither *Chamdara* nor *Guerguon*; but says, *Kenneroof*, or *Kemmeroof*, is the capital city, where the king of *Assem* keeps his court. He adds, that it is twenty-five or thirty days journey from the ancient capital (D), which bore the name of the kingdom [e].

THIS imperfect, and in some measure contradictory, account is all we have from authors concerning the geography of *Assem*; which yet they represent to be of so great extent. But we must observe, that this extent is to be understood only with regard to its length, from west to east; for its breadth, from the mountains of *Tibet* southward, cannot be more than two or three days journey.

Soil and produce.

WITH regard to the soil and inhabitants of *Assem*, *Tavernier* has communicated several particulars. According to this author, it is one of the best countries in *Asia*, producing all the necessaries of life; and, instead of wanting a supply from other countries, is able to furnish them with several metals: for here are mines of gold, silver, steel, iron, and lead; besides great store of silk, but coarse. There is one kind spun by animals, like our silk-worms, but rounder, which live all the year under trees. The silks made of it have a fine gloss, but fret presently. They wash them in a lie, made of the ashes of the leaves of *Adam*'s fig-tree, which makes them white as

[d] BERNIER, ubi supra.

[e] TAVERN. ubi supr.

(B) So *Bernier* writes it: but whether according to the *Portuguese* or *French* idiom, that is, whether it is to be *Chamdara* in *English*, or *Shamdara*, we cannot determine.

(C) It is said, in the translation, to be only four hours distant: but as it is related that *Jemla*, pursuing the *Râjah* closely from *Chamdara*, arrived before *Guerguon* in five days, we conclude the four hours is a mistake for four days.

(D) This we judge to be the city called *Asseram*, in *Sheldon*'s account of *Arrakan*; where all that is said relating to it is, that it lay on the north part of that kingdom, and was the capital of another kingdom subject thereto. See *Ovington*'s voy. to *Surat*, p. 564.

ſnow. Here is alſo ſtore of gum lack, of two ſorts. One ſort grows under the trees, and is of a red colour, with whoſe expreſſed juice they paint their linen: the remaining ſubſtance ſerves to varniſh cabinets, and make wax; for which uſes it is the beſt in all the eaſt. As for their gold, they neither ſend it abroad, nor coin it into money; but make it all into ingots, which paſs in trade among the inhabitants. However, the ſilver is coined by the king into ſmall pieces, to the value of ten ſous each [f].

THE king requires no taxes of his people; but reſerves to himſelf all the mines in his kingdom; in which, to eaſe his ſubjects, none but ſlaves are employed to work.

THE inhabitants are generally well complexioned: only they who live ſoutherly are more ſwarthy than the reſt; neither are they ſo well featured: and the women are ſomewhat flat-noſed. However, to make amends, they are not ſo ſubject to wens, or ſwellings in their throats, as thoſe who dwell more to the north, occaſioned by the bad water. Theſe ſouthern people go quite naked, only they cover their privities, and wear on their heads a blue cap or bonnet, hung about with boars teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, which are an inch wide, and hang in them pieces of gold and ſilver. They are very fond of bracelets, made of coral and amber for the rich, while the meaner ſort take up with thoſe of tortoiſe, and other large ſhells, ſawed into rings. *The inhabitants.*

As the inhabitants of *Aſſem* pay no taxes, they live at their eaſe, with each his houſe, and commonly an elephant to carry his wives: for they marry four; and aſſign to every one her peculiar office or buſineſs in the family. Although proviſions are ſo very plenty with them, yet they prefer dogs-fleſh to all others. They have plenty of excellent vines, but dry the grapes to make brandy inſtead of wine. They have no ſalt but what is artificial, made from two ſorts of aſhes: the firſt are thoſe of the green ſtuff that ſwims on ſtagnant waters, and is the food of ducks and frogs. This they dry and burn; and the aſhes, being boiled in a cloth, become very good ſalt. The other kind of aſhes are thoſe of the leaves of *Adam*'s fig-tree; but the ſalt of them is ſo extremely tart, that, to render it fit for the mouth, they take the following method: they put the aſhes in water; and having ſtirred them for ten or twelve hours together, ſtrain out the ſubſtance through linen: then they boil it till all the moiſture evaporates; and what remains at the bottom of the veſſel proves a very good and white ſalt. *Polygamy and dice.*

[f] TAVERN. ubi ſupr. p. 181, & ſeq.

WHEN

Burials. When any man is buried in this country, all his friends and relations muſt appear at his funeral; and, in laying the body in the ground, they all take off their bracelets and throw them into the grave: for they are taught to believe, that they who are bad livers here want all things in the other life, while the good have plenty; and that therefore it is neceſſary to bury with them wherewithal to ſupply their occaſions.

Invention of cannon, It is thought that the people of *Aſſem* were long ago the inventors of cannon and gun-powder; that from them the uſe of thoſe inſtruments of deſtruction paſſed to the inhabitants of *Pegu*, and from thence to the *Chineſes*; to whom that invention has been commonly aſcribed. This however, we are told, is certain, that *Amîr Jemla* brought from *Aſſem* ſeveral pieces of artillery, all of iron, and ſtore of excellent powder; both made in the ſame country. The powder is *and gun-powder.* round and ſmall, like ours, and very ſtrong[g]. The inhabitants being ſo well provided with arms, it may ſeem ſtrange that they ſhould have continued in peace, as it is ſaid, for above 500 years, when the *Amîr* invaded them[h]: for that advantage, at the ſame time it ſecured their own dominions, muſt, one would think, have prompted them to invade thoſe of their neighbours.

SECT. II.

The Kingdom of Tipra.

Its bounds. This kingdom, whoſe name is written alſo *Tippora* and *Tippera* (A), lies on the north of *Arrakan*, and, as it ſhould ſeem, on the ſouth of *Aſſem*. Its eaſtern boundary may be the river paſſing through *Arrakan*, or one which falls into it; and its weſtern, either that of *Arrakan*, or the river *Bramaputren* before-mentioned: for it has varied its bounds from time to time. *Tavernier* ſays, it had, in his time, *Arrakan* on the weſt and ſouth, with part of *Pegu* to the ſouth-weſt; and that, to travel from thence to *Dakka*, the merchants were obliged to paſs through *Arrakan*[a]. About the year 1586, it extended as far as the *Bramaputren* and *Ganges*, ſince the city of *Chatigan*, we are told, belonged to

[g] Tavern. p. 187, & ſeq. part 2. p. 186. [h] Vide ibid. [a] Ibid.

(A) *Fitch* calls it *Tippora*, or *Porto Grande*; perhaps from *Chatigan*, which was then by the *Portugueſes* called *Porto Grande*. See *Purchas*'s pilgrim. vol. ii. p. 1736.

it;

it [b]; and, in the ſurvey of the *Ganges*, often before quoted, it is placed to the eaſt of the firſt of thoſe two great rivers [c]. As to its extent, we are told that it is fifteen days journey to croſs it: but all the dimenſions given by travellers of theſe countries ſeem to be greatly exaggerated.

Subject to Arrakan.

THIS kingdom was formely of no inconſiderable ſtrength, when *Chatigan* aforeſaid belonged to it. But, as it was inferior in forces to *Arrakan*, then growing in power, that city often changed maſters with the latter, which at length ſubdued the whole country of *Tipra*, with its capital city of the ſame name. However, about the middle of the laſt century, it ſeems to have been independent, for *Tavernier* ſays nothing to the contrary [d]; but not long after we find it in ſubjection to *Arrakan* [e], in which ſtate it probably has continued ever ſince.

Commodities.

THE country of *Tipra* has nothing fit to invite foreign merchants. There is indeed a gold mine, but the metal is very coarſe; likewiſe a ſort of very coarſe ſilk: both of theſe commodities are ſent to *China*, from whence, in return, is brought ſilver.

The inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of *Tipra* are no leſs ſubject to wens in their throats than thoſe of *Aſſem* and *Boutan*, or *Tibet*: the women have them commonly ſo long that they hang down to the middle of their breaſts. *Tavernier* ſaw two or three *Tipra* merchants in *Bengal*, who were men of very few words, but ſo fond of ſtrong liquors, that they never refuſed any; and ſighed for more when they had drank what was given them. They caſt accounts with ſmall ſtones like agate; and their ſcales for weighing were like a ſtilliard.

Money.

THE common carriage of the country were horſes and oxen; the king, and men of quality, rode in *pallekis*, and on their elephants of war. His whole revenue aroſe out of the ſilk and gold found in his dominions; which, being exchanged in *China* for ſilver, this latter was coined into pieces, the value of ten ſous each. There are likewiſe current thin pieces of gold, like the aſpers of *Turkey*, of which there are two ſorts; four of one ſort make a crown, and twelve of the other [f]. This, in effect, is all we know concerning *Tipra*.

[b] FITCH ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736. [c] See Engl. pilot, p. 48. [d] TAVERN. ibid. [e] See OVING. p. 564. [f] TAVERN. ubi ſupra

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Kingdom of Arrakan, *or* Rakan.

SECT. I.

Geographical Deſcription.

The name. THIS country is variouſly denominated by authors; ſome call it *Arakan*, or *Arrakan*; others, *Orrakan*; and ſome, as *Bernier*, *Rakan*. Some terminate it with an *m* inſteand of an *n*, according to the *Portugueſe* orthography. *Fitch* calls it the kingdom of *Rakam* and *Rame*[a], as if two monarchies had been united in one. *Bernier* likewiſe ſtiles it *Rakan*, or *May*[b]; which laſt, probably, is an abbreviation of *Rame*. *Toſſi* ſometimes names it the empire of *Mogo*, or *Moghi*, which was a title then newly aſſumed by the king, on account, as that author ſuppoſes, of his conqueſts over the emperor of *Pegu*, to whom he had before been tributary[c]. But this muſt be a miſtake, for *Fitch*, who was at *Pegu* in 1586, ſays, the people were named *Mogores* (A), or *Moghen*[d]; ſo that this title was taken from his ſubjects, and not his conqueſt, or rather ſeizure, of *Pegu*, which did not happen till the year 1600.

Scite and extent. *ARRAKAN* is ſituate to the ſouth of *Tipra*; and has on the eaſt the kingdom of *Ava* and *Pegu*; on the weſt it is bounded by *Bengâl*, from which it is ſeparated by the river of *Chatigan* and gulf of *Bengâl*. It extends from 16 degrees 30 minutes to 24 degrees of latitude; that is about 510 geographical, or 586 *Engliſh* miles, whereof 380 are ſea-coaſt, reaching from cape *Negrais* in the ſouth, to *Chatigan* in the north. Its breadth northwards is about 210 miles: but, from *Chatigan* ſouthward, it decreaſes gradually to cape *Negrais*; where a very few miles meaſure it from weſt to eaſt. Formerly the bounds of *Arrakan* were more extenſive, as having compriſed not only the kingdoms of *Aſſa-*

[a] FITCH apud Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736. [b] Tom. i. p. 245. [c] See OVING. voy. p. 553, & 582. [d] FITCH, ubi ſupra.

(A) *Fitch* ſeems to confound the *Mogores*, or *Mogols*, with the *Moghen*, from the ſimilitude of names: for he places the *Great Mogor* in *Hinduſtán*.

ran,

ram (B), *Tipra*, and *Chakomas*[e] (C) on the north; but also that of *Pegu* on the south.

The sea-coast.

THE sea-coast, though of great extent, is inhabited but in a few places, where they are able to defend the products of the ground from the ravages of wild elephants, or buffalos; and their cattle from the claws of numerous tigers, who would soon lay all waste, should the people attempt to settle in that part. However, the islands being out of their reach, some of them are inhabited by poor miserable fishers; who lead a wretched life, though with liberty. There are abundance of islands on the *Arrakan* coast, which all lie close to the shore, excepting the *Buffalo* isles: these lie about four leagues off, and have good navigable chanels between. There are two islands of the name of *Negrais*, the greater and lesser; this last, which makes the point called the cape, is small and low, barren and rocky: it is often named *Diamond Isle* (D), because its shape is a rhombus. Both of them are environed with dangerous rocks; and three leagues to the south of *Diamond Isle* is a reef of sunk rocks, called the *Legarti*, or *Lizards*, a league long, but discoverable by the breaking of the sea. The tides along this coast are remarkably strong and high[f]. They rise twelve or fifteen feet in the rivers, and to eighteen or twenty during the spring-tides: at which time, by the rapidity of the currents in the ebb and flow, ships perform great voyages in a short time; and both go and return in the same day[g].

Country and soil.

THE air of *Arrakan* is very good; the inhabitants are not troubled with pestilential diseases. The country abounds with meadows and pasture-lands, well watered with rivers and brooks: the plains are exceedingly fertile, and the mountains green. The number of orchards and pleasure-gardens is infinite: they are also green and pleasant all the year round; although, during the winter, which holds from *August* to *October*, you have almost continually moist and rainy weather, accompanied with storms. To make amends, the summer which succeeds is charming; and then they gather in their harvest.

[e] OVINGT. p. 564. vol. ii. p. 29, et seq. Holl. tom. vi. p. 242.

[f] HAMILT. new acc. East Ind.

[g] SCHOUTEN ap. Recueil. voy.

(B) By *Assaram*, probably, is to be understood *Assam*, or *Assem*.

(C) By *Chakomas*, is, probably, to be understood *Jangoma*, which *Floris* calls *Jagomay*, or *Jagoman*.

(D) This seems to be a mistake: for *Diamond Island* is another, about seven leagues south of *Little Negrais*.

They have all the vegetable neceſſaries of life in abundance, excepting wheat and rye. Inſtead of bread they boil rice, till the water diſappears, and it becomes a ſolid maſs. As to the air; though the country lies in ſo warm a latitude, yet it ſometimes freezes to ſuch a degree when the north-eaſt wind blows, as it did in *January* 1661, that they were forced to cut all ſorts of oils with a knife [h].

Animals. ALTHOUGH there are variety of tame as well as wild beaſts in *Arrakan*, yet horſes are ſo ſcarce, that *Schouten* ſaw but one all the while he was in the country: inſtead of them they make uſe of buffalos for ploughing, and other ſervices. Theſe animals are very large and ſtrong, with deſperate horns, wherewith they preſently gore to death thoſe whom they attack: as they do ſtrangers, who paſs along the roads, near which they commonly feed; eſpecially if they wear any thing which is red, a colour that enrages them. They are ſo ſubtile as to let a man paſs them quietly, and then, running at him full-drive, toſs him with their horns. For all this, they are tamely obedient to the blacks who keep them; and, at the ſound of a horn, aſſemble about them; let them get on their backs; and, at their command, will carry them ſafely over the moſt rapid river, or rugged ways; the reſt following one the other. Among other animals there are infinite numbers of goats, and a great quantity of game. There is likewiſe plenty of geeſe, ducks, and fowl, together with excellent fiſh [i].

Provinces. THE kingdom of *Arrakan*, or empire of *Mogo*, is ſaid to compriſe twelve leſſer kingdoms, which are always governed by crowned heads (or thoſe who have the title of kings), and twenty-four provinces (E): but of theſe we find not the names in authors [k]. This too muſt be underſtood of *Arrakan*, when in its moſt powerful ſtate, under its conquering ſovereigns. The cities, towns, and villages, of this country are very numerous and populous. But ſcarce any of them are known to *Europeans*, excepting ſuch as lie near the coaſts.

Arrakan *city.* THE capital of *Arrakan* gives name to the kingdom. It is nearly of the ſame bigneſs with *Amſterdam*: but much more populous. It is ſurrounded with ſuburbs, which extend ſome leagues in length [l]. This is *Schouten*'s account, who

[h] SCHOUTEN, p. 223, 228, 230. [i] Ibid. p. 240, & ſeqq. [k] OVING. voy. Surat, p. 560, 568. [l] SCHOUT. ubi ſupra, p. 229, & ſeq.

(E) *Edoardo Barboſa*, who wrote about 1515, ſays the king had twelve palaces, one in each province.

was

was there in 1661. By others we are farther informed, that it ſtands in a valley, and contains no leſs than fifteen miles in compaſs; being quite environed with a ridge of ſteep and craggy hills, which ſerve it inſtead of walls: and appear as ſuch to one who is in the city, being artificially cut to reſemble a ſtrong fortification. The outlets, which ſerve for gates, are hewn through the rocks, and, being defended by bulwarks, render the place impregnable. Beſides theſe outworks, it is defended by a caſtle, of ſuch incredible ſtrength, that the king of *Brama*, with an army of three hundred thouſand men and forty thouſand elephants, was forced to raiſe the ſiege with diſgrace.

The river.

THROUGH the valley runs a large river (F), which, dividing into ſeveral rivulets or ſtreams, conveys merchandizes and proviſions to all the ſtreets of *Arrakan*. Having paſt thro' the city, which is forty-five or fifty miles diſtant from the ſea, they unite again, above half-way down, in two chanels; one of which falls northward into the gulf of *Bengal* at *Orietan*, the other ſouthward, at *Dobazi*, or *Duabakam*: both which places are much frequented by merchants; only the ebbings and flowings of the ſea are ſo violent, eſpecially about the time of the full moon, that ſhips can hardly ride ſafe in the ports [m]. This is a noble ſpacious river, its mouth both wide and deep, having no leſs than ſix fathoms water at the entrance, and above twenty in ſome places farther in; where it makes an harbour large enough to hold all the ſhips in *Europe* [n].

Riſe and courſe.

THIS river we take to be the river, which, in the Jeſuits map of *Tibet*, is named the *Great Tſanpu*. It riſes in the weſt parts of that vaſt country, near the ſprings of the *Ganges*, and runs quite through it eaſtward, paſſing near *Lâſſa*, the reſidence of the *Great Lâma*: till, drawing near the frontiers of *China*, it takes a vaſt ſweep to the ſouthward, and turns ſouth-weſt, along the borders of *Aſſem* and *Tipra*, into *Arrakan*; which it paſſes through on the eaſtern ſide of it, from north to ſouth, and at length falls into the gulf of *Bengal*, as before ſet forth. As travellers have not communicated the name given to this river in the country, it is called by our geographers the river of *Arrakan*.

The houſes.

SCHOUTEN never ſaw a city where the buildings were ſo thick, or the ſtreets ſo crouded with people (G): but moſt of

[m] OVINGT, ubi ſupra, p. 554, & ſeqq. [n] HAMILT. ubi ſupra, p. 28, & ſeq. See alſo *D'anville*'s map of *India*, for the company, 1752.

(F) Called *Khaboris*, by *Maginus*.

(G) Yet the inhabitants were computed at but one hundred and

of the houſes are ſo low that they look more like huts, and do not anſwer to the vanity of the nation; for the ſame author never obſerved them higher than four, five, or ſix feet at moſt. They ſtand at a diſtance from the ground on pillars; becauſe, almoſt every night, there riſes a fog which covers the ſurface of the earth, and continues till diſſipated by the morning ſun. The houſes are built with the branches of palm-trees, bambû canes, and Koko-leaves; they have many little windows, and are very airy. Thoſe of the better and middling ſort have handſome apartments, which communicate one with another, and are very well contrived. They have neither garrets, cellars, nor fire-places; and the kitchens are without-doors, commonly under little penthouſes near the entrance, where the women dreſs their meat in earthen ports. They ſleep on carpets and mats, covering themſelves with pieces of linen or cotton to keep them warm °. But although the buildings are for the general mean, yet one meets with ſeveral ſpacious piazzas, where trade is carried on. The princes and nobility employ a different kind of timber in their houſes, and are profuſe in adorning their apartments with exquiſite carving and gildings; nor are the inferior ſort deſtitute of embelliſhments. They reckon no fewer than ſix hundred pagods in this metropolis.

The king's palace. The king's palace is vaſtly large; but not ſo beautiful for its ſtructure: it is ſupported by large and tall pillars, made of whole trees, and covered over with gold. The apartments above are built with red and white *ſandal*, a ſort of eagle-wood, and other odoriferous timber. In the middle of the palace is a great hall, called the *golden houſe*, becauſe the inſide is entirely overlaid with gold; and over a raiſed place is fixed a canopy, hung round with above a hundred *kombalenghe*, or large wedges of the ſame metal, in the ſhape of ſugar-loaves, each weighing above forty pounds. Here likewiſe are to be ſeen ſeven idols, each the height of a man, caſt in gold two inches thick; and adorned with rubies, emeralds, ſaphires, and diamonds of an extraordinary ſize, on their foreheads, breaſts, arms, and about their middles. In the center of this hall ſtands a ſquare ſtool, of three hands-breadth, ſupporting a cabinet, both of pure gold, and ſtudded with precious ſtones; wherein are kept the two *kanekas*, or famous pendents, made, in the form of pyramids, of two rubies,

Great wealth.

° Schout. ubi ſupra, p. 229, & ſeq.

and ſixty thouſand, excepting the merchants, and (other) ſtrangers. *Ovington*, p. 559.

each

each of the length of a man's little finger, and broad at the base as an hen's egg. These jewels have been the source of most bloody wars among the neighbouring potentates; not so much on account of their value, as that the prince who possesses them is supposed to have a right of dominion over the rest. This king, however, never wears them but on the day of his coronation P.

Fine statue.

In another apartment of the palace stands the statue of the king of *Barma* (commonly called *Brama*), murdered by his subjects; which is made with so great skill as to raise admiration in the beholders, who are very numerous; because that prince was reckoned a great saint (H), and famed for curing diseases, especially the bloody-flux; on which account they resort to his statue.

Great lake.

Not far from the palace is a great lake, full of little isles, inhabited by their priests, with boats plying on it. But it has no communication with the city, being hindered by a bank; so contrived, that, in case the place was forced by an enemy, they might be all drowned, by cutting a passage for the water through the bank.

Orietan.

The most northern maritime city (I) is *Orietan*, to which, from the capital, there is a delightful passage by water: the banks of the river being set with tall trees, whose inclining heads make a continued shade to defend the traveller from the sun; who is diverted with the apes and peacocks which frequent them. The city is much resorted by merchants from all parts of *India*, and even *China* and *Japan*. It is the capital of one of the twelve provinces, whose governor receives a crown from the king at his coronation, and always enjoys the same title. Not far from the city stands the mountain *Mawm*, with a lake of the same name at the foot of it. Hither are banished state offenders: and although the mountain is so craggy, and infested with wild beasts, that it is almost impassable; yet the king not only causes those exiles to be strictly guarded, but farther, to prevent their flight, cuts off their heels q.

Peroem city.

From the mountain *Mawm*, you cross the gulf to *Peroem*, another city; which, being near the sea, with a good har-

P Ovingt. ubi supra, p. 556, & seqq.

q Ibid. p. 588, & seqq.

(H) What king this was is hard to say; there were but three *Barma* kings of *Pegu*: the first and last were butchered; but far from being saints, unless their being cruel and tyrannical made them so.

(I) In the time of *Edoardo Barbosa*, about 1515. *Arrakan* had no sea-ports.

bour, is a place of great trade. The governor exerciſes abſolute authority within his juriſdiction, and keeps a court anſwerable to the majeſty of a king.

Ramu *city.*

SOME days journey diſtant is *Ramu*, a conſiderable city like the preceding: but the way between them is very dangerous, whether you go by land or water, the ſea being ſubject to ſudden ſtorms; and the road by land, lying a-croſs the mountains of *Pre*, which ſeparate *Arrakan* from *Pegu*, is infeſted with wild beaſts. There is in this part of the country a mountain called *Pora*, that is, God; from an idol on the top of it ſitting croſs-legged, and much reſorted by the devout *Indians*. By this place (K) runs a large river, from which ſome engineers would have perſuaded the king to cut a canal as far as *Arrakan*: but he rejected that project, for fear of expoſing his capital to the incurſions of the *Mogols*, who might eaſily convey their forces down ſuch a paſſage.

Dianga *city.*

THE next place of note on this tempeſtuous coaſt is *Dianga*, or *Diango*, which ſome aſſign to *Bengâl*; but in *Schouten*'s time it was a frontier city of *Arrakan*. Indeed this city, as well as *Chatigan* (which was undoubtedly once an empory of this kingdom, and commonly governed by the king's ſecond ſon), has frequently ſhared the fate of frontier towns, in changing its maſters. The greater part of its inhabitants are *Portugueſe* fugitives (or the deſcendants of them); who enjoy great privileges by grant of the king (L), and have a church here belonging to the *Auguſtin* friers.

Sundiva *iſland.*

THERE are other places along this coaſt ſubject to the king of *Arrakan*, as *Koromoria*, *Sedoa*, *Zara*, and port of *Magaeni*: to which may be added the iſland of *Sundiva*, already mentioned, abounding with ſalt; about 100 miles in compaſs, and 20 from the coaſt of *Bengal*, to which it properly belongs. The *Portugueſe*, looking on it as a fit place for a retreat, being naturally well fortified, in 1602 took it from the *Mogols*, who ſometime before had forced it out of the hands of its own prince: this latter gave up to them likewiſe all his right and title thereto. But the king of *Arrakan*, fearing the growth of their power, compelled them (M) the next year to retire from thence to *Bakala*, and other places of *Bengal*[r].

[r] OVINGT. p. 561, & ſeqq.

(K) It is not ſaid whether the mountain *Pora*, or city *Ramu*.

(L) There was a maſſacre of them here about the year 1607. See the following hiſtory.

(M) See the ſubſequent hiſtory.

DESCEND-

DESCENDING the ſouthern ſtream of the river from the city of *Arrakan*, you come to *Dobazi* (or *Duabakem*), a city and port of great traffic. From thence, following the coaſt, you arrive at *Chudabe*, which, having a commodious port, is likewiſe much frequented by foreign merchants. Not far hence lies cape *Negrais*; and near it, according to *Toſſi*, the iſland *Munay* (N), famous for its many temples, and being the reſidence of the chief *Raulin*, or pope of *Arrakan*[s]. At this cape *Arrakan* ends, although *Toſſi* extends it along the ſouth coaſt as far as *Sirian*, which properly belongs to *Pegu*; and others make cape *Negrais*, with all the coaſt northwards to beyond 18 degrees of latitude, to belong to *Ava*. *Dobazi city.* *Cape Negrais.*

SECT. II.

Account of the Inhabitants.

THE people of *Arrakan* eſteem a broad flat forehead; which they give their children, by binding hard on that part a plate of lead as ſoon as they are born, letting it lie on till the effect be produced. Their noſtrils are large and open; their eyes ſmall but quick; their ears reach down to their ſhoulders, like thoſe of the *Malabârs*; and they are very fond of a dark purple colour[t]. *Their perſons.*

THE *Sikkes* (O), counſellors of ſtate, nobility, and all people of condition, wear a veſt, or ſhirt, of fine white calico, which ſits cloſe to the body and arms. Over it they have a long gown of the ſame kind, which buttons round the arms, and tied cloſe upon the breaſt with ribbands. Beſides this they have an apron, which covers the belly and thighs before, with another piece of white calico like a bag, which, gathered in many folds, covers the parts behind, and is tied round the waiſt, from whence it hangs; ſo that they look as if they carried a large bundle of cloth about them. They let their hair grow long, tying it in treſſes behind the head, like the women in *Holland*, and adorn it with fine cloth, made up in knots: the women are tolerably fair. *Dreſs of the men.*

[s] OVINGT. p. 565, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. p. 569.

(N) But *Mendez Pinto*, p. 252, places the iſland *Mounay*, where the chief *Raulin* reſides, one league and a half from the city of *Martavan*: there is a cape of the ſame name, turning into the river, or port, of *Martavan*, on the ſouth ſide thereof.

(O) The *Sikkes* are the prime men of the kingdom, or chief miniſters, who compoſe the king's council, according to *Schouten*, p. 156.

Of the women. THE women wear a kind of flowered gauſe, which is tranſparent, and, covering the boſom, paſſes over the ſhoulders. They likewiſe faſten about their waiſt an apron of fine calico, which goes three or four times round them, and reaches to their feet. They who are rich wear a ſilk ſcarf over one of their arms. Their hair is not tied, but done into buckles, in an agreeable manner. They ſtretch their ears by boring them when very young, and putting in the holes rolls of parchment, or the like, which they enlarge from time to time: they wear in them rings of glaſs, ſilver, or other materials, which make a gingling againſt the neck as they go along. Sometimes they have bracelets all the way up their arms to the elbows, and from the ancles to the calves of their legs. But the genteeler ſort content themſelves with a few japanned ones.

THE people, in general, are very oſtentatious, and uſually make an appearance beyond their ability; it being common for a perſon to be attended by ſeveral ſervants, who is not able to maintain above one or two [u].

Their diet loathſome. IN their entertainments they have plenty of proviſions: but then they are ſuch as are neither pleaſing to the eye nor taſte. They mix with their choiceſt diſhes the fleſh of rats, mice, ſerpents, and other loathſome animals. They never eat fiſh till it is in a ſtate of corruption, thinking it has the beſt reliſh when it ſtinks the moſt. They take of this putrid fiſh, after it has been dried in the ſun, and, beating it into a conſiſtency, make a kind of muſtard of it, which they call *ſidol*; and this they ſtrew over all their victuals. The better ſort make uſe of the fleſh of crabs, mixt with other ingredients; which, not being ſo rotten as the other fiſh, is ſomewhat leſs intolerable. They ſerve up their meat in ſmall diſhes, one hundred or two at a time, that every body may meet with what he likes. Inſtead of bread they uſe rice, both parched and bruiſed, or otherwiſe ordered in the flour [x]. Their uſual drink is water, or a liquor called *auze*, which is the juice of a tree much like the palm; and taken from it by inciſion, in the ſame manner as in the other peninſula of *India* [y].

Their marriages. THE people of *Arrakan* have an averſion to getting a woman's maidenhead, which they look on as a low kind of drudgery; and therefore hire the *Dutch* ſailors, or any ſtrangers, to eaſe them of that trouble. The virgins who have been thus deflowered are in moſt reputation; and the men who are

[u] SCHOUTEN, ubi ſupr. p. 233. [x] OVINGT. ubi ſupr. p. 569. [y] SCHOUTEN, p. 231.

inclined

inclined to marry, that they may not be deceived, chuſe to take thoſe to wife who are big with child. The courtſhip begins by little preſents and interviews; and when matters are concluded, the parties confirm their engagements before the idol, in preſence of their parents; the *Talipoin* (or prieſt), of whoſe ſect they are, performing certain ceremonies beſides. On theſe occaſions there are preſents made of precious ſtones to the bride: fire-works are plaid off, and feaſts prepared, accompanied with muſic and dancing. The men are allowed ſeveral wives; they may likewiſe keep concubines, and make uſe of the public dancers [z].

Sick, how treated.

When any fall ſick, the phyſician is ſent for; but the *Raulin*, or prieſt, is the perſon on whom they moſt depend for a cure. They firſt blow their breath on them, repeating certain prayers; and if this does not do, they tell the patient that he muſt offer a ſacrifice to *Chaor Baos*, that is the god of the four winds, who, they ſay, is the author of all diſtempers. This ſacrifice, called *Kalouko*, conſiſts of fowls, hogs, and other animals; and muſt be repeated four times, to every wind diſtinctly, in caſe he does not recover time enough to prevent the expence. On theſe ſacrifices the prieſts feaſt themſelves. But if, after this, the diſtemper proves obſtinate, then the wife, or neareſt relation, muſt make a vow to perform another piece of prieſtcraft, called a *Talagno*. To this purpoſe a chamber muſt be hanged with rich tapeſtry, and an idol placed upon an altar raiſed at one end of it: when all things are made ready, on the day appointed, the prieſts, with the ſick perſon's relations, repair thither, and are feaſted for eight days together.

Dancing phyſick.

To complete the farce, the perſon who makes the vow is obliged to dance as long as he is able to ſtand; and when his legs will ſupport him no longer, he muſt take hold of a piece of cloth faſtened to a beam, and continue dancing till he has quite exhauſted his ſpirits, and drops down on the ſpot. Then the muſic is redoubled, and the ſpectators, who are as great fools as the vow-maker, envy his happineſs; ſuppoſing him all the while he lies in this condition to converſe with the idol. This exerciſe he is obliged to repeat every day as long as the feaſting laſts; but if he has not ſtrength to go through it, ſome near relation is to dance in his place. In caſe, after the *Talagno* is completed, the patient happens to recover, he is carried to the pagods, where he is anointed with perfumed oils from head to foot: but if, on the contrary, he dies, the prieſt tells his relations, that the ſacrifices were

[z] Schouten, p. 336, & ſeq.

well accepted by the gods; and that the reaſon why they did not grant him a longer life was, becauſe they deſigned him a greater favour, by taking him to themſelves.

Their funerals. THEIR funerals are no leſs ſuperſtitious, and, conſequently ridiculous: for the corpſe being brought into the middle of the houſe, the *Raulín* walks round it, and ſays over it certain prayers, whilſt others perfume the place with incenſe; and the family beat upon a broad piece of braſs, keeping ſtrict watch at the ſame time, leſt a *black cat* ſhould paſs over him: for in that caſe he would be conſtrained to return to life again with ignominy, and be deprived of bliſs. Before the body is carried out of the houſe, they invite to a banquet a ſort of people called *Graii*, whoſe refuſal cauſes dreadful lamentation among his relations; as taking it for an infallible ſign that his ſoul is condemned to *the houſe of ſmoke*, ſo they call hell. The coffin is adorned according to the ability of the people: and, as they hold the *metempſychóſis*, they paint on it the figures of horſes, elephants, eagles, cows, lions, and the like noble animals, as it were to direct the departed ſoul to the beſt lodging; unleſs, out of humility, the deceaſed had ordered rats, frogs, and the moſt contemptible creatures, to be drawn in their ſtead, as more ſuitable receptacles for his polluted ſoul. After this, the body is carried into the field, and burnt to aſhes. The *Raulín* kindles the fire, which the relations attend, clad in white; which is their mourning colour, only they wear a black band round their head[a].

The ſick expoſed. AT their funerals they have always hired mourners, who attend ſometimes all night as well as day, and pretend much ſorrow. They who cannot afford wood to burn the corpſe, for it is very dear in this country, carry it to the river at low water, and leave it for the next tide to carry it off: but as the dead carcaſes often remain in the river, either ſunk or floating, it gives an ill taſte to the water. This alſo fills the country with ravens, kites, and other birds of prey, which not only feed on theſe corpſes, but attack the buffaloes, and other horned cattle; fixing on their backs, and tearing off the fleſh to the very bones, in ſpite of all their efforts to ſhake them off. The natives not only carry the dead bodies to rivers, but alſo expoſe the living in the ſame manner, when afflicted with grievous diſeaſes, which they judge to be incurable; ſo that if the water does not carry them clear away, they are ſure to be drowned. This they call humanity, charity, and compaſſion for the ſick perſon; who, by this means, they

[a] OVINGT. ubi ſupr. p. 570, & ſeqq.

ſay,

ſay, is delivered from a moſt miſerable ſtate here, and ſent to enjoy great happineſs in heaven [b].

THE people of *Arrakan* trade very little by ſea. All their navigation extends no farther than *Bengâl* and *Pegu*; whither, upon occaſion, they ſend their *Jeliyaſſes* of war. For they neither covet ſubduing the poſſeſſions of other nations, nor of ſending colonies into other parts; much leſs do they delight in foreign commerce. What trade they have is brought home to them by the merchants of diſtant countries [c]. As the country produces timber for building, ſome lead, tin, ſtick-lack, and elephants teeth, there are ſome of the *Great Mogol*'s ſubjects who trade hither: and ſometimes they meet with bargains of diamonds, rubies, other precious ſtones, and gold *Rupîs*; which, ſays our author, are to be ſuppoſed ſome of Soltân *Sujah*'s treaſure, pilfered by the avaritious prieſts [d]: of which more will be ſpoken hereafter. *No foreign commerce.*

WHATEVER foreign commerce there is in *Arrakan*, it is carried on by the *Mohammedâns*, who are ſettled here in great numbers; particularly at *Bandel*. Some trade in elephants, which they ſend to *Oriſſa* (or *Orixa*), the coaſt of *Choromandal*, *Golkonda*, and *Perſia*: in return for which, and other goods, they carry back calicoes, ſilks, ſpiceries, and the like. Very few are natives of *Arrakan*; but come from other parts of *India* to ſettle there, and dreſs as they do elſewhere. Mohammedans.

THE inhabitants of *Arrakan* are idolaters: on which account, ſays *Schouten*, they are called *Moges* (Q); worſhiping devoutly their images, made of clay, baked in the ſun [e]. They are very ſuperſtitious, and look on the barking of a dog, or the like, as the preſage of ſome remarkable event. On every ſuch frivolous occaſion the prieſts are ſent for; who know how to make their advantage of the people's folly. The idols in their temples are ſo numerous, that one of them is reported to contain no fewer than 40,000. They are built in the form of pyramids or ſpires. Beſides the temple-idols, they have their domeſtic ones. To both ſorts they offer victuals every day; and both are clothed by them in winter, that they might not catch cold. They wear the mark of their houſhold god branded on their arms, ſides, or ſhoulders. On their anniverſary feſtival, in commemora- *Religion of Arrakan like the Indian.*

[b] SCHOUT. ubi ſupr. p. 337. [c] Ibid. p. 228. [d] HAMILT. ubi ſupr. p. 29. [e] SCHOUT. p. 239. 235.

(Q) Or *Moghes*. If this be ſo, we then learn what *Ovington* tells us, p. 582, he could never find, whence the king derives the appellation of *Moghi*, which he aſſumes.

tion of the dead, they carry in proceſſion one of their idols, *Quiay Poragray* (R); which is carried in a heavy chariot, with ninety of the prieſts, clothed in yellow ſattin. Many throw themſelves under the wheels, others hang themſelves on hooks, faſtened for the purpoſe, and ſprinkle him with their blood. Theſe martyrs to folly are in ſuch veneration with the people, that he thinks himſelf happy on whom one drop of their blood happens to light. Nay, the hooks are taken down by the prieſts, as ſacred relicks, and carefully preſerved in their temples. From theſe inſtances our readers may perceive, that the religion of *Arrakan* tallies with that of the *Hindûs*, in the hither parts of *India*; and their prieſts impoſe upon them no leſs by ſubtil artifices.

Their hierarchy. THEIR prieſts, called *Raulin*, or *Raulini*, are divided into three orders, diſtinguiſhed by the names *Pungrîni*, *Panjani*, and *Shoſhom*; ſomething reſembling the orders of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the Chriſtian hierarchy. The chief of their prieſts is called *Shoſhom Pungri*; which title imports as much among them as that of *Pope* does at *Rome*. On him depend all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and he is had in ſo great veneration even by the king, that his majeſty places him on his right hand, and never ſpeaks to him without a profound reverence. The place of his reſidence, or ſee, is in the iſland of *Munay*, as hath been already mentioned. All the prieſthood are clothed in yellow (S), and have their heads ſhaven. All go uncovered, excepting the *Pungrîni*, or thoſe of the firſt order, who wear a yellow mitre, with the point turned and falling backward. They are obliged by vow to live ſingle; and, in caſe of diſobedience, are degraded: by which means they are reduced to the condition of laics, and are taxed as ſuch [f].

Monks and hermits. THEY live partly in houſes of their own, and on their eſtates; partly in cloiſters, which are founded by their king, or great men (T), and generally very ſumptuous: but they

[f] OVINGT. p. 575, & ſeqq.

(R) He is their ſupreme deity. See p. 580 of *Ovington*. — Captain *Hamilton* ſays, the name of the titular god of the kingdom is *Dagon*. Vol. ii. p. 28.

(S) *Schoutin* ſays, they wear black, which is the colour of modeſty, as well as mourning, in *Arrakan*. Voy. vol. i. p. 335.

(T) *Schoutin*, p. 335, ſays, their houſes are either near the pagods, on rocks, or on little hills; where they live like hermits, ſequeſtered from the world. Although their air and gate is modeſt, yet one may diſcover pride in it.

are

are all ſubject to one ſpiritual head, as before-mentioned. By them the children, both of the nobility and gentry, are educated in the knowlege of their religion and laws: and they are ſaid to be exceeding hoſpitable to ſtrangers. They have among them many hermits, like the *Joghis*, of the weſtern parts of *India*; who are diſtinguiſhed into three kinds or orders, named *Grepi*, *Manigrepi*, and *Taligrepi* (U). Theſe inflict on themſelves very rigorous penances; for which they are held in great eſteem among the people [g].

Government.

THE government of *Arrakan* is chiefly in the hands of the twelve princes before-mentioned; who are honoured with the title of kings, reſiding in the principal cities, in twelve royal palaces, with each a great ſeraglio, as well for their women, as thoſe they educate for the king of all the reſt, who keeps his court in the city of *Arrakan*.

King his titles,

THIS monarch affects as lofty titles as any of his neighbours; ſtiling himſelf *Emperor of* Arrakan, *poſſeſſor of the white elephant* (X), *with the two* Kenekas, *and, by virtue of them, rightful heir of* Pegu *and* Brama. *Lord of the twelve* Boyoni *of* Bengal; *and of the twelve kings* (meaning thoſe in *Arrakan*) *who lay the higheſt hair of their heads under the ſoles of his feet.*

and places of reſidence.

His uſual reſidence is in the city of *Arrakan:* but it is cuſtomary with him in ſummer to ſpend two months in a kind of progreſs by water to *Orietan*. In which he is attended by his nobility, in boats ſo artfully contrived and diſpoſed that they appear rather like a floating palace or city than what they are. In this progreſs he does not omit to adminiſter juſtice; but hears cauſes as regularly as when at land. One pretence for this maritime journey is to viſit the pagod of *Quiay Poragray*, their ſupreme deity; to whom he daily ſends a ſumptuous dinner.

Superſtition and cruelty.

THIS, among many inſtances, ſhews, the kings of *Arrakan* to be very ſuperſtitious; and this ſuperſtition frequently leads them into acts of the greateſt barbarity. *Toſi* relates of one of them, that, being told he could not long ſurvive his coronation, which is performed with the greateſt pomp, he put it off, although the high-prieſt was already ſetting the crown on his head; nor would admit that ceremony for

[g] OVINGT. p. 577, & ſeq.

(U) Theſe names ſeem to be taken from *Mendez Pinto*. Other authors call them in general *Talipoi*, or *Talipoins*.

(X) This famous white elephant was wreſted from the king of *Siam*, by him of *Pegu*, in 1567. It was taken by the king of *Tangu*, at the ſurrender of *Pegu* city, in 1599, and delivered to the king of *Arrakan* ſoon after.

the ſpace of twelve years: but, being preſſed to it by his lords, and not able to defer it any longer, he conſulted a *Mohammedan*, to know whether there was any way to avert the omen. The *Muſulman*, with an intent, it is ſaid, to deſtroy thoſe whom he reckoned enemies of his religion, told the king, that an electuary made of hearts, wherein were to be 6000 belonging to his ſubjects, 4000 of white cows, and 2000 of white doves, would protect him from the threatened danger. The king, relying upon this falſe information, built a houſe, the foundations whereof, to render it ſtill more auſpicious, were laid upon women great with child: and, on that occaſion, ſacrified no fewer than 18,000 innocent perſons, with a view to preſerve his own life [h].

Marry their ſiſters.

We meet with no account of the deſcent of the kings of *Arrakan*; but we learn from authors, that, to preſerve the blood unmixed, they are obliged to marry their eldeſt ſiſters [i]. This monarch ſcarce ever goes out of his palace, above once in five years (†), when he does it with great ſolemnity; but paſſes his life there with his queen, and a great number of concubines. Every year the *Sikkes* (Y), who are his favourites, cauſe twelve of the loveliеſt maidens to be ſought for through the realm, and dreſſed in fine white linen. After this, they are expoſed for ſix hours to the moſt violent heat of the ſun, that they may ſweat as much as poſſible. This done, other habits are brought them to put on, and their ſweaty ones examined by perſons appointed, who make their report; and the young ladies, whoſe ſweat has no diſagreeable ſmell, are preſented to the king, and placed among his concubines. The reſt are diſpoſed of, with portions, to his courtiers. All the females are taught muſic and dancing, with whatever elſe may help to render them agreeable, in hopes of arriving to that dignity. It is ſaid, that they who have obtained it, form themſelves alſo to the exerciſe of arms; after which they are diſtributed into the principal apartments of the king, and ſerve him for guards [k].

Concubines how choſen.

[h] Ovingt. p. 579, & ſeq. [i] Tosi ap. Ovingt. p. 582. Methold ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. 5. p. 1005. [k] Schout. ubi ſupr. p. 233.

(†) Except we ſuppoſe in his progreſs, as aforeſaid.

(Y) According to *Ovington*, p. 579, the twelve governors, ſtiled kings, are obliged to pick out twelve girls every year, within their provinces, and educate them, at the king's charge, in their ſeraglios, till they are twelve years old; at which age they are carried to court, and choſen by the ſmell of their ſweaty garments. *Edoardo Barboſa* relates to the ſame purpoſe.

The

THE kings of *Arrakan* were formerly almoſt continually at war with the great *Mogol*; but never came to a ſet battle: for they do not care to hazard their troops much [l]. Theſe monarchs, however, for the vaſtneſs of their treaſure and military ſtrength, are as conſiderable as moſt eaſtern princes. About 150 years ago they became famous by their wars, and much enlarged their dominions by the conqueſts they made both in *Bengâl* and *Pegu*. However, it is obſerved, that they were generally unſucceſsful in their wars againſt the *Portugueſes*; who, in 1605, defeated the king's fleet, conſiſting of no fewer than 540 ſail (or barks); and, not long after, he was forced three times to retire from before *Siriam* (now belonging to *Pegu*), though he attacked it with a fleet of 1200 ſail, and an army of 30,000 men, accompanied with 3500 great and ſmall cannon [m]. However, the king of *Rakan* (or *Arrakan*) by degrees humbled them, as will be related hereafter.

A. D. 1569.

The king's power.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of Arrakan.

THE firſt account we meet with of the affairs of *Arrakan* is about the year 1569; at which time the king of *Pegu* (of the *Barma* or *Brama* race), growing very powerful, ſought, by all manner of ways, to ſubdue that kingdom. But he was not able to compaſs his deſign: for, firſt, he had no fleet to tranſport an army by ſea; whereas the king of *Arrakan* could arm 200 gallies in his defence: and, in caſe he ſhould invade that country by land, the inhabitants were ready, by means of ſluices, to lay the ſame all under water, and either drown their enemies, or impede their march. However, at that time, the *Portugueſes* of *Chatigan* having ſlain the governor of that city, which belonged to *Bengâl*; and it being made an article of the accommodation which ſoon after took effect, that the chief commander of the *Portugueſes*, who had then eighteen ſhips in the port, ſhould depart the place with his veſſel; the king of *Arrakan*, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his neighbours, invited the captain to come into his dominions [a]. By this means the *Portugueſes* firſt found an introduction into *Arrakan*; where, by degrees, they gained a conſiderable footing: which they loſt again, at length, by their inſolence and crimes.

Kingdom of Arrakan.

[l] SCHOUT. ubi. ſupr. p. 228. [m] JARRIC. ap. Ovingt. p. 578. [a] CÆSAR FREDERIC ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1720

THESE

A. D. 1581. *invaded from* Pegu.

THESE *Portugueſes*, however, proved of great ſervice to the king of *Arrakan*; for, in 1581, the king of *Pegu*, having at length procured a fleet of 1300 ſail, reſolved to conquer that country. With this view he ſent that numerous armament, under the command of the prince his ſon, towards the *Arrakan* coaſt. The prince being informed, in his paſſage, that two *Portugueſe* galliots had taken a ſhip of *Pegu*, richly laden, he detached ſixteen of his beſt ſailors to attack them. The galliots received them bravely, and diſabled ſeveral of them: till ſeeing the whole fleet coming down upon them, they made the beſt of their way into the bay of *Arrakan* [b], which prevented the prince from making a deſcent.

Shilini Shâh *becomes*

AFTER this, *Arrakan* ſeems to have been freed from any attempts on the ſide of *Pegu*, whoſe arms were turned againſt other neighbouring nations. Nor did the king of *Arrakan* take that opportunity to attack his moſt dangerous enemy, for fear of drawing back his reſentment upon him. But at length the power of *Pegu* having been greatly exhauſted by long wars, particularly with *Siam*, ſeveral of the bordering kings, taking advantage of *Branjinoko*'s diſtreſs, entered into a league againſt him. Among the reſt *Shilimi Shâh* (A), king of *Arrakan*, was one. This prince, in the year 1598, laid ſiege to the city of *Pegu*, and was joined ſoon after by the king of *Tangu*. But being called away for a while about ſome other affairs, he left the continuance of the ſiege to the king of *Tangu*: who made ſo good uſe of his time, that, before the king returned, he had gotten *Branjinoko*, with all the royal family, into his hands, and carried off almoſt the whole treaſure of the captive prince, amounting to an immenſe value; leaving behind above three millions in ſilver, and other metals, which he thought not worth while to take with him.

maſter of Pegu.

SHILIMI Shâh, coming back to *Pegu*, took the kingdom into his poſſeſſion, with the ſilver which the king of *Tangu* had left for him: but not brooking to be ſo tricked by his good ally, who had agreed to divide the ſpoil, he ſent to demand a farther ſhare, with the white elephant, and the captive king's daughter; he likewiſe required that the king himſelf ſhould either be ſent to him, or ſlain; threatening otherwiſe to invade *Tangu*. To avoid this viſit, his demands were complied with; the king's brother, and two of his ſons, ſent alſo; and the dethroned tyrant was put to death.

[b] DE FARIA Portug. Aſia, vol. ii. p. 369, & ſeq.

(A) Called, afterwards, *Shilimika*, which ſeems the more natural name of the two.

How

How long the king of *Arrakan* kept poſſeſſion thereof, or whether he abandoned it of his own accord, or was forced to quit it by the king of *Ava*, does not appear from travellers. We meet with no account of what he did in *Pegu*, excepting ſo far as relates to the affair of *Sirian* [c]. A. D. 1598.

As the king of *Arrakan* was not acknowleged by the *Peguers*, who had hidden themſelves, or abandoned the country, to avoid the miſeries which the late king brought upon it; he delivered to *Philip de Brito*, and *Nicote*, the port of *Sirian*, in order to receive under his protection ſuch fugitives as ſhould be minded to return: he likewiſe deſigned thereby to reward the military ſervices of *De Brito*, for whom he had a great eſteem. But this upſtart, who had acquired prodigious wealth, requited that prince's favours with the utmoſt ingratitude [d]. He fortified *Sirian* againſt the donor; and, in the end, ſet up for emperor of *Pegu* himſelf, as will be ſet forth in the hiſtory of that country, to which we ſhall refer our readers, and return to matters which more immediately concern the kingdom of *Arrakan*: where we ſhall meet with another *Portugueſe*, no leſs remarkable for his ſudden riſe and treachery to that prince, than *De Brito* himſelf. *The* Portugueſes *favoured.*

THIS laſt, elated with his new dignity, aiming to extend his power, thought it would be for his advantage to be poſſeſſed of *Dianga*, a port of *Arrakan*; and although he knew how ill that potentate bore his retaining *Sirian*, though in another dominion, yet he had the preſumption to think he would beſtow *Dianga* upon him. With this hope, in the beginning of the year 1607, he fitted out ſome veſſels, and ſent in them his ſon, as ambaſſador, to beg that port of the king. But ſome *Portugueſes* having perſuaded his majeſty of *Arrakan* that *De Brito*'s deſign, by that requeſt, was to deprive him of his kingdom; he ordered the ſon, with his officers, to be aſſaſſinated in his court, and the men to be ſerved in the ſame manner on board the veſſels. Not content with this, he, at the ſame time, ſent a private mandate to ſlay all the *Portugueſes* who were ſettled at *Dianga*. On which occaſion, above 600 of them, living quietly as good ſubjects, under his protection, and ſuſpecting no danger, loſt their lives. Some few eſcaped into the woods; and nine or ten veſſels got out to ſea [e]. *Maſſacred at* Dianga.

WHETHER the king who gave theſe ſanguine orders was *Shimili Shâh*, or his ſucceſſor, we cannot determine; our au- *Riſe of* Tibao.

[c] FERNANDEZ ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1744. [d] Ibid.
[e] DE FARIA, ubi ſupr. vol. iii. p. 154.

thor

A. D. 1607.

thor *De Faria* having neglected to inform us (B). However that be, much about this time, we find a new king in *Arrakan*, and soon after a revolution in that country, as will appear from what we are going to relate. Among the few who escaped by sea from the above-mentioned massacre at *Dianga*, was one *Sebastian Gonsales Tibao*, who had just then entered the harbour, with a vessel laden with salt. He was a man of obscure extraction, born in the village of *St. Anthony del Tojal*, near *Lisbon*: in 1605 he embarked for *India*; and listing himself a soldier in *Bengâl*, fell to dealing in salt, which is a great merchandize there. By this trade he soon gained as much as purchased a *Jaleu*, a sort of small vessel; and by this purchase was enabled to carry his salt to foreign markets. This man was one of the greatest prodigies of the *Portuguese* fortune that *Asia* had produced: three years she was big with this monster, from 1605 to 1608. The reader will see in him another *Philip de Brito* and *Nicote* (C), famous for their incredible rise and insolence.

Another. *EMANUEL de Mattos*, commander of the *Bandel* (or port) of *Dianga*, who died not long before the massacre there, had been lord of *Sundiva*, an island seventy leagues in compass, belonging to *Bengâl*, and not far from the coast of *Arrakan*. *Fateh Khân*, a resolute *Moor* (D), whom he had trusted with that island in his absence, hearing of *De Mattos*'s death, usurped the command; and, the better to secure himself, murdered not only all the *Portugueses* who were settled there, with their wives and children, but likewise such

(B) The successor of *Shilimi Shâh*, according to *De Faria*'s history, was *Anaparum*, who was dethroned by his brother, whose name is omitted; and, by a passage, p. 160, it must have been this usurper who then reigned: for it is there said, that *Tibao*'s *treachery was to revenge the* Portugueses' *slain by him at* Dianga. But this author is very incorrect, often confounding one prince with another. He likewise, by frequently omitting the names of the princes, and exact dates of actions, has rendered his history very confused and imperfect, as well as by dividing his relation of the same matters into so many parts, and mixing matters of so many different kinds together, in order to digest them by way of annals. It is still worse, when giving the history of a person together, contrary to his plan, he omits the date of actions, and so causes the reader to imagine that they all belong to the particular year or years under which they are related. This is the case with the affairs of *Arrakan* and *Pegu*.

(C) *James Suarez de Melo* was another of these monstrous births. See *De Faria*, *Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 135, & seqq.

(D) By *Moor* is to be understood a *Mohammedan*.

of the natives as had embraced popery. This done, gathering *Moors* and *Patans* (E) to his assistance, he fitted out a fleet of forty sail, which charges he supported with the revenue of the island, which is very considerable. *Sebastian Gonsales*, and his companions, with the other vessels which had escaped from *Dianga*, being left without a head to govern them, lived by robbing in the country of *Arrakan*, and carried their plunder to the king of *Bakala*'s (F) ports, who was a friend to the *Portugueses*. *Fateh Khân*, understanding that these rovers plied thereabouts, went out to seek them, with such assurance of success, that he carried this inscription on his colours: Fateh Khân, *by the grace of God, lord of* Sundiva, *shedder of Christian blood, and destroyer of the* Portuguese *nation* [f]. A. D. 1608.

One evening he thought to surprise them; and had certainly effected it: but quarrelling about the division of some spoil, in a river of the island *Shavaspur*, *Tibao* left them; and happening to meet *Fateh Khân*'s fleet, gave his companions notice of it. By this means they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, before the arrival of the enemy, who immediately fell on them. The pirates fought so desperately all night, that the morning discovered eighty *Portugueses* victorious over 600 *Moors*, joined with *Patans*; and ten vessels over forty. Not one sail of them got away, nor a man escaped being taken or killed; among which latter was *Fateh Khân*. Had they been under a commander who knew how to improve a victory, the island must then have been their own. This obliged them to chuse a head; and they pitched on *Stephen Palmyro*, a man of years and experience. But as he absolutely refused to command such wicked people, they desired him to appoint one; and he named *Sebastian Gonsales Tibao*, whom they promised punctually to obey. As soon as this point was settled, they resolved to attack *Sundiva*; and having gathered a number of *Portugueses* from *Bengâl* and the *Chosen commander.*

[f] De Faria, ibid. p. 154, & seq.

(E) The *Patans* are those of the province of *Patan*, in *Hindustân*, who had the dominion in that country before the *Mogols* conquered it. By some the *Afyâns*.

(F) There are two or three large islands to the west of *Sundiva*, which bear the name of *Bakkala*. They are made by the streams into which the *Ganges* is divided, towards the sea or gulf *Bengâl*. There is another island called *Bokala*, with a town of the same name in it, on the coast of *Arrakan*, midway between *Sundiva* and the river of *Arrakan*: but this is not so likely to be the *Bakkala* in question, as the former.

neighbouring

A. D. 1609. neighbouring ports, *Tibao* applied to the king of *Bakhala*, agreeing by articles, "to give him half the revenue of the "island when recovered, provided he assisted him to conquer "it." The king, consenting, sent him some ships, and 200 horse: so that, in *March* 1609, *Tibao* had a fleet of forty ships, and 400 *Portugueses*, besides his auxiliaries. On the other hand, *Sundiva*, having had time to provide for its defence, was full of resolute men. A great number of *Moors*, commanded by *Fatch Khân*'s brother, received them at landing, but were forced to retire into a fort, which the *Portugueses* immediately besieged. As the place was vigorously defended, they not only lay long before it, without making any great progress, but were at last in danger of perishing; not being able to come at either the ammunition or provision which were aboard their vessels. From this distress they were luckily delivered, by *Gaspar de Pina*, a *Spaniard*, who coming to that port, at their request, landed fifty men, whom he commanded; and marching by night with many lights, and much noise, made the enemy believe that he brought a considerable succour. As soon as he arrived in the camp, the fort was assaulted; and, being taken, above 1000 *Moors* put to the sword. The natives of the island, who before had been subject to the *Portugueses*, presently submitted; and were received to mercy, on condition that they should deliver up to him all the strangers who were in the island. On this occasion they brought him above 1000 *Moors* more; and, as they came, he cut off their heads. Thus *Tibao* became master of *Sundiva*, and was obeyed as an absolute lord, independent of any other prince [g].

Attacks and takes the isle of Sundiva.

His power and arrogance.

To recompence the principal *Portugueses*, who had served him on this occasion, he gave them lands in the island: and then, repenting, took them away again. Instead of yielding to the king of *Bakkala* half the revenue of the island, as had been agreed by him, he made war upon that prince; growing insolent and ungrateful, as he grew in authority. He had now at his command 1000 *Portugueses*, 2000 natives, well armed, 200 horse, and above 80 sail of vessels, with good artillery. As many merchants traded thither, he erected a custom-house; and the neighbouring princes, surprised at his prodigious success, courted his friendship. From the king of *Bakkala* he wrested the islands of *Shavapur* (or *Shavaspur*), and *Patelabanga*; besides what he took from others: so that, of a sudden, he was possessed of vast riches, equal with

[g] De Faria, p. 155, & seq.

many

many princes: but, like a meteor, he as suddenly disappeared. A. D. 1609.

SUCH was the fortune of *Sebastian Gonsales* in *Sundiva*, when there happened a difference between the prince of *Arrakan* and king *Anaparam*. The prince, finding that he could not prevail on his brother, either by intreaty or threats, to give him an elephant, to which all other elephants were said to allow a kind of superiority, raises a great army, and deprives him both of his kingdom, and that so much coveted animal. *Anaparam* flies for succour to *Sebastian Gonsales*, who demands his sister as an hostage; and, having received her, sets out along with him to fight the conqueror. But what could his small force do against an army of 80,000 men, and 700 elephants. The dethroned king returned with *Tibao* to *Sundiva*, carrying over his wife and family, with his treasure and elephants? Thus he remained as a subject to this upstart lord; who baptizing the king's sister, married here; and, though so vile a wretch, pretended he did that prince a signal honour. Soon after, *Anaparam* dies, not without strong suspicion of poison; for *Gonsales* seized on all his treasure, his elephants, and effects, without any consideration of his wife and son. To stop the mouths of the people, he would have married the queen to his brother *Antony Tibao*, admiral of his fleet, but could not compass it; for she never could be prevailed on to be of a religion professed by such monsters in wickedness [h]. *Revolution in* Arrakan.

AFTER this, *Sebastian* waged war against the king of *Arrakan*, and met with good success; for his brother *Antony*, with only five sail, took 100 of that monarch's ships. This moved him to conclude a peace; by which he recovered his sister-in-law and brother's widow, whom he married to the king of *Chatigan* (G). At this time the *Great Mogol* undertook to conquer the kingdom of *Balua* (H), which lying opposite to *Sundiva*, alarmed *Tibao*, who therefore entered into a league with the king of *Arrakan* for its defence. The king hereupon takes the field with 80,000 men, most of them musketeers, 10,000 natives of *Pegu*, who fought with sword and buckler, besides 700 elephants, loaded with castles, and armed men. He likewise put to sea above 200 *Tibao's treachery.*

[h] DE FARIA, p. 157, & seq.

(G) The cities in these parts are kingdoms one day, and in subjection the next.

(H) Perhaps the great island in the mouth of the *Ganges*, directly north of *Sundiva*; or else a country on the continent, eastward, beyond the eastern stream of that great river, which seems most likely.

A. D. 1609. ſail, carrying 4000 ſoldiers, who were to join *Sebaſtian Gonſales*, and to be under his command. The agreement was, that *Tibao* ſhould hinder the *Mogols* from paſſing to the kingdom of *Balua*, till the king of *Arrakan* could march thither with his forces; and that the enemy being repulſed, *Tibao* ſhould have half the kingdom delivered to him. The king was likewiſe to have hoſtages for his fleet: on which occaſion *Sebaſtian* ſent to him a nephew of his own, and the ſons of certain *Portugueſes* inhabitants of *Sundiva*.

and infamous action.

THE king of *Arrakan*, being arrived with his army, was ſurpriſed to find the *Mogols* already entered the kingdom of *Balua*: however, marching into it with his troops, he, in a ſhort time, expelled the enemy. It was thought that *Tibao*, corrupted with bribes, had given them a free paſſage into that country; which, by agreement with the king of *Arrakan*, he was obliged to obſtruct. Others ſay, he did it to revenge the death of the *Portugueſes*, ſlain by that prince at *Dianga*. However that be, he was guilty of execrable treachery; for, leaving the mouth of the river (I) *Dangatiar* open, he gave them free entrance. His villainy did not ſtop there; for, running with his fleet into a creek of the iſland *Deſierta*, and calling all the king of *Arrakan*'s captains aboard his ſhip, he murdered them; then falling on the veſſels, deprived of their commanders, killed or made ſlaves of all the men. After he had committed this infamous action, and alſo taken poſſeſſion of the injured king's fleet, he returned to *Sundiva*. Mean time the *Mogols* came down again, with a greater power; and entering the kingdom of *Balua*, made a great ſlaughter of the *Arrakan* army; and reduced that king to ſuch diſtreſs, that, with much difficulty, he eſcaped upon an elephant, and came almoſt alone to the fort of *Chatigan* [1].

Ravages the coaſt.

TIBAO, being informed of all which had happened, ſets out with his fleet, and ravages all the coaſt of *Arrakan*, plundering and deſtroying all the forts which lie along it; and which, confiding in the peace, were then unprovided. He had the impudence to advance up to the very city of *Arrakan*, where he burnt many merchant-ſhips of ſeveral nations: among the reſt was one which the king kept in that port to take his pleaſure in, and whoſe loſs he reſented moſt of all. It was a veſſel of vaſt bigneſs, and ſurpriſing workmanſhip, with ſeveral apartments, like a palace, all covered with gold

[1] DE FARIA, p. 159, & ſeq.

(I) Poſſibly one of thoſe, fifteen or twenty leagues to the north of *Chatigan*.

and

and ivory; and yet the art far surpassed the cost. The king, provoked at the insolence and treachery of *Gonsales*, who seemed to have forgotten that his nephew was in hostage, resolved to put him in mind; and causing a stake to be driven through his body, had it set up on an eminence, below the port of *Arrakan*, that his uncle, as he went out, might see him. But he, who had no honour, valued not at whose cost he advanced his own interest. Nevertheless, the guilt of so many villainies began to touch his conscience; and he returned to *Sundiva*, with an apprehension that some heavy punishment would soon fall upon him for his crimes [k]. A. D. 1615. *His nephew impaled.*

THIS base upstart, who, in his prosperity, never regarded the viceroy, now seeing the danger of falling, applies to him for succour; proposing, in that case, like an absolute prince, to become tributary to *Portugal*, with the acknowlegement of a galleon, loaden with rice, to be delivered yearly, either at *Goa*, or *Malakka*. He pretended, that what he had done was solely to revenge the murder of the *Portugueses* at *Dianga*: and, to allure the viceroy, concluded with a hint, that it would be no difficult matter to seize the vast treasure of the *Arrakan* king. This bait had the desired effect; so that the viceroy, instead of abhorring, saith our author, the villainies of that wretch, resolved to assist him, contrary to all laws both human and divine. For this expedition were fitted out fourteen of the largest galliots, one fly-boat, and a pink, under the command of *Don Francisco de Meneses Rexo*, who had been governor of *Seylân*, or *Ceylon*. As his instructions were that he should enter the kingdom of *Arrakan*, without waiting for *Tibao*, he only sent him notice of his coming, when he arrived on that coast; and proceeded directly for the city of *Arrakan*, which is the chief port, as well as residence, of the king. *Sends for succours;*

HE arrived thither the third of *October*; and, in the morning of the 15th, discovered a very numerous fleet coming down the river, with a *Dutch* pink at the head of them. Other vessels were likewise commanded, and reinforced with *Hollanders*. On the other hand, *Don Francisco* had now with him no more than twelve small ships: for the pink was sent in pursuit of a vessel which had fled; one galliot was gone to fetch back the pink, and another to *Sundiva*, to carry the advice. For all this, the *Portugueses* advanced, without any dread of that formidable armament. The *Dutch* pink fired the first gun, and then began a furious fight. Four galliots, which got before the rest, had their captains and many sol- *which are defeated;* A. D. 1615.

[k] DE FARIA, p. 161.

diers killed, before the remaining eight came up; which fell on ſo deſperately, that the enemy overſet many of their veſſels, through haſte to fly from them. In the evening they drew off, on ſight of the galliot which went to ſeek the pink; ſuppoſing that ſome relief was coming to the *Portugueſes*; who, among the ſlain, loſt twenty-five men of note[1].

and himſelf reduced,

DON Franciſco, now reſolving to wait for *Tibao*, fell down to the mouth of the river; whither, at length, the other arrived, with fifty ſail, well manned and equipped. When he heard what had been done, he railed at the viceroy for giving ſuch orders, and againſt *Don Francis* for obeying them. Then dividing the ſhips into two equal ſquadrons, they ſailed up the river, and fell upon the enemy on both ſides, firing upon the veſſels in reach, none of which advanced. All the while the king, from the ſhore, encouraged his people; and cauſed the heads of ſome who fled to be cut off. Soon after, a great part of that vaſt fleet bore down upon the *Portugueſes*, divided into three ſquadrons. *Tibao* put to flight thoſe who attacked him; and the pink did as much with the *Hollanders:* while *Don Franciſco* acted bravely alſo on his ſide. In ſhort, the advantage was viſibly in favour of the invaders till ſun-ſet, when that admiral was killed by two muſket-balls, ſhot one in the forehead, the other in the left eye. *Tibao*, diſcouraged by the ſignal made of this misfortune, ceaſed to follow his good fortune; and the tide beginning to ebb, the fleets parted. One galliot was taken by the enemy, and all the men ſlain; beſides 200 more, whoſe bodies were buried in the ſea, at the mouth of the river. When they returned to *Sundiva*, the vice-admiral, *Don Lewis de Azevedo*, who ſucceeded *Don Franciſco* in the command, ſet ſail for *Goa*; notwithſtanding *Tibao*, for his own ſecurity, laboured all he could to keep him there. In fine, being thus left in a defenceleſs ſtate, the king of *Arrakan*, not long after, attacked the iſland, took it, and reduced him to his former miſerable condition. Thus ended the ſovereignty of that proſligate upſtart; which yet was too ſmall a puniſhment for the crimes he had committed during his ſhort reign.

to his former condition.

A. D. 1616.

The Portugueſes

THE *Portugueſes*, thus ſufficiently humbled, applied to the king for grace, who, notwithſtanding the many provocations received from them, was inclined to hearken to their petition; knowing that it would be in their power to do him more miſchief than ever, in caſe they ſhould go over to ſome of the neighbouring powers. To prevent this, therefore, and at the ſame time ſecure his frontiers againſt the *Great Mogol*,

[1] DE FARIA, p. 225, & ſeqq.

his

his moſt formidable enemy, who was now become his next neighbour, by the conqueſt of *Balua*, he ſettled them in the port of *Chatigan* (then in his hands), giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleaſed; which was on robbery and piracy [m]. On this occaſion, we are told, that the firſt time the king of *Arrakan* went to the city of *Chatigan*, after the *Portugueſes* were ſettled there, they preſented him abough, thick ſet with figs. This bough that prince offered to his white elephant to eat, which the animal refuſed, although his majeſty intreated him to take it for ſake of the king of *Ava*, the *Great Mogol*, and his own: but ſcarce was he deſired to eat it for the king of *Portugal*, when he ſnatched it eagerly with his trunk. The king, hereupon, in a paſſion, cauſed the elephant to be ſtript of all his golden ornaments; which ſo grieved the beaſt, that he would not eat at all: ſo that the king, for fear his beloved animal ſhould die (for this was the famous white elephant ſo much coveted by all the eaſtern princes), was obliged to reſtore its furniture. We relate this ſtory, to ſhew that the *Portugueſes* have their political, as well as religious, legends (K). But to proceed.

ſettled in Chatigan, A. D. 1618.

THEY continued in the courſe of life above-mentioned, plundering and mal-treating all who came in their way, till about the year 1667; when, having murdered one of the king of *Arrakan*'s chief officers, and fearing to be puniſhed for that, as well as other crimes, they were ſtruck one day with ſuch a panic, that they ſhipped themſelves all at once, in forty or fifty of their galleaſſes, and wafted over to *Shâh Heſt Khân*; who was then in *Bengal*, and had invited them to join him againſt the king of *Arrakan*, whoſe dominions he had orders to attack. By their aſſiſtance he took *Sundiva* from that *Indian* potentate: and having thus rendered them irreconcileable to their former maſter, treated them with contempt [n], as will hereafter be related [o].

revolt to the Mogol. A. D. 1667.

THE deſign of *Shâh Heſt Khân*'s invading *Arrakan* was, to revenge the blood of *Soltân Sujâh*, and his family, who had been deſtroyed by the king, in order to ſeize his riches [p]; which, in the end, proved the ruin of the kingdom of *Arra-*

State of Arrakan

[m] DE FARIA, p. 227, & ſeq. BERNIER, ubi ſupr. p. 120.
[n] BERNIER, p. 136. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 296. [o] See vol. vii. hiſt. Mogol. [p] Ibid. Aurengzîb.

(K) This fable ſeems to be coined, in imitation of another famous one of the ape, who, on an experiment made by the *Great Mogol*, pulled out the name of *Chriſt* ſeveral times, from among thoſe of *Mohammed*, *Bramma*, and others. See vol. vii. in the reign of *Jehân Ghir*.

A. D. 1690. *kan*. The king thought that all belonged to him: thoſe who fought for it claimed a ſhare; and the princes of the blood wanted ſome large diamonds for their wives: but the artful prieſts found a way to make up the difference, by perſuading the king, and the other pretenders, to dedicate the whole treaſure to the god *Dagun*. This meaſure being agreed to, the jewels were depoſited in the temple of that deity (L), where they continued till the year 1690: at what time the king of *Arrakan* dying without iſſue, two princes of the blood quarrelled together about the ſucceſſion. They both took arms, and both had an eye upon Soltân *Sujâh*'s treaſure; which ſo frighted the clergy, that they removed it to another place, known only to themſelves. Mean time the two princes purſued their pretenſions ſo furiouſly, that, in one year's ſpace, both themſelves and families were intirely cut off; and the kingdom has continued in anarchy ever ſince [r].

in great confuſion.

CHAP. IV.

The Kingdom of Pegu.

SECT. I.

Geographical Deſcription.

Pegu *proper.*

THE kingdom of *Pegu* is to be conſidered in three different capacities: 1. *Pegu*, properly ſo called: 2. *Pegu*, with its acquiſitions: 3. *Pegu*, incorporated with the kingdom of *Ava*.

Bounds and extent.

THE kingdom of *Pegu*, properly ſo called, is bounded on the north with thoſe of *Arrakan* and *Ava* (A), on the eaſt with the upper and lower *Siam*, on the ſouth with part of *Siam* and the ſea, and on the weſt with the ſea and part of *Arrakan*; lying between the 110th and 116th degrees of longitude, and between the 14th and 19th degrees of north latitude: ſo that it is about 350 *Engliſh* miles in length, from

[r] HAMILT. new account of Eaſt Ind. vol. ii. p. 28.

(L) We hear of no temple of his but at the city *Dagun*, in *Pegu*; where it is not probable that the money was depoſited, as it was not then in the king of *Arrakan*'s poſſeſſion.

(A) *Shelden*'s memoirs, in *Ovington*, written about the year 1688, gives *Pegu*, for its northern bounds, the empires of *Siamon* and *Kalaminhan*: which ſhews that author had dealt with *Mendez Pinto*, who places theſe two imaginary empires to the north of *Pegu*.

ſouth

south to north, and nearly the same in breadth, from west to east. If we may venture to quote *Mendez Pinto*, a writer whose relation is a mixture of truth and falshood, *Pegu*, as it was in his time, about the year 1550, was not above 140 leagues in compass; and was surrounded with a great chain of mountains, named *Pangasirau* (B), which were inhabited by the *Bramas* (or rather *Barmas*), who are at present masters of that and the neighbouring countries. *Bounds and extent.*

PEGU, considered in a larger sense, as augmented by the conquests of its *Barma* kings, extended northward as far as the borders of the province of *Yun-nan*, in *China* (C), comprising the countries of *Arrakan*, *Ava*, *Jangoma*, the *Laos*, and even *Siam*: so that its bounds and extent were nearly equal with those of the farther peninsula of *India* in general. As to *Pegu*, in its third, that is, its present, state, in which it stands incorporated with *Ava*, we shall refer the consideration of it till we come to treat of *Ava*; only observing here in general, that its bounds and extent are nearly the same with those which it had in conjunction with its acquisitions: or, what is all one, they are both the same dominion, only it has changed its name from *Pegu* to *Ava*, on account of the royal seat being removed from one city to the other. And here it must be observed, with regard to the name (D) of this country, that, we are told, it is not properly *Pegu*, but *Bagou*[a]. *Pegu at large.*

PEGU seems to be a flat country for the general, without any considerable mountains, excepting those before-mentioned, which surround it, and serve for a frontier towards the land: but it is liable to be invaded, not only by sea, but also by land, by means of the rivers which make their passage through those mountains. Among these, two are most *Mountains and rivers.*

[a] See De Faria, Portug. Asia, vol, iii. p. 117. 127.

(B) Those on the west side are called *Pre* by *Pinto*.

(C) This appears from the Jesuits map of that province, in which the places are marked where the frontiers of *Pegu* begin and end. This is likewise agreeable to the account of the *Indians*. But *Tavernier* pretends to have discovered the contrary, from the report of some merchants of *Tipra*, which country he supposed to cover the north borders of *Arrakan* and *Pegu*, and take up all the space between them and *China*. See *Tavern.* part ii. cap. 16. p. 186.

(D) The *Chinese*, we are told, call it *Mien*: or *Mien* might be the name of the country bordering on *China*, which *Chaumigem*, the second *Barma* king, added to his empire. *Loubere* speaks of *Meens*, in the king of *Siam*'s army. Relat. *Siam*, part ii. c. 11. p. 97.

Rivers. remarkable; the firſt, the river of *Pegu*; the ſecond, the river of *Ava*, ſo called from thoſe capitals, which are ſituate on their banks. The river *Ava* we ſhall ſpeak of when we come to treat of *Ava*, and therefore ſhall only conſider that of *Pegu* here. This river (E), which is very large, and carries a ſtrong current to the ſea, ſeems to have its riſe in the mountains, which divide *China*, on the weſt ſide of *Yun-nan*, from the countries included by us in the farther peninſula of *India*. From thence it ſhapes its courſe ſouth, inclining to the weſt, through countries whoſe names are unknown to us, but once included within the empire of *Pegu*, as they at preſent belong to that of *Ava*. At length, having waſhed the borders of *Jangoma*, which lies to the north of *Siam*, it enters the kingdom of *Pegu*; and, having paſſed to the weſt of the capital city, falls into the ſea, with a very large mouth, about thirty miles (F) below it.

River of Pegu,

annually overflows. THIS river, by its annual overflowings, brings ſuch advantage to the country, that it is not unfitly termed, by *Maffi* [b], the *Indian Nile*. Theſe inundations are almoſt incredible, extending above thirty leagues beyond its chanel. By the mud or ſlime which is left behind, the ſoil is ſo inriched, and their crops of rice increaſed to ſuch a degree, that an hundred ſhiploads thereof have been exported in one year, without being miſſed [c].

River of Negrais. THERE are two ways by which goods may be conveyed from the port of *Negrais* to the river of *Pegu*: one is by long ſea; the other by the intervention of rivers from the bar of *Negrais*. The diſtance either way from that bar is fifty or fifty-five leagues: but, by reaſon of the ſhoalings along the coaſt, the firſt way is uſually taken. This paſſage is formed by ſeveral large iſlands, which lie near one another, and leave a chanel between them and the main land, like that of a great river, into which ſeveral rivers out of *Pegu* diſcharge their waters; while the ſea flowing in by the opening between the iſlands, a ſufficient quantity of water is always found in the aforeſaid chanel, to carry large barks, for conveying paſſengers and goods from the bar of *Negrais* to the city of *Pegu*.

[b] MAFF. hiſt. l. xvi. c. 5.

[c] OVINGT. p. 585. Barboſa.

(E) *Le Blanc* names it *Kayomo*: and *Pinto* mentions a river of the ſame name, which ſome maps make to fall into the river of *Ava*, about twenty miles ſouth-weſt of the city of that name.

(F) *Barboſa* ſays, between twenty-five and thirty miles.

ALONG

ALONG this chanel are a conſiderable number of cities, towns, and villages, as well on the land-ſide, as that of the iſlands. Among the reſt are the cities of *Koſmi* (or *Koſmin*), *Koylan*, *Tavagnedun* (or *Medun*), *Leungon*, *Silvanſedi*, *Mojja*, *Dala* (or *Dolla*), *China-Bakkar*, *Dogun* (or *Dagon*), and *Sirian*[d]. This chanel, which may be called the river of *Negrais* (G), has three mouths or openings between the iſlands to the ſea, *viz.* at *Dolla*, *China Bakkar*, and *Sirian*, which by that means are ſo many ports. *Soil and produce.* *Cities upon it.*

THE coaſt from *Negrais*, running eaſtward to the true river of *Pegu*, and thence ſouthward toward *Tenaſſerin*, forms a great bay, where the ſea runs with incredible violence and ſwiftneſs into the mouth of that river: for, on the return of the tide, a body of waters, whoſe front is above twelve feet high, comes rolling in, and bears down whatever ſtands in its way; ſo that no ſhip can withſtand its force, but in a moment is overturned. This furious tide, which the natives call *Makkrea* (H), advances with ſo great a roaring, that the noiſe may be heard ten miles off[e]. We are told, that the tide in the gulf of *Kambaya* is nothing, compared with this; and that the latter runs as ſwift as an arrow out of a bow[f]. *Surpriſing tide.*

THE air of *Pegu* is very healthy, and preſently recovers ſick ſtrangers. The ſoil of *Pegu* is very rich and fertile, in corn, fruit, and roots. It likewiſe produces good timber of ſeveral kinds. The country abounds with elephants, buffaloes, goats, hogs, and other animals. There is abundance of wild game: and deer is ſo plenty in *September* and *October*, that our author, captain *Hamilton*, has bought one for three or four pence: they are very fleſhy, but have no fat. Poultry is good and plenty: the cocks are vaſtly large, and hens very beautiful. As for fiſh, there are many good ſorts[g]. *Soil and produce.*

THERE are, in *Pegu*, mines not only of iron, tin, and *ganſa*, or lead (I), which paſſes for money, but alſo of ru-

[d] See BALBI & FITCH. [e] HAMILT. ubi ſupr. p. 32.
[f] CÆSAR FREDERIC ap. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 232. [g] TAVERN. trav. part ii. p. 144. HAMILT. p. 38, 40, 59. Balbi.

(G) It is indeed commonly called *Pegu* river: but we think improperly, as it is no part of the river *Pegu*.

(H) Or *Makkareo*, as *Balbi* and *Cæſar Frederic*, our authors, call it; alſo the great *Bore*, and *Boer*, which is doubtleſs a corruption of the *Arabic Bâhr*, that is, *the ſea*; the term uſed, we preſume, by thoſe whom the *Europeans* call *Moors*.

(I) Rather a kind of copper, or mixture of copper and lead.

bies,

Provinces, cities. bies, diamonds, and ſapphires. The rubies are the beſt in the world: but the diamonds are ſmall, and only found in the craws of poultry and pheaſants. Beſides, only one family has the privilege of ſelling them, and none dare open the ground to dig for them [h].

Provinces. *PEGU* is doubtleſs divided into provinces like other countries; but travellers have mentioned none. However, we may conſider, as ſuch, the ſeveral petty kingdoms or ſtates which had been conquered by the kings of *Pegu*; ſuch as thoſe of *Tava*, *Tangu*, and *Kablan* (or *Kapelan*). This laſt, we are told, was one of the twelve conquered by the ſecond *Barma* king, *Chaumigrem*, who began his reign about the year 1549 [i]. It is reputed the moſt barren part of all *Pegu*. The chief city is of the ſame name. Here the true rubies, for which *Pegu* is famous, are found in a mountain not far from it, ſtanding between the city of *Pegu*, and port of *Sirian* (K) [k].

Tangu *kingdom,* THE kingdom of *Tangu* is frequently mentioned by the authors who have written about the affairs of *Pegu*: but none of them ſays any thing preciſely concerning its ſituation, excepting *Mendez Pinto*; who informs us, that it lies 160 leagues from the city *Pegu*, in the heart of the country [l]. With this agree the few hints we have from other writers (L), only the diſtance ſeems abundantly too great. Hence we conceive it to be ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river *Pegu*, between the kingdoms of *Jangoma* on the north, and *Siam* on the ſouth.

[h] OVINGT. p 585. [i] See his hiſtory below. [k] FITCH ap. Purch. vol. ii. p. 1741. OVINGT. p 583. [l] PINTO's trav. p. 288.

(K) *Fitch* ſays, *Kaplan* is ſix days journey from *Ava*. *Pimenta*, beſides *Kavelan* (which muſt be this *Kapelan*), whence the ſapphires and rubies come, places two kingdoms, by the name of *Kablan*, among the twelve conquered by the *Brama* king mentioned in the text; which he ſays are near *Ava*, towards *China*, and abound with gems. Perhaps, inſtead of one of theſe two places, ſo much alike in name, we ſhould read *Kamelan*, whoſe king, *Maſſingo*, we are told, *De Brito* ſlew in battle.

(L) We are told that the kings of *Jangoma* and *Siam* joined, in 1599, to invade the king of *Tangu*; that he of *Siam* in his way thither, entered and ſubdued the kingdom of *Martavan*; and that the king of *Tangu*, in 1598, was ordered by the king of *Pegu*, his ſovereign prince, to bring the inhabitants of *Tangu* in ſhips to his capital city: which ſhews *Tangu* muſt be waſhed by the river of *Pegu*. See *Pimenta* & *Bowes*, *ap. Hais epiſt. Ind.* p. & 848.

HOWEVER that be, *Tangu* was formerly a very remarkable place. It is said by some, that the first *Barma* king of *Pegu* was governor of it; and that the second was born there: his successors made kings, or viceroys of *Tangu*. As this country was upon the frontiers towards *Siam* and *Jangoma*, its dependent kings were ready always to revolt, or give disturbance to the *Pegu* monarch. At length we find one of them, in the year 1598, joined in confederacy with him of *Arrakan*, to conquer that country; which they effected. The king of *Tangu*, after putting to death his sovereign, who had surrendered to him, carried off all the treasure of *Pegu*, and left the ruined kingdom to the king of *Arrakan*: but his independency did not continue long, for he was overcome and rendered tributary about 1612, by the king of *Ava*; or, perhaps, rather the king of *Pegu*, who had transferred the regal seat to *Ava*[m]. *its history.*

THE city of *Pegu* (M), before the completion of its ruin in the year 1600 above-mentioned, was one of the most splendid, large, and populous, in all *Asia*. According to *Cæsar Frederic*, *Balbi*, and *Fitch*, who saw this city in its greatest splendor (N), it was very spacious, fair, and strong, surrounded with stone walls, and very wide ditches. It was divided into two cities, the old and new: in the old, which was very big, and augmented by several suburbs, lived the merchants and strangers, for there trade was carried on; and as the houses were only built with wood, or bambû canes, covered with tiles, each had a warehouse of brick arched, to secure the goods from fires, which were very frequent there. The new city, which was inhabited by the king, the nobility, and people of fashion, was very great and populous: its figure square; and in each side of the wall were five gates of stone, with many gilded towers along it for posting centries. It was encompassed with broad ditches, in which were bred crocodiles, to deter people from wading over them. The streets the fairest that ever *Fitch* saw, running in a line from gate to gate; and so wide, that twelve men might go a-breast. Each house had a palm-tree growing at the door, which made an ornament as well as shade for passengers. *City of Pegu.*

[m] See the ensuing history of Pegu.

(M) It has been observed before, that the true name of the city, as well as country, is *Bagou*; but *Floris* calls it *Uncha*, or *Pegu*. See his voyage. New collect. voy. and travels, 4to. vol. i. p. 539.

(N) The first, in 1566; and the two latter in 1683.

THE

City of Pegu. *King's palace.*

THE king's palace ſtood in the midſt of this new city, built like a fortreſs with walls and ditches. The houſes and apartments within were of wood, all over gilded, and adorned with battlements covered with plates of gold. By the gate you entered into a ſpacious court, where were lodgings on the ſides for the king's choiceſt elephants; among which were four white ones. This was a great rarity, thoſe animals being very ſcarce; but that prince would ſuffer none to have any but himſelf. It was on this account only that he made war on the king of *Siam* in 1567, from whom he took the famous white elephant; and afterwards aſſumed the title of *king* of *the white elephant* (O). Near the palace was a large court ſurrounded with ſtone walls; and its two gates were always open, as if no account was made of the immenſe treaſure within. This was lodged in four gilded houſes, covered with lead: in the firſt was a vaſt gold ſtatue of a man, with a crown of gold beſet with rubies and ſaphires, and about him four children of gold. In the ſecond houſe was a ſilver ſtatue, ſitting on heaps of treaſure: yet his head reached as high as any houſe; and his foot was as long as *Frederic*, who meaſured it, was tall. The third houſe had in it a ſtatue of braſs, of the ſame bigneſs; and the fourth contained another of the ſame ſize, made of *ganſa*, which is a mixture of copper and lead: theſe three ſtatues had crowns on like the firſt.

Huge ſtatues.

Elephant hunting.

WITHIN a mile of the city was a beautiful palace all gilded, with a large court before it: containing an infinite number of places for people to ſtand and ſee the hunting of elephants in the neighbouring foreſt, of vaſt extent; which, being driven out of the wood by the hunters, were decoyed by tame elephants into an incloſure made for the purpoſe, where they were taken and tamed [n].

The city deſtroyed.

THE new city, with the palace, and all its ornaments, were the work of the ſecond *Barma* king of *Pegu*, the greateſt of all its monarchs. It was finiſhed about the year 1567.

[n] CÆS. FREDER. apud HAKL. vol. ii. p. 231. BALBI, p. 100, & ſeqq.

(O) The white elephant is not eſteemed in theſe parts on account of the ſcarcity of thoſe animals, but becauſe the mother of *Shekya* (as the *Chineſes* call him), founder of the idolatry of *Tibet*, whence that throughout the *Indies* is derived, dreamed that a white elephant, entering her mouth, paſſed down her throat, and came out of her ſide. See *Marini* hiſt. de *Tonquin* and *Lao*: alſo New Collect. of voy. and travels in quarto, vol. iv. p. 207.

Whether

Whether it received any improvements from his ſucceſſor, does not appear; but this we know, that in his reign it was ſtripped of all its luſtre, and reduced to a miſerable condition. For the third and laſt king of that race in *Pegu* having, by his exceſſive tyranny and continual wars, exhauſted his dominions of people, the neighbouring princes invaded his territories. In 1596 the king of *Siam* beſieged him in his capital for three months; but for this time he was relieved by the aſſiſtance of certain *Turks*, in conjunction with ſome *Portugueſes*. However, moſt of thoſe whom war had ſpared, famine deſtroyed: for, out of 150,000 men numbered in the city before the ſiege, only 30,000 were left, with 3000 cannon (1000 of them braſs) for its defence. The kings of *Arrakan* and *Tangu*, taking advantage of this diſtreſſed condition of *Pegu*, marched to beſiege it anew; and the king, being at length obliged to ſubmit for want of proviſions, ſome time in the year 1599, yielded himſelf and the city into the hands of the king of *Tangu*; whoſe wife, though ſiſter to the unfortunate prince, cauſed him and his family to be put to death [o].

City of Pegu.

FROM that time *Pegu* ceaſed to be the royal ſeat, except at times, and fell to decay: ſo that, as we are informed by a late traveller, although ſix or ſeven leagues in compaſs, not one twentieth part is inhabited, and that only by the lower claſs of people [p]. However, it is ſtill the ſeat of the viceroy, who governs for the king reſiding now at *Ava*; and dwells in the palace ſtanding in the new city, which is ſeparated from the old by the river paſſing between them.

Royal ſeat removed.

TRAVELLERS have given no account of the inland cities of *Pegu*; our readers therefore muſt be content with what they relate concerning ſome of its maritime towns.

THE firſt which occurs on the weſt ſide of the river of *Pegu*, towards its mouth, is *Sirian*. This is the only port now open for trade in all that country [q]. It is ſituated near the mouth of the river of the ſame name, which communicates with the chanel coming from the bar of *Negrais*: the ruins of its walls and bulwarks ſhew it to have been a very ſtrong place (P). On the news of its reduction, the emperor poiſoned himſelf; and the conqueror carried the reſt of his

City of Sirian.

[o] PIMENTA apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1747. BOUES, p. 1748. FLORIS, vol. i. p. 322. [p] HAMILT. new acc. Eaſt India, vol. ii. p. 33. [q] Ibid. p. 32.

(P) What *Balbi* ſays, of its having been the ſeat of an emperor, till taken by the king of *Pegu* in 1567, &c. ſeems to have been copied from *Cæſar Frederic*'s account of the conqueſt of *Silon*, or *Siam*; which *Balbi* has miſtaken for *Sirian*.

family,

Port of Sirian. family, with all his treaſures, to *Pegu*[r]. At preſent, it is incloſed with a ſtone wall, laid without morter, built near the river-ſide on a riſing ground. The governor is generally of the blood royal; and the ſuburbs are four times larger than the city. The port is frequented by ſhips from ſeveral parts of *India*, the river being capable of receiving veſſels of 600 tons: it is frequented by ſome *Engliſh*, *Portugueſes*, and *Armenians*, which latter have monopolized the ruby trade.

The makkrea, or tide. If, by accident, a ſhip be driven a league or two to the eaſtward of *Sirian* bar, a ſtrong tide carries her on hard ſands; for anchors cannot ſtop her careér. There ſhe ſits faſt; but being left dry at low-water by the ſea, which retires five or ſix leagues, the ſailors have time to croſs the ſands to ſhore: for the *makkrea*, or tide, returns with ſuch violence, as hath been mentioned before, that no veſſel can withſtand its force. *Sirian* ſtands about ſix leagues from the bar of *Pegu* river, and forty miles from the city of *Pegu* itſelf[s]. But as the violent tides above-mentioned render the navigation thither dangerous, ſo goods are commonly landed at *Sirian*, and carried from thence, by the inland chanel before deſcribed, as far as a place called *Makkao*; where they are again put on ſhore, and conveyed by land to the city of *Pegu*, which is twelve miles diſtant.

Temples of Kiakkiak, In the neighbourhood of *Sirian* ſtand the two moſt remarkable pagods in all the dominions of the *Peguan*, or *Avan*, empire. One is about ſix miles to the ſouthward, called *Kiakkiak*, or the temple of *the god of gods*; and, as it is built in a high champain country, it may be ſeen eight leagues off. Within it is an image twenty yards long, lying in a ſleeping poſture; and by the tradition of the natives has lain in that poſture above 6000 years. His doors and windows are always open, every body having the liberty to ſee him; and *and of Dagun.* when he awakes, this world is to be annihilated. The other temple ſtands in a low plain to the north of *Sirian*, about the ſame diſtance, and is called *Dagun* (Q). His doors and windows are always ſhut, nor do any enter but his prieſts; who will not tell what ſhape he is of, farther than that he is not of human ſhape. As ſoon as *Kiakkiak* has deſtroyed this world, *Dagon*, or *Dagun*, will gather up the fragments, and make a new one. There are yearly fairs held near theſe

[r] Balbi, p. 97. De Faria, Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 127.
[s] Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 32.

(Q) According to *De Faria*, the name of the idol (or god worſhipped here) is *Biay*.

temples;

temples; and the offerings made at those fairs are for the use of those holy places [t]. Kosmin city.

THIS is the account given by a late author who saw both temples (R): but two earlier travellers have given a more particular account of that called *Dogon*, or *Dagon*. It stands in or near the city of *Dogon*, which lies on the north side of the chanel of *Negrais*. It is about two days journey from the city of *Pegu*, and so near to *Sirian*, that the *makkrea*, or violent tide, rises there to a very great height, so as to cover the stairs at the landing-place consisting of twenty steps. From the landing-place they pass through a street above a mile long, where the priests live in gilded houses. At the end of the street stands the temple, to which one ascends by a large stair-case of ninety steps. At the foot of it were two tigers of stone, in a saliant attitude; on the top, two angels, with triple crowns on their heads. The temple itself is round, and of stone, gilt all over. On the left hand is a beautiful hall, carved and gilt both inside and out: this is a kind of chapel, where the people resort to hear the *Talepoys* preach. The king of *Pegu*, and all the royal family, used to attend the anniversary festival of this pagod, there to receive absolution of their sins. At this time a great fair is kept, for the convenience of the multitudes, who resort thither either for devotion, or sake of trade. In a hall, at the first landing-place (for there are three), coming down, was a vast bell, seven paces three palms in circumference, inscribed all over with curious characters. But the natives could neither give any account of them, nor how the bell came thither. *The latter described.*

To the westward of *Sirian*, on the same coast, about forty-five leagues distant, is *Kosmî*, or *Kosmîn*, formerly a port of great resort for *Indian* shipping; which here landed their goods to be conveyed in *paros*, a kind of barges, or large boats, by the inland chanel, to *Pegu*. This is a very handsome town, delightfully situated, facing the north-east by east. But as the neighbouring country is full of woods, infested with tigers, wild boars, and monkies; the inhabitants raise their houses, built with bambous, on piles, several feet above the ground, to avoid those animals; especially the tigers, who frequently in the night enter the town, and carry off both men and cattle [u]. There is no other port betwixt *Kosmîn* *City of* Kosmin.

[t] HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 57, & seq. FITCH, apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1739.

[u] BALBI, p. 65.

(R) According to the draught published by captain *Hamilton*, their figure is like a cone, or sugar-loaf, hollowing towards the middle.

and

Martavân *province.* and that called *Negrais*, in the ſmaller iſland of this name: for there are two, one very large to the north and weſt; the other not above three leagues long, which lies at the mouth of the river of *Negrais*, along which goods are conveyed to *Sirian* and *Pegu*.

Iſles off the coaſt. OFF this ſouthern coaſt of *Pegu* lie ſeveral iſlands; as 1. The *Cocos*; ſo called from its being full of cocoa-nut trees, about twenty leagues weſt ſouth-weſt from cape *Negrais*. 2. The *Perperies*, thirty-ſix leagues ſouth of the ſame cape. They are high iſlands, overgrown with woods, and ſurrounded with ſunk rocks. 3. *Kommoda*, a ſmall iſland about ten leagues from the coaſt. All the above-mentioned iſles are uninhabited.

Martavan *city.* THE eaſtern coaſt of *Pegu* has ſeveral ports upon it. The firſt is *Martabân*, or *Martavân*: it lies about 100 miles to the ſouth of the city of *Pegu*, the way by land lying moſtly through woods and plains. It was formerly capital of a rich and pretty powerful kingdom, before the *Pegu* monarchs began to extend their dominions under the *Barma* kings. But the firſt of this race, having conquered *Pegu*, fell next on *Martavân* in 1545, with a vaſt army; and, having compelled its king *Chambayna* to ſurrender himſelf, put him, his queen, and all her women, to moſt cruel deaths: after which he plundered and ruined the city. He likewiſe cauſed ſhips to be ſunk in the river, to hinder the navigation of it; in which condition it ſtill continues. Yet ſtill a trade is carried on for fiſh and earthen-ware; eſpecially thoſe large jars for holding wine or water, in great requeſt all over the *Indies*: ſome are ſo large as to hold the quantity of two hogſheads [x].

AFTER the deſtruction of *Pegu* in 1600, the king of *Siam* took *Martavân*, and laid it waſte: however, it ſoon recovered, and had a king of its own about 1604; to whoſe daughter the famous *De Brito* and *Nicote*, the *Portugueſe* king of *Pegu*, married his eldeſt ſon: but after the king of *Ava* had taken *Sirian*, and impaled the mock king, he obliged the king of *Martavân* to put his ſon-in-law to death [y], in 1614.

Tavay, *frontier town* *PEGU* extends ſouthward as far as *Tavay*, a town and iſland in the gulf of the ſame name. It was formerly capital of a petty kingdom, which was conquered by the king of *Ava* (or of *Pegu*, removed to *Ava*), in the year laſt above-mentioned [z]. Plenty of *kalain*, or *kalaia* wood grows there.

[x] DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 348. HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 39, 62.
[y] DE FARIA, ubi ſupra, p. 139, 193. [z] Ibid. p. 197.
[a] BALBI, ubi ſupr. p. 120.

IN

In the history of those times we frequently meet with a city called *Satan*, or *Zatan*, but nothing which gives any light as to its situation; only it is said, that the king of *Siam* advanced so far in the year 1583 [y]. This, however, we take to be the same with the port of *Zayton*, mentioned by *Nicholas de Conti*; who, having past down the river from *Ava*, came thither and put to sea about the year 1430 [z]. *Manners, customs.*

SECT. II.

Inhabitants of Pegu; *their Customs, Religion, and Government.*

THE inhabitants of *Pegu* are a mixture of natives, whom some authors term *Peguers*, and *Barmas* (by many called *Bramas*), who conquered them, and are at present masters of the country: but although they dwell one among another, yet they are distinguished not only by their features but their dress. *Inhabitants.*

With regard to their persons, there is a great disagreement among authors. Some say the men are very ugly [a]; others, that they are well-shaped and featured [b]; some, that they are monstrous fat [c]; others, that they are plump, but few of them fat: they are of an olive complexion [d]; or, as others express it, are rather tawny than black, like the people of *Arrakan* [e]. They wear no beards, but pull out the hairs with pincers; yet leaving a few in one place or other of the face. They have naturally very white teeth, but make them black, that they may not appear white, like those of dogs [f] (A). *Shape and features.*

Some give the people of *Pegu* a very good character, as being of a mild, humane, and very charitable disposition; while others represent them to be the most corrupt in their manners of all the *Indian* nations. They particularly brand *Character.*

[y] Pimenta ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746. [z] See Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 158. [a] Faria Portug. Asia, vol. i. p. 227. [b] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 49. [c] Balbi, p. 106. [d] Hamilt. ibid. [e] Sheldon apud Ovingt. voy. to Surat, p. 589. [f] Fitch apud. Purch. ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 1741.

(A) They ought rather to covet to appear like them; if, as we are told, they give themselves out to be descended from a *Chinese* dog and a woman; who, being the only two creatures saved from shipwreck on the *Pegu* coast, ingendered there: and hence, they say, it is, that the men are very ugly, and not the women; the males taking after their sire, and the females after their mother. *Portug. Asia*, vol. i. p. 228.

the women as having ſhook off all modeſty, on account of their dreſs, expoſing ſome parts of their bodies, which ought to be concealed from ſight[g]: but how far this charge may be juſt will appear preſently. The females are much whiter than the men; low of ſtature, but well-ſhaped; their faces pretty plump; their arms and legs well-proportioned; their hands and feet ſmall[h].

Dreſs of the men, and women.

THE dreſs of the men is a coat or frock of painted calico, girt with a *lungee*, or ſcarf, about the middle, and falling down as low as their feet, which are bare; for neither ſtockings nor ſhoes are worn in *Pegu*. The habit of the women is very ſingular. Their head-dreſs is their own black hair tied up behind; and, when they go abroad, they wear a *ſhawl* folded up, or a piece of white cotton cloth lying looſe on the top of their heads. Their raiment is firſt a frock of ſilk, or calico, fitted to their bodies, and the ſleeves made very tight to the arms. This frock reaches half-way down the thighs; and under it they have a ſcarf, or *lungee*, four-double, which is made faſt round the waiſt, and deſcends almoſt to the ancle; ſo contrived, that at every ſtep as they walk, it opens before and ſhews the right leg (B), with part of the thigh[i]. Some travellers go farther, and ſay the women go naked, with only a cloth before, which, as they walk, opens and ſhews their ſecret parts. This is the immodeſty with which they are accuſed in the preceding paragraph: but this, we are told, is not a faſhion brought in by the female ſex in this country through wantonneſs, but impoſed on them many ages ago by a certain queen (C); in order, by that means, to draw the inclinations of the men, then ſtrangely addicted to ſodomy, towards the ſex.

Odd cuſtom

THEY tell you, that this neglect of women had ſo far put a ſtop to propagation, that *Pegu*, by degrees, became very thin of inhabitants. The queen therefore, effectually to prevent that unnatural vice which occaſioned it, introduced another ſtill more extraordinary cuſtom: for ſhe made a law that the males, as ſoon as they arrived at a certain age (D), ſhould

[g] SHELDON, ubi ſupra. [h] HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 49.
[i] BALBI, p. 107. FITCH apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1741. HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 29.

(B) *Balbi* ſays, that the cotton gown which they wear is ſlit in four parts; becauſe, in walking, they affect to ſhew both their legs.

(C) Called *Canane*. See *Portug. Aſia*, vol. i. p. 228.

(D) Some ſay, at the age of twenty-five or thirty; others, when they are of an age capable of making uſe of women.

have

have balls, or bells, inſerted, one on each ſide of the virile member, between the ſkin and the fleſh, which is opened for that purpoſe, and healed in ſeven or eight days! Authors differ about the ſize of theſe bells; ſome ſay, they are big as hazel nuts, others as walnuts. *Linſchoten* affirms, they are the ſize of *acorns*; and *Fitch*, that ſome are as large as hens eggs; but the leaſt, as big as a ſmall walnut. Theſe balls or bells are round, and of divers metals, as gold, ſilver, braſs, or lead, according to the degree of the perſon who wears them; the coſtlier ſort being for the king and his nobles; for all, it ſeems, are obliged to obey this law; which, in appearance, muſt be no leſs grievous than that of circumciſion. *of wearing bells*

BOTH the men and women, we are told, are delighted with theſe bells, which have a ſweet ſound. They are ſold by old women, who ſeem to be the operators for furniſhing the male ſex with theſe ornaments. *Linſchoten* brought one of them with him from the *Indies* to *Holland*; and relates a ſtrange management practiſed on the females (D) when young; which, though it may appear incredible to moſt readers, is yet confirmed by other earlier travellers, as well as ſolemnly atteſted by himſelf [k]. *in theſe countries.*

THIS cuſtom, or law, of wearing bells, we are told, is in uſe among the people of *Ava*, *Lanjang*, or *Laos*, *Siam*, and the *Barmas*: *Conti* particularly mentions, that he found it practiſed at *Ava*, and the bells ſold by old women [l]. After ſo many credible teſtimonies relating to this matter, it might ſeem unreaſonable to doubt the truth of it; and yet neither captain *Hamilton*, who was at *Pegu* the beginning of the preſent century; nor Mr. *Sheldon*, who wrote an account of *Pegu* about the year 1685, mention any thing of theſe bells, although they ſpeak of the peculiarity of the womens dreſs. Poſſibly, the cauſe being at length removed, that painful cuſtom has been aboliſhed; although, to prevent a relapſe, the looſe dreſs of the women is ſtill kept up as a provocative.

THE dreſs of the *Barmas* differs ſomewhat from that of the *Peguers*. Their coat is a thin *Betella*, ſo that their ſkin may be ſeen through it. About their loins they have a large *lungee*, which reaches to their ancles, and is gathered at the Barmas *how dreſſed.*

[k] BALBI, p. 126. FITCH, ubi ſupra, p. 1741. LINSCHOT. p. 29. [l] CONTI, apud PURCH. vol. iii. p. 150.

(D) *Viz.* That their parents ſow up their private parts, leaving only a ſmall orifice, which is enlarged by a ſurgeon at the time of marriage. *Linſchoten* ſaw one of thoſe women; and had the fact confirmed, by the ſurgeon who performed the operation.

navel, in a round bundle as big as a child's head. They imprint several devices in their skins, which, for that purpose, they prick with bodkins; and, rubbing charcoal-dust over the punctures while fresh, the black marks remain ever after. This is an ornament appropriated to themselves, and which the *Peguers* dare not assume: so that the people of one nation may easily be distinguished from those of the other [m].

People's diet. THE inhabitants of *Pegu* are accused by some authors with being slovenly in their houses and nasty in their diet; on account of seasoning their victuals with *sidol*, made of stinking fish, in the same manner as practised in *Arrakan*, so nauseous and offensive that none but themselves can endure the smell of it [n]. *Balbi* says, he could sooner bear the scent of stinking carrion; and yet with this they season their rice and other soops, instead of butter or oil. He adds, that all the grandees, and even the king, eat of this fish, of which they are as fond as *Europeans* of sturgeon [o]. But a late traveller only says, that the ingredients which the king puts into his boiled rice to give it a relish, are made of shrimps dried and powdered, mixed with some salt and cod-pepper [p]; without ascribing to it any smell or taste which is offensive. Perhaps he had not examined it, or other authors censure it without reason; since they speak as reproachfully of the *assa fœtida*, which is the seasoning used by the more western *Indians*, although it appears to have been the famous *silphium* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and is indeed a refinement of rocambole, as this latter is of garlick, which yet the *Europeans* are so fond of. However that be, the people of *Pegu* have plenty of excellent provisions, both of quadrupeds and fowls, wild and tame, as well as of fish. As they have no wheat in the country, their bread is rice made into cakes. Their common drink is water, nor have they any wine: but, instead thereof, use the juice drawn by incision from a tree, which they call *Anmipa* (E); a liquor very pleasant to the palate. By way of regale they chew *betel*, like all the rest of the *Indians* in both peninsulas.

A stinking sauce.

Their marriages: THE men here, as in most other eastern countries, buy their wives, or pay their parents a dowry for them. If, after cohabiting with his wife for a time, the husband dislikes

[m] HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 48, & seq. [n] TOSSI, l. 2. p. 69. apud OVINGT. p. 590. [o] BALBI, p. 125. [p] HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 42.

(E) Some call it *nipa*, or *niper* wine: the best is made at *Tanasserin*, a port belonging to *Siam*, to the south of *Martavân*. It is distilled from cocoa-nut water. See *Cæsar Frederic* ap. *Hackluyt*'s voy. part 2. p. 231. and *Linschot*. p. 30.

either

either her perſon or temper, he has liberty to divorce, and ſend her home again. On the other ſide, if either the woman, or her friends, diſlike the man, they may take her away from him; but, in that caſe, muſt return the dowry which the huſband gave for her [q].

THEY have an odd cuſtom in *Pegu*, which is to offer their daughters to ſtrangers, and hire them out for a time. Some ſay, they hire out their wives in the ſame manner. Theſe marriages for a term are well-regulated, and often prove very beneficial to the occaſional huſband. The women are very courteous and kind to ſtrangers in general, but very fond of marrying with *Europeans*; and moſt of the foreigners who trade thither marry a wife for the time of their ſtay. The ceremony is this: when the parties are agreed, the bride's parents, or neareſt friends, invite the relations or friends of both parties to an entertainment; at the end of which the father, or bride-man, aſketh them, before the company, if they are willing to live together as man and wife? And on their anſwering in the affirmative, he declares them lawfully married: after which the bridegroom carries his wife home; or, if he hath no houſe of his own, conſummates the marriage in that where it was performed [r]. *Some, for a time.*

THESE wives prove very obliging and obedient: they take the management of the houſe upon them, go to market, dreſs the victuals, and take care of their huſbands clothes, as to mending and waſhing. In caſe the man has any commodities to ſell, the wife ſets up a ſhop, and diſpoſes of them by retale, to much better account than they could be ſold for by wholeſale. Some of them carry goods into the inland towns, and barter for ſuch as are proper for the foreign markets to which her huſband is bound. If ſhe be convicted of inconſtancy, her huſband may carry her to the *rounday*, or *court-houſe*, where, having her hair cut off, he may ſell her for a ſlave. On the other hand, in caſe he goes aſtray, ſhe will be apt to revenge herſelf by poiſon. In caſe of ſeparation, the father is obliged to take care of the boys, and the mother of the girls: but the children cannot be carried out of the country without the king's permiſſion; which yet may be purchaſed for forty or fifty pounds. The marriage may be continued even in the huſband's abſence in other countries, provided he leaves a fund to pay his wife about ſix ſhillings and eight-pence a month; otherwiſe, at the year's end, ſhe may marry again: but, if the ſaid ſum be paid her, ſhe is obliged *Convenience of ſuch temporary wives.*

[q] BALBI, p. 127. [r] LINSCHOT. p. 29. OVINGT. p. 590. HAMILT. p. 50.

to ſtay the term of three years [s]. *Sheldon* ſays, that in caſe during ſuch huſband's abſence, another ſhould marry her, he would be obliged to reſtore her to the former, during his continuance in the place; nor is a woman looked on the worſe, but rather the better, for having had ſeveral *European* huſbands [t]. Nay, we are told, that no perſon of faſhion in *Pegu*, from the gentleman to the king, will marry a maiden, till ſome acquaintance, or ſtranger, has had the firſt night's lodging with her [u].

Inheritances. In *Pegu*, the inheritance of all lands is in the king: he is likewiſe the heir of all his ſubjects who die without iſſue; but in caſe they have children, two thirds go to them, and the reſt to his majeſty [x].

Muſical inſtruments. The people of this country have various ſorts of muſic, among which the pipe and tabor are moſt eſteemed; although their ſtringed inſtruments pleaſed our author beſt. They have one kind in ſhape of a galley, about three feet in length, and eight or ten inches broad, and ſix deep: on the upper belly of it are faſtened about twenty bells, of different ſizes and tones, which are beaten with a ſtick of heavy wood, and make no contemptible harmony [y].

Diſeaſes. The air of *Pegu* is ſo healthy, that it is not afflicted with many diſeaſes, which other countries, wanting the ſame benefit, are ſubject to. However, the ſmall-pox is dreaded through all the provinces; but chiefly in that of *Kirian* (F), where it makes great ravages, and is conſidered as peſtiferous: ſo that when any one is found to have catched this cruel diſtemper, the whole neighbourhood fly, as from the plague, and build new houſes to dwell in two or three miles diſtant. At their departure, they leave with the ſick perſon a jar of water, a baſket of raw rice, with ſome earthen pots to boil it in; and then bid him farewel for one-and-twenty days. If the patient recovers, which can only happen in caſe he has ſtrength enough to riſe and boil his food, at the expiration of that term they carry him to their new plantation [z].

Phyſicians. Among the *Peguers*, the prieſts are their principal phyſicians: however, we are told, that, for the general, when any perſon falls ſick, he makes a vow to the devil, from whom they believe all evil comes. Then a ſcaffold is built, and victuals ſpread on the top of it, to ſolace *old Nic*, and

[s] Balbi, p. 127. Hamilt. p. 51. [t] Ovingt. p. 591. Hamilt. p. 51. [u] Linschot. p. 29. [x] Balbi, p. 127. [y] Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 57. [z] Ibid. p. 59, & 61.

(F) A miſtake, doubtleſs, for *Sirian*,

render

render him propitious. This feaſt is accompanied with lighted candles and muſic. The whole is managed by an undertaker called the devil's father: and although their prieſts forbid ſuch practices, yet the people are too fond of this ancient cuſtom to obey their commands [a].

Commerce.

We have already given a general view of the trade of *Pegu*, in treating of *Sirian*, which is its only port at preſent. The commodities exported from thence are gold, ſilver, rubies, muſk, benjamin, long-pepper, tin, lead, copper, *lakka* (or gum lack, whereof they make hard wax), rice, rice-wine, and ſome ſugar-canes, of which they would have plenty, but that the elephants eat them [b]. It may be obſerved, that, under the name of rubies, the *Peguers* compriſe topazes, ſapphires, amethiſts, and other ſtones, which they diſtinguiſh, by ſaying the blue, the violet, and the yellow rubies. The true ruby is red, tranſparent, and ſparkling; inclining, near the ſurface, to the violet of the amethiſt. They are found in the mountains of *Kapelan*, or *Kablan*; and in thoſe which ſtretch from *Pegu* to *Kamboja* [c].

Commodities.

Cotton cloths, from *Bengâl* and *Choromandel*, with ſome ſtriped ſilks, are beſt for the *Pegu* market: and ſilver of any ſort will go off there; for the king, in return for his eight and an half *per cent.* duty on it, allows the merchants to melt it down, and put what copper alloy they pleaſe in it: ſo that *Rupî* ſilver, which has no alloy, will bear twenty-eight *per cent.* of copper, and keep the *Pegu* touch, which they call flowered ſilver; for if it flowers, it paſſes current. Their way to make flowered ſilver is this: they caſt the ſilver and copper into ſhallow moulds; and, while the metal is in fuſion, blow on the ſurface through a wooden pipe, which produces the figures of flowers or ſtars. But, if there is too great a mixture of alloy, no figures will appear: nor did our author ever know of any foreigner who had the art of making this kind of ſilver.

Flowered ſilver.

They wear none of our *European* commodities in *Pegu*, but hats and ribbons. The gentry will give extravagant prices for fine beaver hats, which they wear without any cocks. They are no leſs fond of ribbons, flowered with gold and ſilver, which they wear round their hats at full breadth, be they ever ſo broad [d].

[a] Balbi, p. 124. [b] Freder. apud Hakl. vol. ii. p. 237. Balbi, p. 108. Fitch apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1739.
[c] Ovingt. p. 585. [d] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 41.

ALL commodities are ſold by certain *Tarreka*, or *Taregha*, that is, *brokers* (G), with whom the merchants bargain; and the buyer may return them, in caſe he finds himſelf impoſed on, after having had them in his poſſeſſion three or four days: which is looked on as a great diſgrace to the broker. One ignorant in jewels ſhall be as well ſerved as he who has ſkill. Their way of bargaining is very ſingular and convenient: for as many merchants come to buy at the ſame time, and their knowing what one another paid for their parcels might occaſion diſputes or murmurings; therefore, that none may know how the rubies are ſold, excepting the buyer, the broker and merchant put their hands under a cloth, and, by touching each other's fingers, and nipping their joints, each of which has its ſignification, know what is bidden, and what is aſked.

Way of buying goods.

No riſks in dealing.

ALL other goods are likewiſe ſold by brokers, who are allowed two *per cent.* for their trouble; and are obliged to ſee you paid the ſums agreed for by the purchaſer. He is properly your pay-maſter; and if he does not ſatisfy you punctually on the fixed day for payment, you may carry him home with you, and confine him in your houſe. After this, in caſe he does not diſcharge the debt immediately, you may ſeize his wife, children, and ſlaves; whom you may bind at your door, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun, according to the law of the country. Thus the merchant ſcarce ever runs the riſk of loſing his money; only he is often delayed longer than he would chooſe, by being obliged to give two or three months credit. Payments are made in *Ganza*, or *Ganſa* (H), a kind of braſs coin, and the only one; for gold and ſilver are commodities, and bought like rubies. Payments, it is true, are often made in ſilver; but as the receiver is apt to be impoſed on, by reaſon of the great difference of alloy, and difficulty of knowing the real value, it is therefore ſafer to agree to be paid in *Ganza*; which goes by a weight called *Biza*, whoſe value is about half-a-crown *Engliſh*, or ſomewhat leſs[e].

Current coin.

[e] FREDER. ubi ſupra, p. 239. BALBI, p. 107. FITCH ubi ſupra, p. 1739.

(G) *Cæſar Frederic* ſays there are four: *Fitch* ſays eight. Their number may have varied at different times.

(H) Or a mixture of copper and lead.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Religion of Pegu.

THE religion of *Pegu* is the ſame, at bottom, with that which prevails over the reſt of *India* and *Tibet*, only varies its dreſs ſomewhat in different countries; according to the humour or intereſt of the prieſts, who every-where like to have a religion of their own. They hold the exiſtence of one ſupreme God, the Creator of all things, of whom they make no image; and the worſhip of him is monopolized by the prieſts, the people not being thought worthy of paying their homage to ſo exalted a being. For this reaſon other inferior and created gods are ſet apart for them; the chief of whom are, *Somma Kuddom*, *Samſay*, and *Prawpout*, whoſe images are ſet up in their *Baws*, or *temples*, for the laity to worſhip [a]. Not content with theſe, and many more ſubaltern, gods, we are told they worſhip the devil alſo. In ſickneſs they make feaſts to appeaſe him, as hath been already obſerved. Many are ſeen to run about the ſtreets every morning, with rice in one hand, and a torch in the other, crying aloud, that *they go to give the devil his breakfaſt, that he might not hurt them all the day*. Others, before they eat, throw part of their meat over their ſhoulder to feed him. At *Tavſay* they fill their houſes with proviſions, and then leave them for three months, for the devils to come and revel there; in expectation that they will be propitious to them all the reſt of the year. For all this care to ſooth the evil ſpirit, they are ſo afraid of him, that they will run, as if really poſſeſſed, from a man in a maſk, leſt he ſhould prove a devil come out of hell to torment them [b].

Their religion.

One ſupreme being.

Many inferior gods.

THE *Portugueſes* knowing the *Peguers* to be a very ſuperſtitious people, though not more ſo than themſelves; when the famous ape's tooth was taken by them in the iſland of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*, about the year 1559, ſome were for having it ſent to *Pegu* to be ſold, concluding, that it would yield an extraordinary price [c]: but although the viceroy choſe to burn it, two or three counterfeits ſoon appeared, and one of them was impoſed on the king of *Pegu* for genuine.

Ape's tooth worſhiped.

BESIDES the *Manichean* doctrine of two principles, one the author of good, the other of evil, from whence their worſhiping the devil has its riſe, they believe an eternal ſucceſſion of worlds, without creation; and a multiplicity of

Succeſſion of worlds.

[a] HAMILT. p. 53. [b] BALBI, p. 126. OVINGT. p. 591.
[c] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 208.

gods

gods to govern them. For inſtance, they ſay that, for the government of the preſent world, five different gods were appointed by the ſupreme being, of whom four have been removed, their time of ruling being expired. They add, that above 2200 years have elapſed, ſince the death (or diſappearance) of the fourth; ſo that they ſuddenly expect the coming of the fifth: after whoſe departure the world itſelf ſhall be deſtroyed with fire, that a new one, phœnix-like, may ſpring out of its aſhes.

Tranſmigration of ſouls. THE *Peguers* hold the doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, or tranſmigration of the human ſoul, which, after paſſing thro' the bodies of various animals, ſhall attain to the perfections and felicity of their gods; which, in effect, is no other than a ſtate of annihilation: for having made its progreſs through the beaſts, birds, and other creatures, it is received into *Naxak*, that is, *the place of torments*. After a long confinement there, they are releaſed, and admitted into *Sevum*, a ſecond receptacle for departed ſouls, replete with all ſorts of ſenſual pleaſures. From hence, after a certain period of time, they arrive at their laſt ſtate, called *Nibam*, which imports as much as a privation of the eſſence both of ſoul and body. However, this is to be ſaid for the *Pegu* prieſts, that they are not ſo wedded to any of the above opinions, as not to be willing enough to hearken to, and even embrace, other doctrines, when they are made known to them.

THEY have a ſtrong opinion of the ſanctity of apes and crocodiles; inſomuch that they believe the perſons to be perfectly happy, who chance to be devoured by them [d].

Their temples, THE temples, or places ſet apart for religious worſhip (A), are generally built of earth within, and caſed on the outſide with ſtone. They are of various ſizes, but all of a conic form. Some are as high as one of our churches, and no leſs than a quarter of a mile round; all gilded towards the top, and many all over, both within and without: which great conſumption of gold has made that metal ſcarce in *Pegu* [e].

and images. THE images of the inferior gods, which are found in their temples, are placed in domes, in a ſitting poſture, with their legs acroſs, and toes of equal length. Their arms and hands very ſmall, in proportion to their bodies: their faces longer than human: their ears long, and the lappets very thick.

[d] OVINGT. p. 594, & ſeq. FITCH ubi ſupra, p. 1739.

[e] FREDER. ubi ſupra, p. 239.

(A) Called *Kiak*, by *Fitch*: and *Baro*, by *Hamilton*. Two famous ones near *Sirian*, deſcribed before.

The

The congregation bow to them when they go in, and when they go out; and that is all the worſhip which they pay to them [f]. *Fitch* could perceive no kind of divine ſervice performed in their churches but that of preaching [g].

THE *Peguers* never repair an old temple; nor is there any occaſion for that piety or expence: for every *September* there is an old cuſtom for men of fortune to play off ſky-rockets; and if any of them fall to the ground, and ſpends its fire without mounting, the owner becomes much dejected; believing the deities are angry with him. On the contrary, if it flies a conſiderable height, he takes it for an infallible ſign of his being in favour with the gods, and never fails to build a new church, which he dedicates to the divinity he adores: and when it is finiſhed, certain prieſts, whoſe temples are gone to decay, remove their images thither, and have the benefice for their pains. *Feaſt of ſky-rockets.*

OUR author, captain *Hamilton*, had ſeen ſome of thoſe rockets ſo large, that one of them would contain above 500 weight of powder and charcoal-duſt, which is their uſual compoſition. Their carcaſe is the trunk of a great tree, made hollow, leaving about two inches of ſolid wood on the outſide. When the ingredients are put in, and well rammed down, they gird the carcaſe very tight, with thongs made of raw buffaloes hides, which, when dry, bind it as cloſe as ſo many hoops. Then, having ſecured the ends, that the compoſition might conſume gradually, they ſuſpend it on a branch of a certain great tree, to which they laſh it, to keep it from falling; and fix a tail to balance it. Some are 120 feet long. After this, the day of ſolemnity being proclaimed, which never fails to bring great numbers of people, of all ranks; when every thing is ready, the owner ſets fire to the rocket; and the laſhings, which faſtened it to the tree, being at the ſame time cut with a hatchet, it takes its flight, either upward or downward, as hath been before-mentioned. *Monſtrous large ones.*

A LITTLE while after this they have another feaſt called *Kollok*, at which time women are picked out of the people aſſembled, to perform a dance to the gods of the earth. Hermaphrodites, who are numerous in *Pegu*, are commonly choſen, in caſe there happens to be a number ſufficient to make up a ſet. Our author ſaw nine dance like mad folks, for above half an hour; and then ſome of them fell in fits, foaming at the mouth for half an hour more. When they come to themſelves, they pretend to foretell what will hap- *Hermaphrodites.*

[f] HAMILT. p. 54. [g] FITCH apud Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1740.

pen

pen that year: as, whether there will be plenty or ſcarcity of grain; whether it will be a healthy or ſickly ſeaſon; and other things of moment; which they learned in their converſation with the gods, while they were in the trance [h].

Other feſtivals. BESIDES the feſtivals above-mentioned, the *Peguers* obſerve ſeveral others, which they call *Sapan*. Of theſe are in moſt eſteem, firſt, *Sapan Jakia*: this is held about twelve miles from the city of *Pegu*, where the king, queen, and whole court, were obliged to be preſent, with great pomp and ſplendor; their majeſties riding in a triumphal car, drawn by eight white horſes, and decked with jewels of ineſtimable value.

2. THAT of *Katena*, or the temple ſo called, is held in the city itſelf. On this occaſion the chief men erect pillars and pyramids of different faſhions, erected in cars, each drawn by 300 perſons. At night the ſtreets are illuminated, that the people may ſee their way to the temple.

3. THE *Sapan* called *Jaymo Sejenon*, in honour of another inferior deity, at which appeared the king and queen, in their triumphal car, richly dreſſed, as at the firſt feſtival.

Feaſt of water. 4. THE *Sapan Dayka*, that is, *the feaſt of water*, is kept in the old city. The king and queen attending, as at other times, firſt entered a gilt palace, and bathed in roſe-water. Then the officers and great men, being aſſembled in a neighbouring field, threw cups of water on one another, to ſuch a degree, that they looked as if ducked in the river. At this time there was no paſſing in the ſtreets, without being ſoundly wetted with water, thrown from the windows.

Rowing for prizes. THE fifth *Sapan*, called *Donon*, is held at the city of *Makkao*, whither the king and queen uſed to repair in their gilt bark, and land at a beautiful palace, richly gilt alſo. From hence the king went to another palace, without the city, to ſee the courtiers row in their *paros*, or barks, two in each, upon the river, for prizes. The firſt which arrived at the palace gained a little image of gold; the ſecond, one of ſilver; the reſt had nothing, except the laſt, whoſe rowers, by way of jeſt, were preſented with a widow's weeds. This feaſt laſts a whole moon, or *Peguan* month [i].

Talepoy, *or prieſts.* THE prieſts of *Pegu*, who are called *Talepoy*, are a kind of mixture of the popiſh monks and friars: they obſerve celibacy, and eat but once a day. Their dreſs is a long frock, girt with a leathern thong, four inches broad, at which hangs a bag for receiving alms, for they have no ſtipends; and in

[h] HAMILT. p. 55, & ſeq. [i] BALBI, p. 119, 121. FITCH ubi ſupra, p. 1740. OVINGT. p. 596.

caſe

caſe the few acres, which every one who builds a temple beſtows for their maintenance, be not ſufficient, they ſend ſome novices abroad, to beg alms. Theſe mendicants are clad with a large orange-coloured mantle, and have a little baſket hanging at their left arm. In the left hand they carry a little drum, and a little ſtick in the right, with which, when they come to people's doors, they beat three ſtrokes. If nobody anſwers, they beat a ſecond and a third time; but then, if the houſe continues ſilent, they go on to the next, without ſpeaking one word. Yet they are ſeldom ſent away without an alms of rice, pulſe, fruits, or roots, which are their only food [k]; for the people have them in great veneration, on account of their exemplary lives: inſomuch that they drink the water in which the bodies of the *Talepoy* are waſhed, according to cuſtom, once every year. *Kind of mendicant friars.*

THEY dwell in the woods, in a ſort of neſts or cages, built on the tops of trees, for fear of the tigers. Their lives are innocent, and they are very humane. They were the beſt obſervers of the rules of morality and charity that captain *Hamilton* met with in all his travels. The people too were generally pious and hoſpitable. They preach frequently; aſſembling the people every new moon, or, as others ſay, every *Monday*, by the ſound of a bell or baſon. Their ſubject or text is ſome precept of the law of nature, which they think ſufficient to ſalvation, without regard to ſpeculative doctrines, and is attended with very good effects on their auditors. They teach charity, as the moſt ſublime of all virtues, and have no religious controverſies. Perſecution is a ſtranger to them: nor are they offended if any of their people embrace a different faith: they ſay the mind is a free agent, and muſt not be forced. They even go ſo far as to hold all religions to be good, and ſay that the deity is pleaſed with variety [m]. *Dwell in woods.*

THE *Talepoy* have a kind of hierarchy among them, and a high-prieſt, who is ſtiled *Rawli*. All the clergy have ſumptuous funerals, made at the expence of the people: their bodies are burnt on a pile of coſtly wood, and the aſhes caſt into the river. When a high-prieſt dies, his corps is kept embalmed for three or four months. At the time appointed for his funeral, they erect four maſts in the ground about 100 yards one from the other, with a very tall one in the middle, round which they build three ſcaffolds, railed *Several orders.*

[k] BALBI, p. 123. FITCH ubi ſupra. OVINGT. p. 593. HAMILT. p. 52. [l] BALBI ubi ſupra, p. 123. [m] OVINGT. p. 593. HAMILT. p. 52.

about;

Their government. about; the lowermoſt largeſt, and the higheſt leaſt. Theſe they fill with combuſtibles; and, on ropes drawn tight from the middle maſt to the corner ones, place rockets. Then, the corps being laid along on the upper ſcaffold, a trumpet is blown; at the ſound whereof the rockets are fired, which, in an inſtant, ſet all in a flame: ſo that, in an hour, the whole is conſumed [n].

SECT. IV.

Government of Pegu.

Of the King and Nobility.

Orders of nobility. THE kingdom of *Pegu*, being at preſent annexed to that of *Ava*; and conſequently ſubject to the ſame laws, we ſhall poſtpone what we have to ſay in relation to affairs of government, till we come to treat of *Ava*; and proceed to ſpeak of ſuch matters as concern the king and nobility of *Pegu*, before the diſſolution of that monarchy, in the year 1600.

THE nobility of *Pegu* are diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral orders, of which we find mention of two. The firſt *Baja*, who are the ſame with our dukes: and *Semini*, or *Shemini* (A), who are the commanders, great officers of ſtate, and the barons [a]. Beſides theſe, we meet with two other titles of honour and dignity: one *Najiran*, which ſignifies *lord*; the other *Banna*, or *Bayna*, which we find tacked to the names of great men; as *Chau-bayna*, king of *Martavân*; *Banna Dola*, from whom *Sirian* was taken by *Nicote*.

Their ſlaviſh ſubjection. THESE nobles are in a kind of ſlaviſh ſubjection to the king, who takes care to keep up that ſervile obedience among his chiefs and great men, by employing them in acts of labour, very unbecoming the dignity of noblemen. While *Balbi* was in *Pegu*, about 1586, they were commanded to go and help in building a gallery and aqueduct; which order they put in execution: nor were they excuſed from going on with the work, although it rained heavily; but, with ſpades in their hands, were ſeen to dig the ground like other labourers; the king being preſent, to ſee that they were not idle [b].

[n] OVINGT. p. 594. HAMILT. p. 60. [a] BALBI, p. 103. [b] Ibid. p. 119.

(A) According to *Fitch*, all the nobility are included under the title of *Shemines*.

THIS prince appears in great pomp, and is treated with the higheſt reverence by all his ſubjects. In his public audiences, which he gives twice every day, all his *Shemines*, or nobles, ſit on each ſide of him, at a good diſtance; and without them is a numerous guard. The court-yard, facing the hall of audience, is very large; and when any perſon has a mind to apply himſelf to his majeſty, he makes his proſtrations in this manner: he firſt kneels down; and then lifting his hands to his head, bows it to the ground three times. This he does three times, *viz.* when he enters the court, when he is advanced half way, and when he draws near the king. After this he ſits down, and talks with his majeſty, at a greater or leſſer diſtance, according as the king likes him. *Reverence paid the king.*

WHEN he rides abroad, he is attended with a great guard, and many noblemen. He often appears upon an elephant, in a little caſtle or pavilion, richly gilded. Sometimes he ſhews himſelf in a kind of coach, called *Serrion:* it conſiſts of a great frame, like a horſe-litter, on which is placed a ſort of ſmall houſe, covered at top, but open on the ſide, all over gilded, and ſet with rubies and ſapphires. This machine is carried on the ſhoulders of ſixteen or eighteen men, and generally accompanied with the acclamations and feaſtings of the people[c]. The triumphal car or waggon, which he rides in when he attends the feaſts above-mentioned, is drawn by ſixteen horſes: 'tis all over gilded, and raiſed very high, with a ſumptuous canopy over it The car is followed by twenty lords, each holding a rope, which is faſtened to it, in order to keep it from falling. Upon the car ſtand four of the king's favourites, attending him: and round it are all the nobility of his kingdom, the army marching before. It is ſurpriſing to ſee ſo much ſplendor and good order among ſuch multitudes of people, who are, by *Europeans*, reckoned *Barbarians*. *Pomp in going abroad.*

THE king, in hearing the complaints of his ſubjects, never ſpeaks to, or is ſpoken to by, them: but ſupplications are made to him in the following manner. His majeſty ſits aloft in a great hall, on a tribunal ſeat; and below him ſit all his lords, round about: then the perſons who demand audience enter a ſpacious court, facing the hall, and ſit down promiſcuouſly, at the diſtance of about forty paces from the king, with their petitions in one hand, and a preſent or gift in the other, according to the importance of the matters contained in them. Then the ſecretary advances; and taking the pe- *Public audiences.*

[c] FITCH apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1738.

titions

titions from the ſuitors, reads them aloud; and if his majeſty thinks fit to grant their requeſt, he orders the preſents to be taken from them. But in caſe he thinks their demand not to be juſt or reaſonable, he diſmiſſes them without receivng their gifts. It may be proper to take notice, that the petitions are written with an iron ſtyle on the leaves of trees, about twenty-ſeven inches long, and two broad. In the ſame manner are all writings ingroſſed [d].

Revenues and wealth. THE king of *Pegu*'s revenues ariſe chiefly from the rent of lands, of which he is the ſole proprietor. Another branch of it are the duties paid for commodities imported and exported. The treaſure of the kingdom has been vaſtly increaſed, in former times, by the ſpoil of conquered countries; and what contributed much to prevent their diſſipation, was the king's being at no expence to maintain his ſtanding forces, excepting when in the field. In a word, he was judged to be the richeſt monarch in the world, next to the emperor of *China* [e].

Power and forces. THE forces of the kingdom, during the dominion of the *Barma* race, were exceeding numerous. Thoſe monarchs, by the report of moſt authors, have brought into the field armies amounting to the number of a million, and a million and a half of men; for maintenance of whom he aſſigned lands and towns to his nobles, who were obliged to keep them in time of peace, and, in time of war, bring them into the field. The king then had the charge of providing for them, and found them in pay, clothes, and arms: but, when the war was over, they were all returned into his magazines. It may ſeem hard to conceive where victuals could be had for ſuch numerous forces: but, beſides the great plenty of all neceſſaries of life, it muſt be conſidered, not only that the *Peguers* are very abſtemious in their diet, but alſo that nothing, either of animals or vegetables, comes amiſs to them. They eat the fleſh of all kinds of creatures, even cats, rats, ſerpents, and other vermin: and when that is wanting, provided they have but water and ſalt, they will ſupport themſelves a long time under a buſh, with roots, flowers, and the leaves of trees.

Their arms. THE arms of the ſoldiers are lances, muſkets, ſwords, and targets. Their muſkets are beautiful, and good as the *European:* but their pikes are bad, and ſwords worſe, being no better than long knives with one edge, and without a point. The king had plenty of all ſorts of artillery; but had not

[d] FREDERIC ibid. p. 1716. [e] Ibid. apud Hakl. vol. ii. p. 235. BALBI, p. 110.

ſkilful

ſkilful gunners. He likewiſe wanted ſhip-carpenters and ſailors; and this is the reaſon why he had no naval force, which otherwiſe he might be well provided with. Inſtead of ſhipping, therefore, he contented himſelf with certain pleaſure barges, than which nothing could be more rich and beautiful, being all over gilded, and otherwiſe adorned. Among them there was one, built by the father of the king, who reigned in the year 1586, and kept at *Mekkao*, an inland place; which, for the ſecurity of this veſſel, was ſurrounded with guards. According to *Balbi*, none ever was equal to it in beauty; for it was finiſhed in great perfection, and adorned with great variety of figures, exquiſitely carved, and the whole gilded, amazing to behold. The veſſel was of a vaſt length, but narrow, out of all proportion. It had 150 rowers on each ſide, who, ſitting with each a ſhort oar in his hand, all gilded except the pale, plunged it at once into the water, and drawing it towards them, made the veſſel run forward, as ſwift as an arrow out of bow. It had two gilded rudders: and, in an apartment which poſſeſſed the middle part of the bark, with windows on every ſide, the king uſed to take his pleaſure in the neighbouring rivers. *Their government.*

THIS monarch had no fewer than 800 elephants trained to war, furniſhed with caſtles on their backs, each holding four ſoldiers: and it was thought formerly, that the chief ſtrength of his armies conſiſted in theſe elephants, whoſe number he was able to increaſe at pleaſure from the foreſts. His great power might alſo be judged of from hence, that he had no fewer than 26 crowned heads at his command. *Elephants of war.*

THE kings of *Pegu* had only one wife; but they maintained, beſides, 300 concubines, by whom they had commonly many children: he who reigned in the time of *Cæſar Frederic*, about 1563, was reputed to have had no fewer than ninety [f]. *Wife and concubines.*

THE funeral of a king of *Pegu* uſed to be performed in the following manner. Upon his deceaſe, two barks were ordered to be made, with a beautiful covering, all gilded, which ſerved both veſſels. Under the covering was raiſed a lofty pile or ſcaffolding, gilded likewiſe, on which was laid the royal corpſe: then a good quantity of lignum aloes, ſandal wood, benjamin, muſk, and other odoriferous combuſtibles, being placed about it, they were ſet on fire; and the barks, at the ſame time, put a ſailing down the river of *Pegu*, under the direction of ſome *Talepoi*, who went ſinging and rejoicing. *King's funeral.*

[f] FREDER. ibid. p. 236. BALBI, p. 111. HAMILT. p. 46.

joicing. When the body was burnt, the prieſts took the aſhes, and made them into a paſte with milk. This done, they carried the aſhes, thus amalgamated, to the mouth of the port of *Sirian*, where runs the *Makkrea*, or violent tide, often mentioned before, and threw them into the water when it began to ebb: from hence they repaired to the city *Dogon* (B), and, near the famous temple in that city, built another, where they depoſited the bones of the deceaſed prince. After this they returned to the palace of *Pegu*, and placed the heir upon the throne, with the uſual ceremonies [g].

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Pegu.

Curious, but imperfect.

PEGU was always a kingdom of conſiderable power; and made itſelf ſo famous through the world, by its great conqueſts over the neighbouring countries, in the ſixteenth century, that a complete account of its affairs, from the beginning of the monarchy, would, no doubt, make one of the moſt ſhining figures in a *univerſal hiſtory*. But although we have large relations, written by travellers and others, drawn thither during its flouriſhing ſtate, for ſake either of trade or curioſity; yet thoſe materials are too imperfect, from thence to form any thing like a ſeries, even of all the remarkable tranſactions which have happened, ſince the *Portugueſes* firſt diſcovered *India* by ſea.

The chief authors,

THE chief authors who have furniſhed materials for the *Pegu* hiſtory, from that period, down to the deſtruction of the monarchy in the year 1600, which contains the ſpace of little more than a hundred years, are *Mendez Pinto*, *Cæſar Frederic*, *Gaſparo Balbi*, and *Ralph Fitch*. The firſt of theſe, *Mendez Pinto*, though one of the moſt fabulous among the travellers of theſe latter times, has yet preſerved many important facts, relating to the wars and revolutions which about his time happened in ſeveral *Indian* countries: and it muſt be acknowleged, that to him the public is obliged for what they meet with here, concerning the kings of *Pegu*, down to the year 1550; which compriſes the great revolution brought about by the *Barmas* (commonly called *Bramas*),

[g] BALBI, p. 123.

(B) The bones of the king, who died in 1583, while *Balbi* was at *Pegu*, were buried at *Dogon*, or *Dagun*: but the bones of the former kings were depoſited in ſuch places as they choſe themſelves.

and the firſt increaſings of their power. It is true, this author has blended the truth with ſo many fictions of his own invention, to fill up chaſms, that it is often very difficult to ſeparate one from the other; and many writers, who have depended too much on his veracity, have fallen into very grievous errors. For all this, *Pinto* hath had his advocates: and a late collector (A) has publiſhed his moſt palpable forgeries (B), with which his relation abounds, believing them to be genuine; and, at the ſame time, has omitted the revolutions of *Pegu* (C), which are, perhaps, for the general, the moſt genuine, as well as valuable, part of his book.

FREDERIC, Balbi, and *Fitch*, went to *Pegu* after *Pinto*; the firſt in 1563, and the two latter about 1583. Theſe have continued, in ſome ſort, the account of affairs where *Pinto* left off, down to the year 1587. Thenceforward, to the deſtruction of the monarchy in 1600, we find a ſupply from the letters of the Jeſuits, *Pimenta, Fernandez*, and *Boues*: after which the *Portugueſe Aſia* of *De Faria y Souſa*, affords a few particulars, as low as 1640. From this year, to the preſent time, we meet with ſcarce any thing relating to the hiſtory of *Pegu*, excepting what is found in *Sheldon*'s memoir (D), inſerted in *Ovington*'s voyage to *Surat*; and Capt. *Hamilton*'s new account of the *Eaſt Indies*, which gives us a view of the ſtate of *Pegu*, as part of the dominion of the king of *Ava*, whoſe hiſtory is, in great meaſure, connected with it. *treating of it.*

THE kingdom of *Pegu* was founded about 1100 years ago, and had a ſeaman for its firſt monarch. This prince was ſucceeded by his ſon, who, we are told, lived eighty years, and had for his ſucceſſor his ſon, named *Tam*. Theſe three, as well as all who came after them, as *Kael Vea, Talanna, Inda, Dazar, Mampla*, and ſix or ſeven others, of whom the laſt was *Shemin Doo* (E), added to their name the title of *Banna* or

(A) The *Abbe Prevoſt*, in his continuation of *Hiſtoire generale des voyages; &c.* tome ix. p. 353.

(B) Particularly his pretended travels through *China* and *Tartary*, with his journey to the court of *Calaminhan*, of which ſcarce the name of one place or perſon is true.

(C) See the ſame collection, p. 483, note (30). *Purchas*, that mangler of voyages and travels, has done the like. See his *Pilgrims*, vol. iii. p. 252, & ſeqq.

(D) Which memoir ſeems to be nothing elſe but a collection from *Teſi, Jarric*, and other authors.

(E) This we take to be the ſenſe of the original *Portugueſe* (tom. iii. part 2. ch. 4. p. 237), which, being obſcurely worded, the tranſlator has rendered quite unintelligible, by omitting the words, *and ſix or ſeven ſucceſſively*,

Breſſagukan. (or *Bainha*)[a]. Theſe princes had, by degrees, ſo enlarged their dominions, that *Breſſagukan* (F), who aſcended the throne in the year 1518, had under his ſubjection nine kingdoms, which were governed by his lieutenants, whoſe revenues amounted to three millions of gold[b].

Breſſagukan.

Portuguese *embaſſy.* It was doubtleſs to this prince that *Antony Correa* was ſent in 1519, to conclude a peace; at the ſwearing of which aſſiſted the king's miniſters, with the prieſts of both nations, *Romiſh* and *Peguan*. The *Gentile* pontiff was the great *Rauli*, or *Raulin*, who, after the capitulations made in the golden mine were publicly read, according to the cuſtom of thoſe people, began to read in a book. He then took ſome yellow paper (a colour dedicated to their holy uſes), with the odoriferous leaves of certain trees, inſcribed with characters, and ſet fire to them. This done, he took the hands of the king's miniſter, and holding them over the aſhes, ſpoke ſome words, which rendered the oath inviolable. *Antony Correa*, to anſwer the ſolemnity of this ceremony, ordered his prieſt to put on a ſurplice, and bring with him his breviary: but when the book came, it appeared ſo tattered and torn, that *Correa*, to avoid the ſcandal which ſuch a ſight might give thoſe heathens, had a book of church muſic ſubſtituted in its place. As this made a more creditable figure, being both larger and better bound, it paſſed on thoſe people as well, ſays *De Faria*, as if it had been the goſpel[c].

The king murder'd. We meet with nothing farther relating to *Breſſagukan*, till the year 1539, when he was ſlain on the following occaſion. Among other princes who were his tributaries was *Parà Mandorà*, king of the *Barmas* (G). This prince, by one condition of his vaſſalage, was obliged to furniſh the *Pegu* monarch with 30,000 of his ſubjects, to labour in his mines, and other public works. As the king uſed frequently to go ſee how his works went forward, and took along with him none but

[a] De Faria, Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 117 [b] Martiniere dict. geogr. art. Pegou. Pinto's travels, p. 198, 206.
[c] Castanheda, hiſt. del l'Indie orient. part ii. cap. 12. p. 59. & De Faria, ubi ſupra, vol. i. p. 226.

ſively, of whom the laſt, named, which ought to come between the names of *Mompla* and *Xemindoo*, who was ſlain in the year 1549, not 1540, as it is by miſtake in the original, as well as the tranſlation.

(F) In the *Engliſh* verſion of *Mendez Pinto* it is written *Preſagueun.*

(G) *Pinto* does not name this prince; but, p. 212, intimates, that he had been *Shemin*, or lord, of *Tangu*, before he was king of *Brama*, or rather the *Barmas*.

his

his women, who delighted to see foreigners, and the progress which they made; the *Barma* labourers formed a design to rob the queen and all the concubines of their jewels, the first opportunity which offered. Pursuant to this resolution, the next time the king went to visit the works, the *Barmas* murdered him; and, having stripped the ladies, fled to their own country [d].

The Barmas.

THE *Barmas* (H), by *Pinto*, and most other authors, called *Bramas*, inhabited the highlands of *Pangavirau*, which encompass the kingdom of *Pegu*. Their country, which was 200 leagues in length, and 80 in breadth, made one of the thirteen kingdoms, which, according to their histories, were formerly united under one monarch; whose yoke they threw off, by poisoning him at a banquet, prepared for him in the city of *Chaleu* (I), and thus became independent, along with *Pegu* and the rest [e].

Their dominions.

THE country of the *Barmas* is that, doubtless, called by *Edoardo Barbosa*, *Verma*; to which, in 1515, belonged all the coast extending from *Bengâl* to *Pegu*: so that what goes now by the name of *Arrakan*, was then called *Verma*, or *Barma*; and *Arrakan*, according to the same author, lay within land, to the north of it [f]. We find likewise from *De Faria*, that they were formerly masters of *Ava* (K), whose dominions extended as far as *China* [g]. Hence it appears, that the *Barmas* had once most of the northern part of the peninsula beyond *Ganges* under their power; and possibly it was their empire which became divided into thirteen kingdoms, on the death of the sole monarch above-mentioned. However that be, a little before the time of *Pinto*, their dominions were reduced to very narrow bounds, and their king was tributary to him of *Pegu*: but, by degrees, they recovered their ancient empire; which at present, according to a late author, extends from *Maruvi*, near *Tanaserin*, to the province of *Yun-nan*, in *China*, about 800 miles from south to

[d] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 10. [e] PINTO's voy. p. 241.
[f] EDOAR. BARBOSA, M. S. p. 187. [g] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 11.

(H) So named by *Duckatz* and *Hamilton*. By *Barbosa*, *Verma*.

(I) In a kingdom of the same name; of which, according to *Mendez Pinto*, the city of *Ava* was the capital; and that of *Chaleu* lay between *Ava* and *Prom*. The inhabitants of this kingdom were called *Chaleus*. See *Pinto*'s voyages, p. 214, *& alibi*.

(K) *Pinto*, and, after him, *De Faria*, says it extended the space of two months travels, at ordinary journies, and contained sixty-two cities.

north, and 250 broad from west to east[h]. As to the name of *Bramas*, or rather *Barmas*, we are told by *Balbi*, that it signifiers *soldiers*; and the same author calls the general of their army the *Great Brama*[i]. To return to our history:

They invade Pegu,

THIS enormous action of the *Barma* slaves threw all the dominions of *Pegu* into confusion; but the people everywhere, instead of rising to revenge the death of the murdered king, divided into factions, and began rebellions in several parts of the empire: so that *Dacha Rupi*, who was heir to the deceased, found himself in no condition to maintain his authority. *Parà Mandarà*, then king of the *Barmas*, taking advantage of these commotions, which weakened the strength of *Pegu*, not only threw off the yoke, but even formed the design of conquering that country; which he invaded with an army of more than a million of men and 5000 elephants; besides a great fleet which he sent down the river of *Ava* towards *Bagou*, corruptly called *Pegu*, the capital of that empire, while he marched with his forces thither by land.

JUST at this juncture, *Ferdinand de Morales* arrived in the port of *Pegú*, with a great galleon, laden on account of the king of *Portugal*, and sent thither to trade by order of the viceroy of *Goa*. As soon as *Dacha Rupi* heard of his coming, he sent to desire his assistance against the enemy; and, having won him with favours and promises, gave him the command of his whole fleet. *Morales* hereupon set out in a galliot; and, having joined the king's ships, put himself in a posture to oppose the adversary. Mean time the king of the *Barmas* came on by land like a torrent, carrying all before him; and his fleet covered the river, though as great as the *Ganges*: with this power he easily gained both the city and kingdom of *Pegu*, which he quickly over-ran. *Morales*, although the ships under his command were scarce visible in respect of the enemy's, yet met them at the point of *Jinamarreka*, where was a furious, bloody, and desperate fight; in which the *Peguers*, under the conduct of the *Portuguese* commander, made great havock among the ships of the *Barmas*: but, finding themselves overpowered by numbers, they at length deserted *Morales*, who alone in his galliot withstood the whole fleet of the enemy; and, performing wonders, made a vast slaughter among them, till, oppressed by the multitudes, who assailed him on all sides, he was at last slain[k]. This happened in the year 1539 or 40.

and conquer it.

[h] HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 39. [i] BALBI voy. p. 101, 108. [k] DE FARIA, ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 9, & seqq.

AFTER

After the conquest of *Pegu*, *Parà Mandarà* turned his arms against the neighbouring kingdoms which had been tributary to that empire (L). In the year 1544 he marched against *Martavân*, capital of a kingdom of the same name, then very great and flourishing, its revenue being no less than three millions of gold. He laid siege to the city by land, with 700,000 men; and by sea with a fleet of 1700 sail, 100 of which were large gallies: in them were 700 *Portugueses*, commanded by *John Cayero*, reputed a man of valour and conduct. Parà Mandarà

At the end of seven months, in which five assaults had been given to the city, and the *Barmas* had lost 120,000 men; the king *Chaubayna*, finding it impossible to withstand any longer so great a power, especially as provisions were become already so scarce that they had eaten 3000 elephants, offered to capitulate: but no conditions were allowed by the besiegers. The king, in this distress, resolved to apply to the *Portugueses*, to whom he had always been very kind and serviceable. With this view he sent one *Seixas* to intreat *Cayero* to receive him, his family, and treasure (M), into the four ships under his command; offering to give half of his riches to the king of *Portugal*, to become his vassal, and pay such tribute as should be agreed on: for he did not doubt but that, with the assistance of 2000 *Portugueses*, maintained at *besieges* Martavân.

(L) *De Faria* says, he conquered the *Jangomas*, *Lanjangs*, and the *Laos*, with others, which, like his own, were tributaries to *Pegu*; and thus recovered his ancient kingdom of *Ava*, whose great extent, and number of cities, have been specified in a preceding note. He likewise subdued a kingdom of *Turks* perhaps that of *Trukon*, mentioned hereafter), which contained as many cities as that of *Ava*, *viz.* sixty-two; and was taken by the king of *Pegu* from him of *Kathay* (or *Kitay*): also the kingdom of *Bimir*, west of *Ava*, of the same extent, with twenty-seven populous cities; that of *Lanjam* (or *Lanjan*), to the north of *Bimir*, and of equal dimensions, with thirty-eight cities, and store of gold and silver: also *Mamprom*, as large as the former, to the east of which it lies, and west of *Kochinchina*, yet containing no more than eight cities.—But *De Faria* ascribes to *Parà Mandarà* what should rather belong to his third successor *Chaumigrem*; for it appears from *Pinto*, that he did not conquer *Ava*; and from *Pimenta*, that *Jangoma* was conquered by the father of the last *Brama* king of *Pegu*, who was *Chaumigrem*; nor was the reign of *Parà Mandarà* long enough to make such conquests as are ascribed to him.

(M) Among which was that of *Presaguean*, or *Bressagukan*, late king of *Pegu*, in twenty-six chests, amounting to sixty millions of gold, if *Pinto* may be credited.

his own expence, he ſhould be able to repulſe the enemy, and retrieve his affairs. *Cayero* conſulted the principal officers; and, in their preſence, aſked *Seixas* what the treaſure of *Martavân* might amount to? *Seixas* anſwered, that out of what he had ſeen, for he had not ſeen all, two ſhips might be loaded with gold and jewels, and four or five more with ſilver. This was a propoſal too advantageous to be ſlighted: but the *Portugueſes*, envious of the great fortune which *Cayero* might have made, by accepting that offer, threatened to diſcover the matter to the *Barma* king, in caſe he did not reject it [1].

The king capitulates:

THE king of *Martavân* was no leſs ſurpriſed than overwhelmed with anguiſh at this refuſal: however, ſeeing *Seixas* take his leave, to fly the danger which threatened the city, he gave him a pair of bracelets, which were afterwards ſold to the governor of *Narſinga* for 80,000 ducats. After this, having loſt all hopes of relief, he reſolved to ſet fire to the city, and, ſallying with thoſe few men whom he had left, die honourably in the midſt of his enemies: but the ſame night one of his officers, with 4000 men, deſerted to the beſiegers, and diſcovered his deſign. The king, thus betrayed, capitulated with the *Barma* king for his own life, and the lives of his wife and children, with leave to end his days in retirement: this, and more, was eaſily granted, becauſe the conqueror intended to perform no part of what he promiſed. The way from the city to the king of the *Barma*'s tent, above a league diſtant, was lined with muſqueteers of ſundry nations; and next the gate were poſted the *Portugueſes*. The firſt who came forth was the queen *Nhay Kanatoo* in a chair, with her two daughters and two ſons in two others. They were ſurrounded by forty beautiful young ladies, led by as many ancient ones, accompanied by prieſts, who prayed and comforted them. Then the king appeared amidſt a guard of *Barmas*. He was ſeated on a ſmall ſhe elephant, clothed in black velvet; his head, beard, and eye-brows were ſhaved; and about his neck there hung a rope, which moved even the enemy to compaſſion.

goes to the camp.

THE unfortunate king, as ſoon as he ſaw the *Portũgueſes*, ſtopped, and would not proceed one ſtep till they were removed from that poſt. When *Chaubayna* came before his conqueror, he caſt himſelf at his feet; but not being able to ſpeak for grief, the *Raulin* of *Mounay*, chief-prieſt of theſe gentiles, and eſteemed a ſaint, made a moving ſpeech in the

[1] PINTO, p. 196, & ſeqq. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 348, & ſeqq.

captive

captive king's behalf: but it not having the designed effect, the miserable prince, his queen, children, and ladies, were all secured. The two following days were spent in removing the treasure, amounting to one hundred millions of gold, which required the labour of one thousand men. Liberty was then given the army to plunder the city, whose riches were valued at twelve millions; after which the city was burnt, wherein there perished by fire and sword above 60,000 souls, besides 60,000 more who were made slaves of; 1700 temples and 140,000 houses were reduced to ashes. There were found in the town 6000 pieces of cannon, 100,000 quintals of pepper, and the same quantity of other spices [m]. *The city plundered.*

On the morrow which followed this destruction, there appeared on an adjacent hill, called *Beydao*, twenty-one gibbets, with a strong guard of horse. Thither was led the queen, with her children and ladies, in all one hundred and forty, and there hanged up by the feet (N). *Chaubayna*, and fifty men of great quality, were cast into the sea with stones about their necks; which gave so great displeasure to the *Barma* army, that they mutinied, and the cruel king was in no small danger of suffering for his tyranny. However, the storm blowing over, he left people to rebuild the ruined city, and returned to *Pegu* with the rest of his army, among whom was *Cayero*, and his 700 *Portugueses*. *King put to death.*

About this time the king received some intimation, that the emperor of *Pandalu*, stiled the *Siammon* (O), intended to *sieged*, From *be-*

[m] Pinto, p. 199, & seqq. De Faria, p. 349, & seqq.

(N) All alive, excepting the queen; who, overcome with anguish, expired in the lap of one of the ladies.

(O) This name, as well as that of the *Mons*, mentioned hereafter, seems to be made out of *Sions Maons*; which *Gaspar da Cruz* says is the name given by some to the *Laos*. *De Faria*, in his extract from *Pinto*, mistakes *Siamon* for *Siam*. *Pandalu* is either a fictitious empire of *Pinto*'s, like *Kalaminham*; or he speaks of a power as in being, which had been long before destroyed: for we read of a people called the great *Siams*, to the north of the present kingdom of *Siam*, inhabiting a country now a great wilderness, called by the *Chinese*, and perhaps other neighbouring nations, *Pahima Pan* (1), which name has some affinity with *Pandalu*. However that be, according to *Pinto*, the empire of *Pandalu* lies to the west and north-west of that of *Kalaminham*; another fictitious empire, situate to the north or north-east of *Pegu*; for that author speaks very obscurely of the scite thereof, although he pretends he travelled through the country.

(1) *See Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 61, 62.*

invade

invade his dominions; and that the king of *Ava* had confederated with thoſe of *Sevâdi* and *Châleus* (P), to give that monarch a paſſage through their territories. On this advice, *Parà Mandarà* fortified all his frontier places; and then, having increaſed his forces to 900,000 men, in *March* 1545 ſet out from *Pegu* to beſiege *Prom*. He embarked this numerous army in 12,000 rowing veſſels, whereof 2000 were *ſeroos*, *laulers*, *katuros*, and *foiſts*; and went up the river *Anſedaa* as high as *Danaplun*. Then, paſſing out of it in that called *Pichu Malakou*, in *April* came before the city of *Prom*. The king hereof was dead, and had left a ſon to inherit, who was no more than thirteen years of age. As he had married the king of *Ava*'s daughter, he had ſent to him for ſuccour on this occaſion, and expected a ſupply of 30,000 men. This moved the enemy to preſs the ſiege, in hopes to gain the city before that aid ſhould arrive. After ſix days leaguer, the queen offered to hold the crown of *Parà Mandarà*, and pay what tribute he thought fit to impoſe, provided he would withdraw his forces. On the other hand, he inſiſted that ſhe ſhould put herſelf, with all her treaſure, into his power: but ſhe, knowing how perfidious he was, reſolved not to truſt him. He therefore renewed his aſſaults, in which, and by the plague that raged in his camp, he loſt 80,000 men, among whom were 500 *Portugueſes* [n].

by Parà Mandarà,

and betrayed.

THIS way of attack proving ſo pernicious, he raiſed a mount which overlooked the city; and from thence, plying it with his artillery, left no place of ſafety to the beſieged. But 5000 of them, making a ſucceſsful ſally, not only deſtroyed the mount, and killed 15,000 of the enemy, but alſo carried off eighty cannon, and wounded the king himſelf; who, in a rage, ſlew 2000 *Portugueſes*, then on guard, as being negligent of their duty. *Parà Mandarà* began to deſpair of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe, when he accompliſhed by bribery what he could not obtain by force. For, towards the end of *Auguſt*, *Shemîn Malatay*, one of the four principal men who commanded in *Prom*, treacherouſly gave the enemy entrance into the city; which was utterly deſtroyed with fire and ſword: the bodies of 2000 ſlain children, cut to pieces, were ſerved as food for the elephants. The queen, ſtripped naked, was publicly whipped, and then tortured till ſhe died (Q); the

[n] PINTO, p. 205, & ſeqq. DE FARIA, 351.

(P) *Chaleu* kingdom lies between *Prom* and *Ava*, according to *Pinto*, p. 214.

(Q) *De Faria* ſays, ſhe was given up to the luſt of the ſoldiers till ſhe expired. She was

the young king was tied to her dead body, and both together caſt into the river. The like fate 300 gentlemen underwent, after ſtakes had been driven through their bodies.

THE tyrant was employed in fortifying the city, of which he had been proclaimed king, when advice was brought him by his ſpies, that the prince of *Ava* had ſailed from thence down the river *Queytor* with 30,000 *Siamon* ſoldiers on board 400 rowing veſſels: and, hearing of his ſiſter's diſaſter, had ſtopped at *Meleytay*, a fortreſs ſome twelve leagues north of *Prom*, where he waited to be joined by his father the king of *Ava*; who, with 80,000 *Mons* (K) was marching by land. On this news the *Barma* king ſent his foſter-brother *Chaumigrem* along the river-ſide with 200,000 men, and went by water with 100,000 more, in 2000 *feros*. On the approach of *Chaumigrem*, the prince of *Ava* burnt his barks; and, forming a vanguard of the mariners, drew up his 30,000 *Mons* to encounter the enemy. Bloody was the fight; all the vanguard were cut to pieces in a trice, and of the 300,000 *Mons* only 800 remained: but the *Barmas* paid dear for the victory, with the loſs of 115,000 out of 200,000.

Meleytay fortreſs beſieged,

THE king coming up, and ſeeing the havock that had been made of his men, attacked the fortreſs furiouſly for ſeven days: at the end of which the 800 *Mons*, deſpairing of holding out long againſt ſo great a power, and reſolving to ſell their lives at the deareſt rate, ſallied out in a dark rainy night; and, breaking through the enemy's troops in ſeveral places, preſſed ſo hard upon the king himſelf, that he was forced to jump into the river and ſwim for his life. In ſhort, the *Mons* were all cut off, but not till they had ſlain 12,000 of their enemies; among whom were about 2000 *Barmas*, as many foreigners, and the reſt *Peguers*. After this, the victor entered *Meleytay*, and put to death the *Shemîn* thereof, who had betrayed *Prom* to him; ſaying, *That he who had been a traitor to his natural prince could not be faithful to him*[o].

and taken.

THE king immediately ordered the fort to be repaired; which, being finiſhed, he embarked 70,000 men in 1000 row-

Advances to Ava

[o] PINTO, p. 210, & ſeqq. DE FARIA, p. 352, & ſeqq.

fair and handſome, but much older than the king, being thirty-ſix years of age; ſhe was alſo his maternal aunt. It is thought his cruelty to her was in revenge, for having been denied him in marriage, by the king of *Ava* her father.

(R) Or *Maons* perhaps; they were, probably, a tribe of the *Laos*.

ing

ing *feros*, and went up the *Queytor* (S), in order to obſerve the country. Having paſſed by many conſiderable places belonging to the kingdom of *Chaleu* (T) and *Jaenpalaon*, he, in *October* 1545, after a voyage of twenty-eight days, arrived at the port of *Ava*, about a league from the city, where he burnt between two and 3000 veſſels, and alſo ſeveral villages; with the loſs however of 8000 men, including ſixty-two *Portugueſes*. As for the city of *Ava*, he did not think fit to attack it, for it had been newly fortified, and was defended by 20,000 *Mons* (U), from the mountains of *Pandaleu*; where he was informed 80,000 more were raiſing for the ſervice of the king of *Ava*. For as ſoon as this prince received advice of the loſs of *Prom*, not being ſtrong enough to revenge the injury, he went in perſon to implore the *Siamon*'s protection, and become his tributary, on condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him with his forces, and enable him to recover that city; which the emperor promiſed to accompliſh within one year from the time of this treaty.

without attacking it.

THIS intelligence ſtartled the *Barma* king, who therefore, after thirteen days ſtay, returned to *Prom*; having firſt diſpatched an ambaſſador to the *Kalaminham*, in order to engage him by a treaty of alliance to divert the *Siamon* by a war the next ſpring, from aiding the king of *Ava*, whom he deſigned to conquer..

The Kalaminham,

THE *Kalaminham*, which ſignifies *lord of the world* (X), was a prince of mighty power, whoſe dominions were ſituated in the midſt of this region, and contained a large extent of country. His capital city was named *Timplam*; where he reſided in vaſt ſtate and magnificence. It ſtood on the great river *Pitay*, had a ſtrong wall, defended with towers and a wide ditch. It contained no fewer than 400,000 houſes, moſt of one or two ſtories; and 2600 temples full of images, which were ſerved by twenty-ſeven ſorts or orders of prieſts. The palace was ſplendid beyond imagination; and in it were

his great empire.

(S) By this circumſtance of ſailing up the river to *Ava*, and then up the ſame afterwards from *Ava*, with the ambaſſador ſent to the *Kalaminham* by the *Queytor*, muſt be underſtood the river *Ava*; but no other author, beſides *Pinto*, gives it that name. It is called by the *Chineſe*, *Lu Kyang*; and by others, perhaps the *Peguers* themſelves, *Menan Kiouw*.

(T) See its ſituation in a former note.

(U) Seem to be *Laos*; and the name derived from *Sions Maons*, as the *Laos* are by ſome called. See a former note.

(X) According to *Pinto*, *Kala* is *lord*, and *Minham*, *the world*.

the

the ſtatues of thirteen *Kalaminhams* in ſilver, with each a golden mitre on his head [p].

THE empire (which our author *Pinto* does not name) was 300 leagues long, and as many broad, containing twenty-ſeven kingdoms; each divided into twenty-ſix provinces, 700 in all. They are full of noble cities; the ſoil exceeding fertile, and abounding with commodities, which, with the manufactures, produce a wealthy commerce. The inhabitants are extremely civilized and mild-tempered; the women very fair, yet modeſt. The emperor has always 60,000 horſe and 10,000 elephants about his perſon. His forces, throughout the 700 provinces, are 1,700,000 men, of whom 350,000 are horſe: there are alſo 55,000 elephants; on account of whoſe number in this country, the *Kalaminham* ſtiles himſelf in his titles, *lord of the invincible force of elephants*. In a word, the revenue of this mighty prince amounted to twenty millions of gold; and he worſhipped *Kiay Frigau*, or *Firgau*, that is, *the god of motes in the ſun*, who is alſo adored at *Dagun* in *Pegu* [q].

THIS is, in brief, the account, true or falſe (Y), which *Mendez Pinto* has given of the empire of *Kalaminham*, and its ſovereign. Upon the ambaſſadors return to *Pegu*, the king ſent the *Chaumigrem*, his foſter-brother, whom he honoured with the title of *Koutalanha*, that is *the king's brother*, to meet him, accompanied with all the grandees of the kingdom, and four battalions of ſtrangers: among whom were 1000 *Portugueſes*, commanded by *Antonio Fereira* of *Braganza*, a man of great underſtanding; to whom the king gave a penſion of 12,000 ducats a year, beſides preſents, which *The* Chaumigrem

[p] PINTO, p. 214, & ſeqq.

[q] Ibid. p. 227, 243.

(Y) In our opinion, this relation, eſpecially as it ſtands at large in the book itſelf, has all the marks of forgery; nor did either the emperor or the empire ever exiſt but in the author's brain. At leaſt we are certain, that the account which *Pinto* has given of his journey, with the ambaſſador, to that prince's court, is all a forgery: it being quite inconſiſtent with the ideas which the relations of later travellers of credit give us, both as to the geography and hiſtory of the countries lying between *Siam* and *China*, where this great empire is pretended to have exiſted; and of which there does not appear to be the leaſt traces at preſent. As our author ſays, he is called *the holy Kalaminham*, and repreſents him both as a ſpiritual and temporal prince, ſome have imagined that he is the ſame with the great *Lama* of *Tibet*. It is true, *Pinto* does not tell us the name of the empire; but, by the ſituation he gives it, and courſe of his pretended travels, it cannot be *Tibet*.

came

came to little leſs (Z). Although it appeared by the *Kalaminham*'s letter that the treaty had taken effect, yet as the ſeaſon was not yet come for invading *Ava*, the king ſent the *Chaumigrem*, with 150,000 men in 13000 boats, againſt the city *Sebâdi*, or *Savâdi*, the capital of a ſmall kingdom 130 leagues diſtant from *Pegu* towards the north-eaſt. The general, after having loſt many men in ſeveral aſſaults which he made, raiſed two mounts, from whence he did much damage to the city: but the beſieged ſallying killed at one time 8000 men, and 5000 at another; which ſo diſcouraged *Chau-migrem* that he drew off his army, in order to revenge his diſgrace on a town called *Valentay*, which had furniſhed the city with proviſions; but a body of *Savâdis* falling on his troops by ſurpriſe put them to the rout [r].

baffled before Savâdi.

Diſtractions in Siam.

WHILE theſe things were doing on the ſide of *Pegu*, the empire of the *Sornau*, commonly called *Siam*, fell into great diſtractions. The king, coming from the war of *Chiammay*, was poiſoned by his queen; who, in his abſence, had been gotten with child by an officer of the court. She made away, after the ſame manner, with the young king, in order to advance her paramour, whom ſhe married, to the crown. This ſhe effected in *November* 1545: but in *January* following they were both ſlain at a feaſt, by the contrivance of *Oya Paſſiloko*, and the king of *Kamboja*; who conferred the crown on a religious man named *Pretiem*, natural brother to the late monarch, the line being extinct, but of a cowardly diſpoſition and a tyrant. As ſoon as the news of this revolution came to the ears of the king of *Pegu*, who at that time kept his court in the city of *Anapleu*, he aſſembled his lords to conſult them on the occaſion. Their advice was, that he ought not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of conquering that country: that, in caſe he ſucceeded, he would be honoured with the title of *lord of the white elephant* (A); and likewiſe

A. D. 1546.

open

[r] PINTO, p. 245, 249.

(Z) We are thus particular with relation to this perſon, becauſe *De Pinto* ſays no more of him; and yet *De Faria* repreſents him as the perſon to whom the king of *Barma* owed all his conqueſts: although he does not mention one action of his, or ſpeak of him twice, more than *Pinto*; whereas he is tedious in relating the exploits of *James Suarez de Melo*, whom, by the way, captain *Hamilton* ſeems to confound with *Ferreira*. See *Portug. Aſia*, vol. iii. p. 117. and new account of *Eaſt Indies*, vol. ii. p. 36, & ſeq.

(A) *De Faria* makes this war to have been undertaken merely on account of the white elephant. But he ſeems to have miſtaken this expedition for

that

open himself a way into *China*; against which empire the great Khân of *Tartary*, the *Siamon*, and the *Kalaminham*, had led such formidable armies [s].

The Barma army

THE *Barma* monarch, pleased with their approbation of what he had himself designed, immediately repaired to *Martavân*; where, in less than three months, he gathered an army of 800,000 men; of these 100,000 were foreigners, among whom were 1000 *Portugueses*, 40,000 horse, 60,000 musqueteers, 20,000 elephants, and 1000 cannon (B). The *Portugueses* were commanded by *James Suarez* (C), called the *Gallego*, or *Galician*, who left *Portugal* in 1538; but had now a pension from the king of *Pegu* of 200,000 ducats a year, with the title of his brother, and governor of the kingdom.

invades the country. A. D. 1548.

THE king set out from *Martavân* in *April* 1548, and having at length entered into the kingdom of *Siam*, five days after arrived before the fortress of *Tapurau* (D), commanded by a Mogor, containing 2000 houses. The *Barmas* having been repulsed in three assaults, *Suarez*, who was general of the camp, and governed the king by his advice, made a breach with forty cannon; and then, giving a fierce attack, in half an hour all the besieged, in number 6000 *Siamites*, were slain, with the loss of 3000 of his men; in revenge of whom, the king put all the women to the sword. This done, he advanced to the city of *Sokotay* (E), nine leagues beyond, and encamped along the river *Lebrau* (F), designing to reduce it:

[s] PINTO, p. 278, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137. and vol. iii. p. 357.

that which happened twenty years after, in another king's reign.

(B) There is a strange contrariety between the two accounts given by *De Faria* of this expedition, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. ii. p. 135. and vol. iii. p. 357. In the first place, he makes the army one million and 500,000 men, with only 4000 elephants, and 180 *Portugueses*.

(C) Of *Braganza*, according to *Pinto*; but, according to *De Faria*, of *Melo*: who adds, that he was pirating about *Mozambik* in *Africa* in 1542 and in 1547; was at the siege of *Malakka*. Next year, being in the *Barma* king's service: he was worth four millions, in jewels and other effects.

(D) In *De Faria* written *Tapuram*. See that author's account, vol. ii. p. 135. and vol. iii. p. 357.

(E) This is no forged name, for we meet with it in *Loubere*'s map of *Siam*, drawn in the country by an *European*; where it is placed between two branches of the *Menam*, above four degrees north north-west of the city of *Siam*, and one degree south-west of *Pitsanouluk*, called by the *Portugueses Porselouk*.

(F) Although the name of the city be not forged, that of the river may; which, he says, is

but, as he was counſelled not to loſe time, or waſte his forces, he departed next day, and marched through woods cut down by his pioneers till he came to *Tilau*, a place on the coaſt towards *Junkalau*, near the kingdom of *Quedah* (G); from whence, in nine days (H), he got in ſight of *Odiaa* (or *Judia*), the capital of *Siam*.

Odiaa, *the capital, beſieged.*

THE beſieged ſeeming to make no account of this great power, *Suarez* made an attack on the ſouth ſide with 72,000 men, in two bodies, ſcaling the walls with above 1000 ladders; but, in half an hour, he was repulſed with the loſs of 10,000 men. The king, enraged, renewed the attack with 5000 elephants; which, advancing up to the walls (I), tore away their target fences, while the muſqueteers from the caſtles on their backs made ſuch execution, that none durſt appear on the ramparts. The walls thus deſerted, the beſiegers mounted with their ladders; and 1200 *Turks*, ſliding down by the wall, attempted to break open a gate with two battering rams, in order to obtain the reward of 500,000 ducats, which the king had promiſed to thoſe who ſhould let him into the city: but before they could compaſs their deſign, they were attacked and cut to pieces by 3000 *Jaos*; who then, mounting the wall, drove off the *Barmas* with great ſlaughter [t].

The Barmas *repulſed*

THE king of *Pegu*, not diſcouraged with this new repulſe, renewed the aſſault with the elephants. At the noiſe of their approach, *Oya Paſſiliko*, who commanded in the city, cauſed a gate to be opened; and ſent the king word, that his majeſty might bring the promiſed reward, for he was ready to receive it. The king anſwered by a furious aſſault; during which, the *Barmas* twice forced the gate and entered the city; but the king of *Siam*, alarmed at the danger, coming on with 30,000 choice troops, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and the enemy were driven out of the city. Hereupon the king, by the advice of *Suarez*, founded a retreat; and then found that

[t] PINTO, p. 279, & ſeqq.

is one of the three deſcending from the lake of *Chiammay*; a lake which *Loubere* could never hear of from thoſe who had been at the city of that name.

(G) This was an extravagant rout, going above 200 miles beyond *Siam* to the ſouth-weſt, inſtead of taking the direct way thither: but ſuch blunders frequently happen to forgers. *Juncalau* is doubtleſs a miſtake of the preſs for *Junçalon*, as ſome write it, an iſland near the coaſt.

(H) It muſt rather have been a march of nineteen, or more.

(I) *Odia*, or *Siam*, is ſeated in an iſland encompaſſed with walls. How then could the elephants approach them? This diſcovers that *Pinto* was not at this ſiege, as he pretends he was.

he

he had been wounded with an arrow. The hurt was seventeen days healing; at the end whereof he made several new assaults, but with no better success than before. The siege had now lasted near five months, and eight assaults had been given in vain: he was resolved, however, to make one vigorous effort more, with twenty-six strong timber castles, filled with combustibles; each sixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, mounted on twenty-six wheels of iron. These set forward in a dark and tempestuous night, under three discharges of all the artillery in the camp; and being brought close to the walls, fire was put to them. They burnt four hours with a dreadful blaze, during which time the fight was renewed on both sides with double fury and equal advantage, so that at length a retreat was sounded. 2. Parà Mandarà. *with great slaughter.*

After this it was resolved in a council of war to continue the siege; and a large mount of earth was raised, over-looking the city, mounted with forty pieces of cannon ready to batter it, when in *October* advice came, that *Shoripam Shay* had rebelled in *Pegu* [n]. *The Pegu reinbel.*

SHORIPAM Shay was near a-kin to the preceding monarch, slain twelve years before, and about forty-five years of age. He was a religious person, of great understanding, and esteemed a saint. As he was a famous preacher, he made a sermon, in which he set forth the tyranny of the *Barmas*, and the evils which the kingdom suffered by them, in so moving a manner, that he was taken out of the pulpit, and proclaimed king by the people; who, as a token of sovereignty, gave him the title of *Shemîndoo*. As soon as this person found himself invested with the regal authority, he cut in pieces 15,000 *Barmas* and seized on the treasure. This change was so agreeable to the wishes of the people all over the kingdom, who thought now the time of their deliverance was come, that, in twenty-three days time, all the strong holds in *Pegu* fell into *Shemîndoo*'s hands.

On this news, the king immediately broke up the siege of *Odia*, and in seventeen days got to *Martavân*. There he was farther informed, that the new king had posted 500,000 men in different places, in order to intercept his passage; and, what foreboded worse, 50,000 of his *Pegu* troops, in aversion to the *Barma* yoke, had deserted to his rival. To prevent a greater desertion, after fourteen days stay, he departed from *Martavân*; and, being arrived in the kingdom, found *Shemîndoo* waiting for him with 600,000 men, in a great plain two *The king returns.*

[n] Pinto, p. 282, & seqq.

2. Parà Mandarà.

leagues from the city of *Pegu* [x]. According to some authors, the king sent *Suarez de Melo* before him from *Siam*, with 200 *Portugueses*, to suppress the rebellion. *Shemîndoo* fled on the approach of this commander, who followed him to the city *Sevâdi*; but the other, slipping by, got into the city of *Pegu*, which sided with him. The queen on this fled to the castle, where she was defended by twenty *Portugueses*, till the king himself arrived with his forces [y]. Next day the two armies came to an engagement; in which, after a desperate battle that lasted three hours, *Shemîndoo* was defeated, with the loss of 300,000 of his forces: so that he escaped with only six horse to the fortress of *Battelor*, from whence he fled in the night up the river to *Sedaa*. Of the *Barma* troops were slain 60,000; among whom were 280 *Portugueses*.

and defeats Shemîndoo.

THE next morning after this victory, the king marched to the city, whose inhabitants surrendered, on condition to have their lives and effects. The kingdom being thus brought again under his subjection, his next movement was to punish the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, whose heads he cut off, and estates confiscated; amounting to ten millions of gold, besides plate and jewels [z]. Others say, that, contrary to agreement, he put all to the sword, excepting 12,000 who were within the liberty of *Suarez de Melo*'s house, which was exempted from the slaughter. The plunder was unaccountable; *De Melo* alone got three millions [a]. But these severities did not quench the spirit of rebellion; for in less than three months news was brought that the city of *Martavân* had revolted; and that the *Chalagomin*, or governor, having slain 2000 *Barmas*, declared for *Shemîndoo*.

Martavân *revolts.*

THE king, on this advice, gave orders for all the lords of the kingdom to repair to him with their force within fifteen days; and went from his capital at *Pegu*, with 3000 men, to a town called *Mouchau*, there to wait for them. Being informed in this place, that the *Shemîn*, who was governor of *Satân*, or *Zatân*, a delightful city, had submitted to *Shemîndoo*, and also lent him a large sum of gold; he sent for him, with an intention to put him to death. The *Shemîn*, who suspected the king's design, feigned himself sick; and immediately advising with his relations, it was agreed among them, that he had no way to escape the *Barma*'s anger but by killing him. Accordingly they drew together about 600 men; and, assaulting a temple, where he was lodged, slew

A Shemîn *rebels,*

[x] PINTO, p. 284, 286. [y] DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. ii. p. 136. [z] PINTO, p. 285. [a] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 359.

him

him in his apartment, with the few who happened to be about him. The guards in the court being alarmed with the noise, a fierce combat ensued, in which 800 were slain, most of them *Barmas*. The *Shemîn* then retreated to a place called *Pontel*; whither those of the country, hearing of the king's death, whom they mortally hated, resorted to him. When he had assembled about 5000 men, he returned to seek the soldiers whom the king had brought with him to *Mouchau*; and falling on them, dispersed in several places, slew them all. With the *Barmas* were slain fourscore out of three hundred *Portugueses*; who, with their commander *Suarez* (K), surrendered, and were spared, on condition that, for the future, they should serve the *Shemîn* [b].

3. Shemîn *of* Zatân. *and murders the king.*

Nine days after, seeing his forces increase, by the resort of people, to 30,000 men, he caused himself to be proclaimed king. Then retiring to the fortress of *Tagâlua*, for fear of the forces which were on the road to join the murdered king, he endeavoured, with great promises, to raise troops; and, to spirit up the people, declared he would not leave a *Barma* in all the kingdom. It happened that one of the *Barmas*, who had been with the late king, escaped the slaughter; and, swimming over the river, went and informed the *Chau-migrem*, who was encamped at *Koutafarem* with 180,000 men, all *Peguers*, excepting 30,000 *Barmas*. The general, though greatly afflicted at this news, yet knowing his safety depended on concealing it, immediately assembled all his commanders; and told them that he had received a letter from the king, with orders to put forces into *Kosmîn* and *Dalaa* (L): for that he was informed the *Shemîndoo* intended to possess himself of the province of *Danaplu*, along the rivers *Digon* and *Meydoo* (M), as far as *Ansedaa*. Accordingly he sent detachments to those places, as also to *Shara* and *Malakou*; and thus got rid of the 150,000 *Peguers*, who, he knew, had they stayed to hear of the king's death, would have put him and his 30,000 *Barmas* to the sword.

Usurps the throne.

[b] Pinto, p. 286, & seq.

(K) According to others, *Suarez*, after this disaster, retired to the city of *Ava*; but returning, in some time, to that of *Pegu*, was reconciled to this new king. *Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 359.

(L) Cities and ports on the south coast of *Pegu*, on the river of *Negrais*.

(M) These fall into, or make part of, the river of *Negrais*: *Digon* seems to be the same with *Dagon*; and *Meydoo* may be what *Fitch* calls *Medun*.

3. Shemîn *of* Zatân. *The* Chaumigrem's *address.*

As soon as they were marched, he turned back to the city of *Pegu*, but three miles distant, and secured the king's treasure, amounting to above thirty millions of gold, besides infinite jewels. He likewise seized all the arms and ammunition. After this he set fire to the magazines, the arsenals, the palace, some of whose apartments were cieled with gold, and 2000 rowing vessels which were on the river. Then destroying all the artillery, he retired, with the wives and children of the *Barmas*, towards *Tangu*, his native country, about 160 leagues distant within land, where he arrived in fifteen days. By this expedition he escaped the hands of 120,000 *Peguers*, who, two days after they had left his camp, hearing that the king had been slain, hasted back to seek the 30,000 *Barmas*; whom they pursued as far as *Guaynakoutel*, about forty leagues beyond the capital, and then desisted, finding they had passed through that place five days before. On their return, they resolved to join the *Shemîn* of *Zatan*; who having received them with mighty promises of future favour, repaired forthwith to *Pegu*, and was there magnificently crowned in *Kom-kiay*, the principal temple in that city [c].

Shemîndoo *grows strong.*

The *Shemîn* now was in peaceable possession of the kingdom: but, by his acts of tyranny, and squandring the public treasure, he so disobliged his lords, and bred such feuds among them, that many retired to foreign countries, and others went over to *Shemîndoo*; who, by his preaching and authority, began to make head again in the province of *Ansedaa*, whither he had fled The power of this latter increasing, as that of his competitor declined, his army, by degrees, augmented to 60,000 men. With these forces he marched to *Meydoo*, where he was well received by the people of the country; among whom he stayed four months, to strengthen his forces. Mean time the great *James Suarez*, who had been governor of the kingdom during the late king's reign, fell a sacrifice on the following occasion.

Suarez *his insolence.*

In the height of his former greatness, passing with a numerous equipage by the door of a rich merchant's house, on the day of his daughter's marriage, the father, to do *Suarez* honour, went out to pay his respects to him, and brought his daughter to do the same. On the bride's presenting him a ring, *Suarez*, who was lascivious and brutish, rudely pulled the young lady to him, in order to carry her away by force; and killed the bridegroom, with others who came to her rescue. However, he did not enjoy the fruits of his villainy: for the young lady, to prevent falling into such a monster's

[c] Pinto, p. 287, & seq.

hands,

hands, strangled herself. The father, expecting no justice against the criminal, whilst that prince was upon the throne, shut himself up, and never stirred abroad, till the *Shemîn* of *Zatan* came to the crown: then appearing among the people, he so lamented his case through the city of *Pegu*, that above 50,000 of the inhabitants gathered about him, crying out for justice. The *Shemîn*, fearing some worse consequence, caused *De Melo* to be apprehended, and delivered up to that rabble; who falling upon him with stones, he was in an instant buried under a heap of rubbish. Then withdrawing the body, they tore it in pieces, and delivered them to the boys to drag about the streets. His house was plundered; and as the treasure found therein amounted to not so much by a great deal as was expected, it was believed that he had buried the rest [d].

3. Shemîn *of* Zatân.

He is stoned to death.

THIS was the end of *James Suarez de Melo*, one of fortune's prodigies, who lost, by one crime, what he had gained by many. Nor did the new king, who gave him up to popular fury, long survive him: for he grew intolerable in his cruelties and oppressions, killing and robbing, indifferently, all who were thought to have had money: so that, in seven months time, he put to death 6000 rich merchants, besides many of the ancient lords of the country, who held their estates by right of inheritance under the crown. These tyrannies rendered him so odious, that most of his followers abandoned him, to join with *Shemîndoo*; who, by this time, was master of the cities of *Digon*, *Meydoo*, *Dalaa*, and *Kowlam* (N), with all the country, as far as the borders of *Sharau* [e].

The Shemîn's *tyranny.*

SHEMINDOO, having now an army of 200,000 men, and 5000 elephants, resolved to go and attack the usurper in the capital. He set forward; and, coming before the city of *Pegu*, hemmed it in with trenches, fenced with strong palisades. After this he gave several assaults: but finding a much greater resistance than he expected, he proposed a truce, by which he agreed to quit his right to the crown, and raise the siege in twenty days; in case in that time his competitor should send him 1000 *bisses* of gold, which amount to 500,000 ducats. This was a politic contrivance, in order to gain the capital with less difficulty: for an intercourse ensuing, in consequence of the truce between the besiegers and

Is besieged by Shemîndoo.

[d] PINTO, p. 289, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 260.
[e] PINTO, p. 294. DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 360.

(N) Perhaps *Koylan*, on the river of *Negrais*, mentioned by *Balbi*.

4. Shemindoo.

the beſieged, ſome prieſts, ſet on by *Shemîndoo*, exhorted them to relinquiſh the *Shemîn* of *Zatân*, and take part with their maſter; at the ſame time threatening them with judgments from *Kiay Nivândel*, the god of battles, in the field of *Vitân*, in caſe they offered to lift a hand againſt the holy *Shemîndoo*; a ſubmiſſion to whom, they ſaid, was a ſure way to wealth and happineſs.

and ſlain in a ſally.

THESE exhortations, joined to the harmonious muſic which accompanied them, ſo wrought on the hearts of the beſieged, that 60,000 having deſerted in a few days, the tyrant thought fit to break off the truce; and, by advice of his officers, to fight *Shemîndoo*, before he increaſed more in ſtrength. Purſuant to this advice, he ſallied out of the city, with fourſcore thouſand men, and charged the enemy with great fury. The battle was ſo fierce, that in half an hour above 40,000 fell on both ſides; when *Gonzalo Neto*, by a fortunate ſhot with a muſket-ball, killed the *Shemîn*. Immediately his forces ſubmitted, and the inhabitants opened the city gates to the victor, on promiſe of having their lives and effects. *Shemîndoo* entered the capital, and was forthwith crowned king. This event happened in *February* 1551. *Gonzalo* had 10,000 crowns for that lucky hit; and the eighty *Portugueſes*, his companions, five thouſand [f].

A. D. 1551.

Shemîndoo *enthroned.*

SHEMINDOO was the reverſe of his late rival; for he governed with a juſt but eaſy reign. He was loved by the people, and admired by ſtrangers, for his virtue. Things continued above a year in this peaceable and happy ſtate, when a new war broke out, which once more overturned the government. The *Chau-migrem*, who watched at *Tângu* for an opportunity to reduce the kingdom under the power of the *Barmas*, underſtanding by his ſpies that the ſtrength of the nation was greatly exhauſted by the wars; that the principal lords were either ſlain, or had left the realm; and that, in ſhort, the new king was greatly unprovided of the neceſſaries proper for his defence, he, with an army of 300,000 men, all ſtrangers (O), excepting 50,000 *Barmas*, whom he had raiſed for the purpoſe, ſet out from *Tângu* the ninth of *March* 1552, and bent his march towards the city of *Pegu*. The new king, informed of his proceedings, made preparations for his defence, and aſſembled no fewer than 900,000 troops: but as they were all *Peguers*, who are of a weakly conſtitu-

A. D. 1552.

[f] PINTO. p. 294, & ſeq.

(O) Viz, *Mons*, *Chaleus*, *Kalaminhans*, *Sauanis*, *Pamkrus*, and *Avaas*.

tion,

tion, this great power was inferior to the enemy in strength. However, *Shemîndoo*, understanding that the *Chau-migrem* was arrived at the river *Meleytay*, about twelve leagues from his capital, he advanced with great diligence, and encamped two leagues from thence, on the river *Potareu*. 4. Shemîndoo.

Next morning the *Chau-migrem* forded the river, in spite of the enemy; and the day following the *Shemîndoo* presented him battle. The van-guards began the fight, and the shock was very fierce. In half an hour the field was covered with dead bodies, and the *Peguers* began to lose courage. The prince, seeing them give ground, advanced to succour them with 3000 elephants, and drove the *Barmas* back in their turn. The *Chau-migrem*, upon this, feigned a retreat; and the king mistaking it for a flight, pursued eagerly, as sure of the victory: but the *Barmas*, after they had retired about a mile, suddenly faced about, and rushed on their enemies, with horrible cries. Presently both armies engaged afresh, with such fury, that, towards sun-set, 400,000 *Peguers* being slain, and most of the rest wounded, the king fled. Thus the victory remaining to the *Chau-migrem* (P), he caused himself to be crowned king of *Pegu* in the field of battle, in *April* 1553 [z]. *Is defeated and flies.* A. D. 1553. 5. Chaumigrem crowned.

Next morning the victors rifled the dead, and got very rich spoil; for it is the custom with these *Gentiles* to carry with them all their riches when they go to war. After this the new king marched towards the capital, three leagues distant; and encamped in view of it, half a league off, in the plain of *Sunday Patir*. From thence he sent a *Barma* commander, with 5000 horse as a guard, to each of the twenty-four gates; and continued five days in the field, without entering the city. This he did, lest the strangers should demand the pillage of it, pursuant to his promise at *Tângu*. Hereupon the foreign troops mutinied, by the instigation of *Christonano Surnento*, a brave, but turbulent, *Portuguese* com- *His army mutiny.*

[z] Pinto, p. 296, & seq.

(P) *De Faria*, who frequently varies from himself. vol. iii. p. 361. following *Pinto*, calls this prince *Chau-migrem*: but vol. ii. p. 137. he, from other authors, names him *Mandaragri*, who, he says, was the king's brother-in-law, and claimed the kingdom in right of his wife. Perhaps the same person is intended by both appellations, that of *Mandaragri* being the proper name. *Pinto*, p. 297, mentions a brother of the *Chau-migrem*, whom he calls the *Panonfaray*; but, though so full of his explanations on other accounts, does not give the meaning of either of those two denominations.

5. Chaumigrem.

mander. The king, for more ſecurity, retired to a temple, and there fortified himſelf. Next day aſſembling the commanders, he told them from the wall, that he had promiſed them what he could not in conſcience grant, as it would be to make the innocent ſuffer with the guilty: that, however, as it was not fit they ſhould go unrecompenſed, he was willing to make them any reaſonable ſatisfaction, and would contribute part out of his own effects. With this the commanders declared themſelves content; and it was propoſed to leave the matter to arbitrators, three to be choſen on each ſide. Of theſe ſix, three were to be religious men of *Pegu*, and three ſtrangers. The firſt three being agreed upon, the king and mutineers caſt lots, to ſee who ſhould chooſe two of the three ſtrangers; and the lot falling in favour of his majeſty, he choſe two *Portugueſes*: one *Gonzalo Pacheco*, factor for the *Lakka*; and the other *Nuno Fernandez Texeyra*, a worthy merchant, known formerly to the *Chau-migrem*.

Their demands ſettled,

On this occaſion the king wrote to *Pacheco*; who, on receipt of the letter, immediately repaired to the camp, accompanied with *Texeira*, and ten other *Portugueſes*. They were received with great honour by the king, who, in his inſtructions, ordered them to favour the commanders rather than him. The arbitrators met in a tent, with the high-treaſurer and two ſecretaries. After debating near the whole day, it was at length concluded, that the king ſhould pay the foreign troops, over and above their arrears, 1000 *biſſes*, or crowns, out of his own treaſury; and that, on receiving the ſame, they ſhould forthwith croſs the river, and retire into their reſpective countries, furniſhed with victuals for twenty days. Both parties were ſatisfied with this award; and the king, out of his bounty, gave the officers in general a farther gratuity. In this manner the king got rid of the three mutinous nations, the *Chaleus*, *Meleytes*, and *Savâdis*, whom he would employ no longer. Likewiſe, to prevent their doing miſchief to the open towns in the road, he cauſed them to march in parties of a thouſand men each, one after the other. To his two arbitrators, for their trouble, the king gave ten *biſſes* of gold, with a paſſport written by himſelf; whereby the *Portugueſes* were permitted to retire into the *Indies*, without paying any duty for their merchandizes. This was more acceptable to them than the money: becauſe the preceding king had, for three years before, detained them in the country; where they were treated with much rigour, and often in danger of their lives [h].

by arbitration.

[h] Pinto, p. 297, & ſeq.

Next

NEXT day the king moved towards the city. He was received at the gate by 6000 priests, of all the twelve sects, who intreated that he would forgive the inhabitants; who, on promising pardon, fell prostrate before him. Then one of the priests set on the king's head a crown of gold, like a mitre, adorned with precious stones. After this the *Chau-migrem* entered the city, in a kind of triumph, mounted on a large elephant, preceded by all the spoil of elephants and chariots, with the effigies of *Shemîndoo*, bound with an iron chain, and forty colours trailed on the ground. He was guarded by forty mace-men; the lords and commanders marching on foot, with their swords covered with plates of gold, carried on their shoulders. The train was closed by 3000 war elephants, with their castles in various forms, and followed by multitudes of people.

5. Chaumigrem. *The king's triumph.*

THE first thing which the new king did was to get possession of the principal cities and strong holds, which still held out for *Shemîndoo*, as not knowing yet of his defeat. To this purpose he wrote very kind letters to the inhabitants, promising favours, as well as forgiveness, and an exemption from taxes. This method having had the desired effect, he dispatched horsemen in quest of *Shemîndoo*, who was discovered at *Faulau*, a place near the city of *Potem*, on the frontiers of *Arrakan*. He was carried to court by a man, to whom the king gave a pension of 30,000 ducats. He was brought into the presence chain'd; and, falling prostrate, received several taunting expressions from the conqueror, without speaking: at last he spoke, lamenting his condition, and then desired some water to drink. The king, to afflict him more, ordered it to be given to him by his daughter. The miserable *Shemîndoo*, seeing his beloved child now a slave, who, but a little before, was to have been married to the prince of *Nautir*, the king of *Ava*'s son, fell into a swoon; while the princess, by her words and behaviour, shewed the utmost distress. This moving scene having drawn tears from some of the *Pegu* lords, who were formerly of *Shemîndoo*'s party, the king ordered their heads to be cut off; saying, "that, since they "had such great affection for him, they might go before, "and prepare him a lodging." Not content with this cruelty, he ordered the princess to be killed, in the arms of her father; who was then carried to a close prison [1].

Shemîndoo *taken*; *treated with cruelty*;

NEXT morning the *Shemindoo* was led, amidst a numerous guard, through all the principal streets of *Pegu*, mounted on a wretched horse; with the executioner on the crupper behind,

led thro' the city;

[1] PINTO, p. 300, & seq.

5. Chaumigrem.

hind, holding him up under both arms. He was very poorly dreſt; and on his head they had placed a crown of ſtraw, garniſhed with muſſel-ſhells, faſtened with blue ribbons; and, to the iron collar which he had about his neck, were tied a parcel of onions. For all he looked like the picture of death, he diſcovered majeſty in his face, accompanied with much ſweetneſs. When he came to the place where *Pacheco* was on guard, with 100 other *Portugueſes*, one of them reviled him; ſaying, *he intended to ſup on a piece of his fleſh, and invite two dogs to partake with him.* The prince, moved at this inſult, reproved him with a ſevere countenance: on which *Pacheco* commanded the fellow to be ſilent. The *Shemîndoo* was ſo well pleaſed with this action, that he wiſhed *to live only one hour longer, that he might embrace ſo excellent a faith as the* Portugueſes *profeſſed* (Q). The executioner was ſo offended hereat, that he hit the unfortunate patient in the face, and made his noſe bleed. Being come to the fatal place, and mounted, ſcarce alive, on a high ſcaffold, the *Chirka* of juſtice read his ſentence: and then making a ſign with his hand, the executioner ſevered his head from the body at one ſtroke. The head being held up for the people to view it, the corpſe was cut into eight parts, and the bowels ſet apart. They were all covered with a yellow cloth, which is the mourning colour, and left till evening, in order to be view'd: for the king had cauſed this public execution to be done, that all doubt might be taken away of the *Shemîndoo*'s death.

and executed.

Farce acted,

MULTITUDES flocked to the place, both to ſee the ſight, and receive the *Aſhiperan*, or plenary indulgence, given by the prieſts on that occaſion. At three o'clock a bell was heard to toll five times. On this ſignal, twelve men in black robes, ſpotted with blood, having their faces covered, and ſilver maces on their ſhoulders, came out of a houſe near the ſcaffold, followed by twelve prieſts; after whom came the *Shemîn Pokâſſer*, the king's uncle, who ſeemed near 100 years of age, and, in the name of his nephew (R), with much ceremony,

at his funeral.

" aſked forgiveneſs of the divided members for what had been " done; offered to yield up the kingdom to him, to do him " homage for it, and govern it as his deputy." To this one of the prieſts, ſpeaking in the perſon of the deceaſed, an-

(Q) If *Pinto* had told no lies but ſuch as theſe, he might be excuſed; ſince very grave lay-travellers, as well as miſſionaries, never ſcruple ſuch pious falſhoods, which they think do ſervice to their religion.

(R) Who is called *Oretana Chau-migrem*, prince of *Savâdi* and *Tangau*.

swered, "that since the king confessed his fault, he forgave him; and also granted him power to govern in his stead, according to the rules of justice." This farce being over, the priests removed the carcase to a place below, and burnt it in a fire made of odoriferous wood, offering sacrifices of sheep and other creatures. The ashes of *Shemîndoo* were put in a silver urn, and buried in a sumptuous tomb, within a chapel gilt all over [k]. 5. Chau-migrem.

ACCORDING to some authors, *Shemîndoo*, after his defeat, fled to the mountains; where wandering about, he married the daughter of an ordinary peasant: the husband discovered himself to his wife, and the wife revealed the secret to her father; who, for lucre of the great rewards which were promised to such as should deliver him up, betrayed his son-in-law to the king [l].

HOWEVER that be, it is certain that the *Chau-migrem*, or, if our readers will, *Mandaragri*, the second *Barma* king, by the death of the *Shemindoo*, became masterof all (S) *Pegu*, without a competitor. But although he lived a long time, and was the mightiest of all the princes who reigned in that country, yet we meet with scarce any-thing in travellers relating to his exploits. *Cæsar Frederic*, who was at his court in the year 1567, describes his power and magnificence; yet takes little notice of the transactions of his reign, nor mentions so much as his name. No more do *Gaspar Balbi* and *Ralph Fitch*, who were at *Pegu* the year in which he died. So that our readers must be content with a bare enumeration of his conquests, instead of a history of them, which we should have been greatly pleased to present them with. Chaumigrem's history, *very imperfect.*

WE are told that *Chau-migrem*, not satisfied with the people of his capital *Pegu*, built, not far from it, another great and strong city (T). After this, he raised an army of 1,600,000 men; with which power he over-ran many neighbouring kingdoms. But his conquests were interrupted by another rebellion, which broke out at *Pegu*, and called him home to suppress it. On this occasion the queen was

[k] PINTO, p. 302, & seq.

[l] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137.

(S) This, perhaps, was the new city of *Pegu*, where the king and nobility afterwards resided.

(T) This, doubtless, is to be understood of the new city of *Pegu*, on the other side of the river, opposite to the old. But it is probable that it was built, not before this king began his conquests, but rather in the midst of them: for it was finished while *Cæsar Frederic* was at *Pegu*, in 1567, about the time when the king returned from the war of *Siam*.

forced

5. Chaumigrem. forced to fly to the caſtle, chiefly relying on thirty-nine *Portugueſes*, who defended her till his majeſty returned, and vanquiſhed the rebels [m].

Many kingdoms conquered by him.

ACCORDING to *De Faria y Souſa*, this prince ſo far enlarged his dominions by conqueſts, that they extended to *China* and *Tartary*; and was ſovereign of twenty-four great kingdoms, beſides eighty princes, not inferior to kings; whereby *Pegu* became the moſt powerful monarchy in *Aſia*, excepting that of *China* [n]. But of all thoſe mighty conqueſts, this author mentions no more than that of *Siam* (U). Another author reduces the number of the conquered kingdoms to twelve, which were as follow: firſt, *Kavelam*, from whence came the rubies and ſapphires. Second, the kingdom of *Ava* [o], containing mines of *Cyprian* braſs, lead, and ſilver, the conqueſt of which the late murdered king his father-in-law had reſolved on, but did not live to atchieve; and which, we are told, was the ancient dominion of the *Barma* monarchs [p]. Thirdly, the kingdom of *Bakkan* (X), where there are many gold mines. Fourth, the kingdom of *Tangram*, which abounds with lead and lak. Fifth, the kingdom of *Prom* (Y), whoſe commodities are the ſame with thoſe of the former. Sixth, *Jangoma*: this kingdom is ſtored with copper, muſk, pepper, ſilk, gold, and ſilver [q]. It lies to the north of *Siam*, and the capital of it is *Jamahay*, which ſeems to be the ſame with *Chiamay*, ſituated on the *Menam*, the river which runs through the country of *Siam* [r]. Seventh, the kingdom of *Lawran*, which produces benjamin enough to load ſhips with it. The eighth and ninth are the kingdoms of *Trukon* (Z), from whence come the *China* wares. The tenth and ele-

[m] DE FARIA, p. 137. [n] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 117. [o] PIMENTA ap. Purch. vol. ii. p. 1746. [p] DE FARIA. [q] PIMENTA, ubi ſupr. [r] See our account of Jangoma hereafter.

(U) 'Tis true he alſo mentions that of *Martavân*; but then it is the ſame conqueſt deſcribed by *Pinto*, and made in 1544 from *Chau-bainha*; whereby it appears, that *De Faria* has aſcribed to the third *Barma* king of *Pegu*, the acts both of the firſt and ſecond kings of the ſame race.

(X) The city of *Bâkan*, ſeventy or eighty miles to the ſouth of *Ava*, on the eaſt ſide of the river *Ava*, ſeems to have been the capital of this kingdom.

(Y) The capital ſeems to have been the city *Prom*, on the river of *Ava*, about eighty miles ſouth of *Bâkan*.

(Z) This, perhaps, is the kingdom of *Turks*, bordering on *China*, mentioned by *De Faria*, *Portug. Aſia*, vol. ii. p. 11.

venth

venth are the kingdoms of *Kablan*, which, we are told, lie near *Ava*, towards *China* (A), and abound with precious stones. The twelfth and last kingdom, conquered by *Chaumigrem*, was *Siam* [s]. We are sensible that this is not a complete enumeration of the countries conquered by this prince; for that of *Laos*, one of the most considerable of all, is omitted. The conquest of this great kingdom was made by the *Barmas*, in the year 1556 (B). We have this information from *Gaspar de Cruz*; by which it appears, that he had finished his expeditions to the north-east and east, if not all his northern conquests, at that juncture. This is all the account we meet with of his wars, excepting that of *Siam*, which *De Faria* speaks of, but ascribes to *Pranjinoko*, this king's successor, and the last of the *Barma* race in *Pegu* [t].

5. Chaumigrem.

Authors disagree with regard to some particulars relating to this expedition: but we happen to have a traveller who was in *Pegu* at the very time, from whom we shall give our readers the account, and from whom, for the general, the rest have copied theirs. According to *Cæsar Frederic*, the king of *Pegu*, for the reduction of the empire of *Siam*, raised an army of 1,400,000 men. With this prodigious force he began his march by land, and was four months in his way to the capital city of the same name. He lay one-and-twenty months before the place, in which time he lost a great number of men: for, six months after his departure, a reinforcement was sent him of 500,000 men, to supply the place of those who were killed in the first attacks. Neither, after all, had the city been taken, but for treachery; one of the gates having been set open in the night, through which the king, with great difficulty, forced his way. This happened in the year 1567. When the emperor found he was betrayed, and that his enemy was master of his capital, he poisoned himself. His wives and children, friends and noblemen,

Invades Siam, with mighty forces.

[s] Pimenta, ubi supr. p. 168.

[t] Da Cruz, ap. Purch. vol. iii.

(A) This is a very crude way of expressing the situation of *Kablan*, or *Kaplan*, which seems to be the same with the first kingdom *Kavelam*. If this latter be not rather a mistake for *Kamelan*, whose king *Masinga* we are told, was defeated and killed by *De Brito*, about 1604. *Kaplan*, famous for rubies, lies between the province of *Sirian*, and the city of *Pegu*, as hath been mentioned in the geography.

(B) So it is expressed in words, in the text of *Purchas*: but in the margin we find the year 1559 in figures, and this last seems the more likely date of the two.

who

5. Chau-migrem.

who were not ſlain in the firſt heat, were all carried captives to *Pegu*, in triumph, by the conqueror. It was an agreeable ſight, ſaith our author, to behold the elephants marching home in a ſquare, laden ſome with gold, ſilver, and jewels; others with noblemen and women, who were taken with the ſpoil [u]. *Balbi* has borrowed his account [x] of this from *Frederic*; *Fitch*, *Mandelſlo*, and others, from *Balbi*.

and ſubdues it.

DE Faria relates this tranſaction from other authors, with ſome variation. According to him, the king of *Pegu*, after obtaining a ſignal victory over the *Siameſes*, reduced the country under his dominion. He likewiſe took the king and his two ſons priſoners; called, by reaſon of their different colours, one the *black* (C), the other the *white*. However, the two kings coming afterwards to an accommodation, the *Chau-migrem* left him of *Siam* in poſſeſſion of his kingdom, on condition that he ſhould pay him a yearly tribute; and carried with him to *Pegu* his two ſons, as hoſtages, for performance of the treaty. On his return to the capital he entered the city in triumph, preceded by a great number of waggons, loaded with images, and ineſtimable booty. Theſe were followed by two thouſand elephants, richly adorned; and, after them, the conqueror marched in a chariot drawn by the captive princes and lords, having with him the queens of *Siam*, loaded with jewels, lying at his feet. Laſt of all came his victorious troops [y].

The war began

NEITHER *Caſar Frederic* nor *De Faria* tells us the occaſion of this war: but *Linſchoten* informs us, that it was undertaken on account of a white elephant, which the king of that country had in his poſſeſſion. The *Pegu* monarch, who held that animal to be in its nature holy, and even made his ſupplications to it; ſent an ambaſſador to intreat it of the *Siamite*, offering to pay for it whatever price he ſhould demand (D). As the king of *Siam* refuſed, on any terms, to part with the elephant, which he no leſs eſteemed than he of *Pegu*; the latter thereupon reſolving to obtain by force what he could not procure either through intreaties or money, entered *Siam* with a moſt numerous army, and reduced

[u] FREDERIC ap. Hakl. vol. ii. p. 229. [x] BALBI voyag. p. 110. [y] DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 118.

(C) He is called *Rajah Apri*, which ſignifies not *the black*, but *the fiery*, *king*.

(D) *Mandelſlo*, who places this war in the ſame year with *Linſchoten*, ſays the king of *Siam* had two white elephants, and that he of *Pegu* ſent to purchaſe one of them only. *Mandelſ.* travels, *ap. Olear.* p. 127.

it

it to a state of dependance, as hath been before-mentioned; carrying off the white elephant, as a trophy of his victory [z]. That this was the cause of the war, is, in effect, confirmed by *Frederic*, as well as others; who agree, that, from the time of this expedition, the king of *Pegu* assumed the title of *king of the white elephant*, and would suffer none of his neighbours to keep any of that kind. 5. Chau-migrem.

MENDEZ Pinto, after setting forth the manner in which the *Chau-migrem* obtained the crown of *Pegu*, in taking leave of him, just mentions an invasion which he made into *Siam*; without telling us either the success of it, farther than that it cost his nation 280 *Portugueses*, or the year in which it was performed. He speaks, indeed, of this war, as the renewal of that undertaken by the first *Barma* king of *Pegu*, and as if commenced presently after this second *Barma* ascended the throne: but from the number of forces, which he says were the greatest ever brought into the field by an *Indian* prince, we take it to be the same war with that spoken of by *Frederic:* for his army consisted of 1,700,000 men, and 16,000 elephants, whereof 9000 were for carriage, and the rest for battle [a]. Add to this, that *Balbi* relates many *Portugueses* were brought prisoners to *Pegu*, who were not set at liberty till the reign of this king's successor. 'Tis true, *Pinto* returned to *Lisbon* in 1558, and therefore may be thought to speak of a war undertaken while he was in the *Indies:* but as that author did not print his voyages till several years after, it is probable what he has inserted, relating to this expedition, was done from information received in *Portugal*. *for a white elephant.*

WHETHER the conquest of *Siam* was the last this monarch effected, we know not: but, in 1581, we find he attempted that of *Arrakan*, the only kingdom bordering on *Pegu* which remained unsubdued. For this expedition he fitted out 1300 sail of barks, and sent them under the conduct of the prince his son. In their way they met with two *Portugueſe* galliots, commanded by *Gonsalo vaz de Camoens*; and the prince of *Pegu*, being desirous to take them, sent sixteen of his best sailors to attack them After a sharp engagement, wherein three ships were disabled, and eighteen cannon taken, with some prisoners, the *Portugueses*, seeing all that multitude bear down upon them, retreated into the port of *Arrakan*; and thus frustrated the intended invasion, as hath been already mentioned in the history of *Arrakan* [b]. *Expedition against* Arrakan.

[z] LINSCHOT. voy. Ind. p. 30. [a] PINTO voy. p. 305, & seq. [b] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 370.

THIS

5. Chaumigrem.

THIS is all of moment which we meet with in authors, relating to the conquests of this great prince, whom hitherto we have beheld in a state of glory. Let us now view him in a contemptible light, a slave and dupe to the most abject superstition.

Ape's tooth worshiped,

IN the year 1560, *Don Constantine de Braganza*, viceroy of *Goa*, having taken from its king the city of *Jafana-patan*, in the island of *Seylan*, commonly called *Ceylon*, and *Zeylon*, found there an idol, which was adored through all the neighbouring coasts of *Asia*, whose inhabitants flocked thither daily in pilgrimage; and so highly esteemed by the princes of those parts, particularly the king of *Pegu*, that he every year sent ambassadors with rich presents, to procure a print of it. This so much worshipped relick was nothing (E), says our author, but the tooth of a white monkey [c]. That, doubtless, was the fact: however, it was supposed, by its adorers, to have belonged to one of their subaltern deities, the famous *Anamonte*, or *Hanimant*; who, in the form of an ape, did so much service in *Seylan* for the god *Wishnu*, and is his *Wahannam*, or war-horse [d].

taken and burnt.

HOWEVER that be, the king of *Pegu*, as soon as he heard that the viceroy had the tooth in his possession, sent to offer him 300,000 ducats for it; and it was not doubted but his zeal would have extended as far as a million, in case the bargain had been well driven. Most of the *Portugueses* were for taking the money: but it being resolved, in a meeting of the chief clergy and laity, that it should not be sold; *Don Constantine*, in the presence of them all, ordered it to be beaten to dust in a mortar, and then thrown into the fire. But this act, which at that time seemed to be applauded by all men, was, not long after, condemned and railed at, as being the occasion of propagating, instead of suppressing, this tooth idolatry [e].

A counterfeit tooth A. D. 1564.

FOR in the year 1564, the king of *Pegu* being told by astrologers that he was to marry a daughter of the king of *Kolumbo*, in the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*, sent to demand her. Those astrologers, it seems, were no conjurers, for the

[c] DE FARIA, p. 207, & seq. [d] See hereafter, the history of *India*. [e] DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 208.

(E) Why is not a monkey's white tooth as rational an object of worship as a saint's bone, the hair of a beard, a bit of rotten wood, or a white wafer, adored by our author and those of his communion? But people, blinded with prejudice, are apt to ridicule the superstitions of others, although they commit much greater themselves.

king

king of *Kolumbo* had no daughter. But as his chamberlain had one, whom the king esteemed as his own, they agreed to impose her on the *Pegu* monarch, as if she was really the king of *Kolumbo*'s. The chamberlain, in order farther to oblige the *Barma* king, with a view by his assistance to shake off the *Portuguese* yoke, gave an ape's tooth in dowry with the bride, imposed on him; pretending that it was the same which the *Portugueses* had taken at *Jafanapatan*, and burnt at *Goa*. The ambassadors, easily giving credit to what they desired, took the bride and the tooth away, keeping it as a great secret from the *Portugueses*. On their arrival in *Pegu*, the king received the lady first, and then the spurious relick, with the greatest pomp imaginable. The galley which carried the queen was covered with plates of gold, and rowed by beautiful young women, richly dress, and brought up for this exercise. They were of that kind who live there in separate quarters, by two and two, without the conversation of men.

5. Chaumigrem. *imposed on the king.*

The king of *Kandea*, in the same island, who was informed of this trick put upon the *Peguan* monarch, through envy, acquainted him therewith; and, at the same time, offered him a true daughter of his own, and the genuine tooth of the ape; affirming that the *Kolumbo* tooth, and that destroyed by *Don Constantine*, were both counterfeits. The *Barma* king, considering that it was as bad for a prince to own himself cheated, as really to be cheated, seemed not to credit the information; and thus the king of *Kandia* missed his aim. On this occasion our author *De Faria* makes two reflexions. One, that the *Portuguese* commanders, through their avarice, exposed that important place, *Kolumbo*, to be lost, had not the king of *Pegu* grown cool, upon his discovery of the cheat: the other, that had *Don Constantine* sold the tooth, as he was advised to do, we should not have heard of two set up to be adored by such numbers of people [f].

Another spurious one.

But to return to actions more worthy of a great prince. This monarch was not only the greatest hero, but the most magnificent among the *Pegu* kings. With the spoils of other countries he enriched his own, and employed a great part of his acquired wealth in erecting monuments to his future glory. The chief of these was the new city of *Pegu*, as mentioned before, in which he built a splendid palace, the least part of whose beauty consisted in its paintings and gildings: for the cielings of some apartments were covered with gold; and others contained statues of gold and silver, some of a

Magnificent works

[f] De Faria, p. 68 & 251.

5. Chaumigrem.

monſtrous ſize, of which we have already given a deſcription [g]. Some rooms were ſet round with ſtatues of kings and queens, as big as the life, all of maſſy gold, and adorned with precious ſtones of great value [h]. He likewiſe cauſed 366 *kombalengas* to be caſt in gold [i]. Theſe are wedges, in the form of ſugar-loaves, each weighing about forty pounds, as hath been already obſerved in our deſcription of *Arrakan* [k]. Some gold and ſilver ſtatues were alſo caſt, as large as the life, on occaſion of his conqueſt of *Siam*; from whence he brought ſeveral very fine ones, eſpecially of cows, in copper, which were erected before chapels or halls, which contained the other ſtatues [l]. He had ſeveral magnificent chariots, or triumphal cars, on which no ornaments were wanting, which painting, carving, gilding, and plating with gold, could beſtow upon them [m]. The like may be ſaid of his pleaſure-barges; among which one excelled, for beauty and coſtlineſs, any thing of the kind which ever had been made before [n]. In ſhort, this monarch raiſed the power and wealth of *Pegu* to a ſurpriſing pitch: but thoſe advantages, which continued during his whole reign, did not long ſurvive him.

of this monarch.

His death. *CHAU-MIGREM*, or *Mandaragri*, died in the year 1583, a little before *Balbi* landed in *Pegu*, which was about the middle of *September* [o]; after he had reigned thirty years, reckoning from the death of *Shemîndoo*, in 1553. He reigned thirty-ſeven years, according to *Pimenta*, who places the beginning of his reign in 1546 [p]. This remark, though perhaps a little faulty, proves, however, that the king, whoſe reign we have been treating of, and who was the father of him who poſſeſſed the throne in the times of *Balbi* and *Pimenta*, was the ſame who ſucceeded *Shemîndoo*.

Wives and ſons. THIS prince, according to *Cæſar Frederic*, had only one wife, but above 300 concubines, by whom he was reported to have had ninety children. However, we meet with no account of any of them, either from him or other authors, excepting the ſon who ſucceeded to the crown [q].

[g] See before, p. 44, & ſeqq. alſo CÆS. FREDERIC ap. Hakl. vol. ii. p. 236. [h] DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 119. [i] PIMENT. ap. Purch. trav. vol. ii. p. 1746. [k] See before, p. 16. [l] See BALBI viagg. p. 110. [m] FREDERIC ap. Hakl. vol. ii. p. 236. BALBI, p. 120, & ſeq. [n] BALBI, p. 118. See alſo before, p. 65. [o] BALBI, p. 100. [p] PIMENT. ap. Purch vol. ii. p. 1746. [q] FREDERIC ap. eund. ibid. p. 1716.

THE

THE king being dead, he was succeeded, about the middle of the year 1583, by his son, who was then fifty years of age [a]. *De Faria* calls him *Pranjinoko*; but makes him the successor of *Shemîndoo*; thus confounding the son with the father: and accordingly ascribes to him several actions, which do not belong to his reign. *Pegu* was in the most flourishing condition imaginable, famous for its wealth, and dreaded for its power, when this prince ascended the throne: but by his tyranny and obstinacy, he, by degrees, lost all which his father had gained, and at length brought both himself and the empire to destruction [b].

6. Brandjinoko. *Flourishing state of* Pegu.

HE had been scarce two months in possession of the crown, when he set out from his capital with all his forces, against his uncle the king of *Ava*, who was his tributary. This prince, being the oldest among those of the blood, imagined that he only had a right to the empire; and therefore, when *Pranjinoko* ascended the throne, he neither came to pay him homage, as the other kings and dukes had done, nor sent the usual present of jewels. He went so far as to prohibit his merchants from carrying precious stones into *Pegu*, so that a stop was put to the jewel trade: and, in short, secretly endeavoured to engage the *Peguan* nobility in a conspiracy to dethrone their sovereign, and set himself on the throne. The king of *Pegu* dissembled his resentment for a time; and as his father had, at his death, enjoined him to preserve a good understanding with his uncle, he resolved to try what could be done by gentle methods.

The king of Ava

WITH this view he sent an officer of his court to the king of *Ava*, to know the reason why, for three years before, he had not come to pay him homage; and also why he suffered no jewels to be carried to *Pegu*. The king of *Ava*, relying on the assistance of the *Peguan* grandees, instead of returning his nephew an answer, put to death his envoy; and the king of *Pegu*, thinking all obligations of affinity were cancelled by so atrocious an affront, immediately declared war against him. But as he knew that he was not well beloved by his subjects, and that the greater part of his nobles, who were in his uncle's interest, ought not to be trusted by him, he resolved to get rid of them, before he took the field [c].

corrupts the nobles.

To compass this design with least suspicion, he sent for the chief of them, under pretence of consulting them about affairs of state; and, as they arrived, had them handcuffed

Four thousand burnt at once.

[a] BALBI viagg. p. 109. [b] DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 361.
[c] BALBI viag p. 105 & 112.

6. Branjinoko.

and impriſoned. When they had been all ſecured, he ordered their wives and children to be ſeized, not excepting women with child, and ſucking infants. Next morning he cauſed a large ſcaffold to be built, a great height from the ground, on which the priſoners, to the number of 4000 (A) great and ſmall, being mounted, were all burnt alive. To ſtrike the greater terror by this dreadful execution, the inhabitants, both of the old and new city of *Pegu*, were, by proclamation, commanded to attend; among whom was our author *Balbi*, who beheld this tragedy with the greateſt horror. Of all thoſe who had been ſeized, none but a ſcrivener was pardoned; but the reprieve came ſo late, that the flames had already catched his legs, and diſabled them [d].

The king marches

As ſoon as the execution was over, the king ſent for all the other commanders into his preſence, and warned them, from the example which they had ſeen made of traitors, to be loyal; and alſo to aſſemble, without delay, ſuch a body of forces as might aſſure him of the victory. This ſpeech had ſo good an effect, that in a few days they collected from the two cities upwards of 300,000 men, and encamped without the walls. It was thought, as ſoon as the king's army had taken the field, that his uncle of *Ava* would come and ſubmit himſelf, in caſe the ſoldiers did not mutiny in his favour. Nothing of this kind happened: and ten days after, the king appeared on a white elephant, all covered with gold and jewels. He took the field with great reſolution; girt with a ſword ſent him by *Don Lewis de Taide*, viceroy of *Goa*, the guard whereof was richly gilt [e].

againſt Ava.

He left, as regent in the capital during his abſence, prince *Maupa Râjah*, his eldeſt ſon, with the great *Barma* (B), and then ſet forward, the beginning of *April*, at the head of his troops. As all believed he would have but bad ſucceſs, and moſt people wiſh'd it him, every day brought ſome ill news from the army. At length the king fell ill of the ſmall-pox, which is looked on as peſtilentious in *Pegu*. However he had the good luck to eſcape that danger: and as ſoon as he re-

[d] Balbi, ibid.

[e] Ibid. p. 108, 112.

(A) *Pimenta* writes, that only forty noblemen were put to death on this occaſion, however, with their wives, children, friends, and families. He adds, that all who fled out of the fire were cut to pieces: but there could be no flying from a ſcaffold. See *Purchas*'s *pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1746.

(B) By the great *Barma* is to be underſtood the chief general of his army.

covered,

covered, attacked his competitor. While the armies were fiercely engaged, the two kings met, and fought hand to hand (C), first with muskets, then with darts, and at last with their swords. The combat had continued doubtful a considerable time, when the *Pegu* elephant happened to break his right tooth in attacking that of *Ava*. This beast, enraged with pain, rushed on his antagonist a second time, with such advantage to the king of *Pegu*, as gave him an opportunity to kill his uncle; who did not fall altogether unrevenged: for he wounded his nephew, though but slightly, in the arm; and at the same time the elephant of the latter dropp'd down dead under him; but he immediately got on the back of his uncle's: and as soon as the forces of *Ava* perceived their king was slain, they instantly left off fighting, and submitted to the king of *Pegu*; who, praising their courage, pardoned their fault. It was reckoned that 200,000 of his forces were slain, and not many less of the *Avan* army. 6. Branjinoko. *Kills his uncle.*

After this victory, he sent a body of troops to the city of *Ava*, with orders to raze it to the ground, and make the inhabitants prisoners. This was done accordingly: and because he was not able to discover the great treasure belonging to the deceased king, he banished them to the woods. The queen, as the king of *Pegu*'s sister, was allowed a palace to live in, with a numerous attendance; but was obliged to confine herself to its limits, without ever stirring abroad. Six days after the battle, which was fought the fourteenth of *July* (D), the king returned unexpectedly to his capital, and found the city without the guards which he had ordered to be kept there: but, at the request of the prince his son, the fault was pardoned, and a stop put to farther executions. Ava *city razed.*

While he was on the above-mentioned expedition, the son (E) of the emperor of *Silon* (or *Siam*), under pretence of coming to his assistanc (F), arrived at the old city of *Pegu*, with *Invades* Siam.

[f] Balbi, p. 112, 114. Pimenta ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1745.

(C) *Pimenta* says, that the king of *Pegu* chose this way of single combat to decide the controversy, because he found his cruelty to the suspected lords lost him the affections of his subjects.

(D) It is said that the war began in a place called *Mekkao*: but it could not be the fortress twelve miles from *Pegu*.

(E) This possibly was *Rájah Api*, mentioned hereafter.

(F) *Pimenta* says, that the king of *Siam*, with an army, marched into *Pegu*, as far as a town called *Satan*, giving out that he came to assist his lord the king.

6. Branjinoko.

thirty war elephants and 800 horſemen. The great *Barma* directed him to follow the king towards *Ava*; but inſtead of taking that route, he returned home. The king of *Siam*, pretending to take offence that the *Barma* general, whom he called a ſlave, ſhould preſume to give an anſwer to the prince his ſon, ſent *Pranjinoko* word, that he would no longer acknowlege him as his ſuperior. Hereupon the *Pegu* monarch ſent a powerful army to invade *Siam*, under the command of the great *Barma* (G): but after loſing a great number of men before the capital, that general was forced to retire, with this anſwer from the king of *Siam*; that, if *Pranjinoko* had come in perſon, he would have paid him his compliments; but would not demean himſelf to ſubmit to his inferior. This being reported to the king of *Pegu*, he ſaid, it was his will and pleaſure that the leaſt of his ſlaves ſhould have authority over the prince who was his ſubject [g].

His army deſtroyed.

However, nothing farther was done againſt *Siam* while our author *Balbi* ſtayed in the country, which he left in *February* 1586. But the next year, when *Fitch* was there, the king himſelf made an expedition into *Siam*, with an army of 300,000 men, and 3000 elephants, beſides his guards, which were 30,000 [h]. The ſucceſs of this enterpriſe is not mentioned by that author, who ſeems to have left *Pegu* before his majeſty returned: but we learn the circumſtances of it from *Pimenta*. According to this author, the king arrived with his army before the city of *Siam* towards the beginning of the year (H); and was amuſed with offers of ſubmiſſion, in order to protract the time till *March*; when the river of *Siam* overflowing its banks, like the *Nile*, ſoon laid the enemy's camp under water: ſo that, out of all that multitude, ſcarce 70,000 returned to *Martavân*, and that without either horſes or elephants.

Other fruitleſs invaſions.

The king of *Pegu*, having made another expedition into *Siam*, no more ſucceſsful than the former, ſent thither his brother the king of *Jangoma*, to try what he could do [i]. But he was defeated by the black prince, the king of *Siam*'s eldeſt ſon, and 200,000 of his forces cut to pieces, with a

[g] Balbi ibid. & Pimenta ibid. [h] Fitch ap. Purch. ibid. p. 1738. [i] Pimenta ubi ſupr.

(G) This is the ſame, perhaps, whom *De Faria* calls *Banna*, the king's chief favourite. *Portug. Aſia*, vol. iii. p. 119.

(H) Whether 1587 or 88, we cannot determine. *Pimenta* ſays, his army amounted to 900,000 men: whence it may be judged, that all the accounts of theſe great armies are exaggerated.

great

great number of elephants and horſe, beſides what were taken [k]. It hath been already mentioned, that when *Chaumigrem* conquered *Siam*, in 1567, he carried with him to *Pegu* the king's two ſons, who were educated at his court. Some years after, he gave them leave to return to *Siam*, to viſit their father, where they ſtayed, whether with or without the king of *Pegu*'s conſent, does not appear from hiſtory. The eldeſt, called *Râjah Api*, or *the fiery prince*, and by the *Portugueſes*, *the black prince*, did great ſervice againſt the enemy in their repeated invaſions. The ſecond was named *the white prince*, and was king of *Siam* after the death of his brother. 6. Brantjinoko.

PRANJINOKO, rather provoked than diſcouraged by theſe defeats, ſends his ſon *Maupa Râjah*, who was king of *Martavân*, with a formidable army, which committed great devaſtations in the country of *Siam*, through which it marched; but the prince, after loſing half his forces, was obliged to return, without reducing the king to obedience. The *Pegu* monarch, reſolved to make a laſt effort, raiſes an army of 1,700,000 men, and once more gives the command of them to his ſon *Maupa Râjah*, with the title of king of *Siam*. At the report of this mighty power all *Siam* trembled, excepting the black prince, now king, who met the enemy, and gave them battle. At length the two kings, encountering on their elephants, fought, and *Maupa Râjah* was caſt dead to the ground. At this ſight his men fled, and the *Siamites* purſued them for a month, in which time they deſtroyed the greater part of that vaſt army [l]. This happened about the year 1590. *Balbi*, who ſaw and ſpoke to this prince, ſays, he was large of ſtature, and brown, like the king his father; but very courteous and obliging. He often diſſuaded him from acts of cruelty; and, while our author was there, ſaved the old city from deſtruction: an aſtrologer having told the king, that, if he was deſirous to reduce *Siam*, he ſhould burn another city, as his father had done before. *The prince killed.* *His character.*

PRANJINOKO, enraged at the death of this prince (I), made great preparations for three years together; deſigning to carry with him to the wars all the inhabitants of *The king's tyranny.*

[k] De Faria Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 119. [l] Id. ibid. & Pimenta ubi ſup.

(I) *De Faria* ſays, the king, on this occaſion, turned his fury againſt his people, and ſome days burned above ten thouſand; throwing ſo many into the river, as ſtopp'd the paſſage even of boats.

6. Branjinoko.

Pegu, who were able to bear arms. The people, terrified to be thus dragged to the ſlaughter, after ſuffering ſo much already by former expeditions, abandoned themſelves to deſpair; and, to avoid this oppreſſion, ſome became *Talapoys*, or friers, others fled to woods and deſarts, and many ſold themſelves for ſlaves. Hereupon the king cauſed his uncle *Shinnibogo* to ſearch the public records, and preſs one half of the people for his armies. He likewiſe ordained, by proclamation, that all who had made themſelves *Talapoys*, ſhould quit that profeſſion, and return to a ſecular ſtate; that the young men ſhould be compelled to ſerve in the wars, and the old baniſhed into the country of the *Barmas*: but he afterwards exchanged them away for horſes. He commanded likewiſe, that all the *Peguers* ſhould be branded in the right hand, that ſo every man's name, country, and condition, might be known.

The Peguers *rebel*

THE *Peguers*, provoked to ſee themſelves thus opprobriouſly treated, began to rebel. The citizens of *Koſmi*, or *Koſmin*, firſt ſet up a king to oppoſe this tyranny. Againſt them *Pranjinoko* ſent an army, which deſtroyed all the country, and brought away many priſoners, whom he cauſed to be burned. Then, continuing the war upon them, they who had fled to the woods were forced by famine to yield to his mercy; which was ſuch, that he put them all to death with exquiſite torments. The next act of his fury was againſt the kingdom of *Ava*: for he commanded his ſon (K), who was governor thereof, to bring all the inhabitants of that province into the kingdom of *Pegu*, which was then ſo deſtitute of people. The ſon obeyed, and tranſplanted the *Avans*: but, the air not agreeing with their conſtitutions, they became afflicted with boils, and ſeveral other diſeaſes; which alſo catched the natives, many of whom, to avoid the pain, threw themſelves into the river. Mean time ſome of the *Peguers* had, by the help of the *Siamites*, gotten the caſtle of *Murmulan* (L) into their poſſeſſion. The king, on this advice, ſent thither forces, which beſieged that fortreſs for a whole year together: but the *Siameſe* troops, coming on them unexpectedly, defeated his army, with great ſlaughter of men, horſes, and elephants; many were drowned, and not a few taken priſoners. That part of the country being thus reduced under the enemies power, many *Peguan* lords fled to them, whoſe wives, children, and families, *Pranjinoko*, with his uſual cruelty, utterly deſtroyed with fire and ſword (M). So that

in ſeveral provinces.

A. D. 1594.

(K) His name was *Naydu*, according to *Balbi*, p. 120.

(L) A frontier place towards *Siam*, to the ſouth or ſouth-eaſt of *Martavân*.

(M) The date in the margin is

that the whole tract, from the city of *Pegu* to *Martavan* and *Murmulan*, became a wilderness. 6. Branjinoko.

WHILST the siege of that place was going on, he sent for his son (N), the viceroy of *Prom*; who imagined it was to be declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brother, the prince of *Ava*: but when he found it was to go to the siege of *Murmulan*, he would fain have avoided it; whereat his father, being angry, ordered him to salute his brother, and be gone. The prince of *Prom*, instead of obeying the king's command, returned in his ships to *Prom*, and there rebelled. *The prince rebels.*

The king of *Siam*, taking advantage of these distractions, invades *Pegu*, and lays siege to the capital, in which were then numbered 150,000 *Peguers*, *Barmas*, and others, with three thousand pieces of cannon, one thousand of them brass. The siege continued from *January* to *April* 1596, when, by the assistance of sixty *Portugueses* and twenty *Turks*, joined to a report that more of the former were advancing thither through *Kamboja*, the king of *Siam* raised the siege [m], with the loss of 100,000 men [n]. But famine succeeded, with a worse calamity; which made not only the *Lanjangs* and *Siamese* soldiers to leave the city, but also the *Peguers*, *Barmas*, and even the king of *Tangu*: in effect, all withdrew, excepting a few from this last country. Pegu *besieged.* A. D. 1596.

PRANJINOKO, thus deserted, sent his commands to the king, or viceroy, of *Tangu*, to gather in the harvest, then ripe, and embark it, with all the inhabitants, for *Pegu*. The viceroy of *Tangu* answers, that he would ship one half of each; and that either he, or his son, would set out along with them. The king, enraged to have his orders disputed, dispatches four principal lords to fetch him, and the provisions, by force: but the viceroy, instead of submitting to his sovereign's authority, puts to death these commissioners; and, having seized the ships, with the soldiers on board, by proclamation prohibits all intercourse with *Pegu*, or any aid to be sent thither. By this means the famine increased to such a degree in the city, that the people killed and ate one another. Man's flesh was sold in the public shambles: parents abstained not from their children, and children devoured their parents. The stronger preyed on the weaker; neither could their being nothing but skin and bones protect them from the teeth of others, who opened their bellies to feast on their Tangu *revolts.* *Dreadful famine.*

[m] PIMENTA, ubi supra, p. 1747. [n] DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 120.

is given by conjecture here, and in some other places.

(N) Called *Naymor* by *Balbi*, p. 120.

bowels,

6. Branjinoko.

bowels, and ſucked out their brains. Nor were they men only who did theſe cruel butcheries to ſatisfy their hunger; but the very women went about the ſtreets with knives, looking out for ſuch as were not able to reſiſt them. At length the king cauſed the people in the city to be numbered; and finding that there were amongſt them 7000 *Siameſes*, he cauſed them all to be ſlain, and the proviſion divided among the reſt, who did not amount to above 30,000 in all, reckoning women and children.

The prince poiſoned. A. D. 1597.

AFTER the king of *Prom* had ſtood out in rebellion for three years, he ſent to ſubmit himſelf to his father, and promiſed to bring the inhabitants of that city to the capital of *Pegu*. Upon this, the king pardoned and ſent him preſents: but the chief miniſter of the prince, who had been the cauſe of his diſobedience, apprehending that his head would atone for the crime, poiſoned him, and aſſumed the government. Seven days after, he was killed by the grandees; and they, aſpiring to the ſame dignity one after another, ſo waſted the people by civil war, that in two months time, out of 50,000 men, ſcarce fifty remained; who, repairing by water to *Pegu*, left *Prom* for an habitation to wild beaſts. The kingdom was thus almoſt exhauſted of people; all deſtroyed by the wars and famine, excepting ſuch as fled to the neighbouring countries, amounting to the number of about 240,000 people; *viz.* in the kingdom of *Jangoma*, 120,000, partly *Peguers*, partly *Barmas*; in *Orakan* (or *Arrakân*), 20,000; in *Siam*, and the countries beyond, 100,000.

Jangoma *in motion.*

WHILE the kingdom was in theſe confuſions, the *Talipoys*, who hated *Pranjinoko* for his tyranny, counſelled his brother, the king, or viceroy, of *Jangoma*, to uſurp the throne; which he refuſed, pretending his oath of allegiance. They replied, that, the king being depoſed, no oath withheld him from taking the ſceptre, provided he placed his brother in the *vahat*, or golden throne, there to be adored as a god. The Regulo's ſcruples being effectually removed by this argument; he afterwards found out two others himſelf, no leſs cogent, which convinced him that he was the lawful heir to the crown, and had a better right than his brother. The firſt, becauſe his brother was born before his father was king; but he, afterwards. The ſecond, for that his mother was daughter of the old king of *Pegu* (O), who was then living, and

(O) The relative who, in the original *Latin*, is in the maſculine gender; but we cannot tell how to reconcile it with the foregoing hiſtory, unleſs it be a miſtake for the feminine, and is to be referred to *mother*. For ſince the king of *Pegu*, whom, after

and named *Naykhimo*; whereas his brother's mother was not a king's daughter. The king of *Jangoma* was at this time so powerful, that he could bring 350,000 men into the field; and, if occasion required, no fewer than a million. 6. Branjinoko.

THE treasures of the *Pegu* monarch at this time, though so much weakened in his power, were thought to be immense. Among which were the sixty-six *kombalengas*, and sixty-seven statues of gods, adorned with jewels, made by his father's order: these, however, were hidden in the city, but in what place nobody could tell; and it is said, that he put to death 200 eunuchs, to prevent their making a discovery. *The king's treasures.*

THIS was the state of the kingdom of *Pegu*, reduced to one city, and that almost wholly destroyed, when the *Mogo* (P) king of *Arrakan*, in the beginning of the year 1598, came and besieged it °: and was soon after joined by the Regulo of *Tangu*, who had before thrown off his dependance. The king of *Pegu*, being well provided with artillery, and all kinds of military stores, made, for a while, a brave defence against his enemies. The king of *Tangu*, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, so long as *Pranjinoko*'s forces continued firm, endeavoured to corrupt them by rewards; promising life, liberty, and estates, to all who would come over to him. This policy had the desired effect. The first who deserted were the *Portugueses* and *Moors*: after them followed a natural son (Q) of the king's, whose head was cut off by order of the besieged monarch's sister, wife to the king of *Tangu*; saying, *that he who was false to his father, could not be true to her.* *He is besieged,* A. D. 1598.

AT length, the distressed king, finding himself no longer able to hold out, took the opportunity, while the king of *Arrakan* was absent, and delivered up (R) himself and his city into the hands of the king of *Tangu*: from whom, as his bro- *and surrenders.*

° PIMENTA, ubi supr. & ap. HAIES de reb. Japan. & Indic. p. 747, & seqq.

after *De Faria*, we call *Pranjinoko*, was the son of *Chau-migrem*, or *Mandaragri*, who died in 1583, and reigned at least thirty years; who can this old king be? Possibly he was king of some other country, not of *Pegu*.

(P) Our author *Boues* calls him *Mogo*, or the *Mogo* king of *Arrakan*; but *De Faria*, *Shilimi Shâh*. We know that the people of *Arrakan* are called *Mogo*, or *Mogben*; and that the king is stiled king of the *Mogo*.

(Q) It was his eldest son, according to *Jarric*. *Thesaur. Indic.* part. i. l. 6. c. 31.

(R) In *December* 1599, according to *Jarric*; who writes, that the king yielded himself, his wife, and thirteen children, to the king of *Tangu*, his brother-in-law.

the-

6. Branjinoko. ther-in-law, he expected good quarter; which was promiſed him: but this promiſe was not kept. As ſoon as the king of *Tangu* was poſſeſſed of the city and palace, he haſted to the caſtle of *Makao* (S), where the treaſure was lodged; of which he found ſo vaſt a quantity, that ſix hundred elephants, and as many horſes, were ſcarce ſufficient to carry away the gold and jewels only (T): for he made no account of ſilver and other metals. The king of *Arrakan*, being informed that he of *Tangu* had, contrary to his agreement, taken all this treaſure for himſelf, and diſmiſſed the army, without his knowlege, ſet out with his forces, among whom were the *Portugueſes*, commanded by *Philip de Brito* (then the richeſt in *India*, and in great favour with that prince), in order to invade the country of *Tangu*.

A. D. 1599.

Miſeries of Pegu. A. D. 1600.

OUR author *Boues*, who, in *February* 1600, accompanied *De Brito* to *Sirian*, the chief port in *Pegu*, was witneſs, in his paſſage, of the dreadful devaſtations cauſed by the tyranny of that execrable king. It would have affected the hardeſt heart to behold infinite fruit-trees, with the ruins of gilded temples and ſtately edifices, lying along the banks of rivers; the roads and fields full of the ſkulls and bones of wretched *Peguers*, killed or famiſhed; and their bodies thrown into the ſtreams in ſuch multitudes as to hinder the paſſage of veſſels.

THE king of *Arrakan* found in the caſtle of *Makao* above three millions in ſilver, beſides many excellent pieces of braſs ordnance, which the king of *Tangu* had left behind him; either as being in haſte to be gone before the other arrived, or not thinking it worth his while to carry ſuch inconſiderable booty away.

The king ſlain.

WHILE the king of *Arrakan*, become thus poſſeſſed of the crown of *Pegu*, was employed in conveying the treaſure from *Makao*, the kings of *Siam* and *Jangoma*, joining their forces, ſuddenly invaded the king of *Tangu*, with deſign to ſtrip him of the immenſe ſpoils which he had ſo lately brought from *Pegu*. This advice perplexed the king of *Arrakan*, who, on ſo critical an occaſion, knew not what courſe to take P. He was in this irreſolution when *Boues* wrote; nor does that author (or any other come to our hands), acquaint us what

P BOUES ap. Haies, ubi ſupr. p. 850. & PURCH. p. 1748. DE FARIA, ubi ſupr.

(S) It is twelve miles from *Pegu*; and the landing-place for thoſe who come from *Sirian* (ſixteen or eighteen miles diſtant) and the river of *Negrais*.

(T) So *Boues* writes: *Jarric* ſays 700 elephants, and 700 horſes; *De Faria* enlarges the number twelve-fold.

was

was the iſſue of this expedition of the two kings into *Tangu*. In all probability, they did not ſucceed in their attempt. As to the king of *Arrakan*, we are told from another quarter, that, after he had become maſter of *Pegu*, without any difficulty, he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of *Tangu*; demanding part of the treaſures which he had carried off, with the white elephant, and the king of *Pegu*'s daughter (U). He likewiſe required, that the ſaid king ſhould either be delivered up to him, or put to death. Theſe demands were complied with by the king of *Tangu:* who ſoon after cauſed the captive monarch to be ſlain with a peſtle, ſuch as they pound their rice with; it not being lawful to ſhed the blood of thoſe *Aſiatic* princes [q].

6. Branjinoko.

THIS is the account given of his death by *Floris*; but *De Faria* relates the occaſion of it ſomewhat differently. According to this author, the king of *Tangu*, on his return from the war, preſented the captive prince to his ſiſter, the queen of *Tangu*; and it was imagined that ſhe, who had killed his ſon for betraying him, would have treated him with the regards due to a brother. On the contrary, ſhe uſed him in a contemptuous manner; and afterwards, perceiving that her huſband was inclined to ſpare him, cauſed him to be beaten or pounded to death with a wooden peſtle. Indeed, how great ſoever his crimes were, the king of *Tangu* was under the moſt indiſpenſible obligations to be kind to him, if what we are told be true; namely, that he was no more than the ſon of a carter, and owed all his greatneſs to the favour of the murdered prince. In this manner, ſaith *Floris*, came this mighty empire to ruin; ſo that, at this day (X), there is no remembrance of it [r].

by his ſiſter's order.

PRANJINOKO, or *Branjinoko*, dying in 1599, muſt have been ſixty-ſix years of age: for *Balbi* tells us he was fifty when he aſcended the throne; and he reigned ſixteen years. The ſame author informs us, that he was very fond of ſhewing himſelf to the people, contrary to the humour of his father: for that reaſon he almoſt every day appeared in public: and, when he paſſed through the city, ſuffered none to be turned out of the way, taking great pleaſure to ſee and

Age and reign.

[q] FLORIS voy. ap. Purch. vol. i. p. 322. [r] Ibid. ubi ſupr. & DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 121.

(U) *Floris* ſaw both at *Arrakan* in the year 1608. According to *Jarric*, the uncle of the king, and two ſons of the latter, were alſo delivered up as hoſtages; and that he returned with them all in triumph to *Arrakan*. *Jarric Theſaur. Indic.* part i. l. 2. c. 24.

(X) He wrote in 1614.

6. Branjinoko.

be ſeen by his ſubjects. For the ſame reaſon he cauſed two pillars to be erected at the gate of his court to diſtinguiſh it; and on it was written, in large characters, *that every perſon might enter without aſking leave.*

How he appeared

BALBI was at a public audience, to which he was ſent for by the king, about ſome jewels which he had brought to *Pegu*. The entrance of the palace was by two gates, one within the other; and between them were porticos, or open halls, one on each ſide, where the nobles waited for the king's appearance, whoſe approach was proclaimed by twelve ſilver trumpets. At this ſound they all ſtood up; and, as ſoon as they ſaw the king, entered the ſecond or inner gate, which led to the hall of audience: a very beautiful fabric, being all gilded over and enamelled with blue. The king was ſeated on golden cuſhions, with his wives beſide him. Behind him ſtood four little boys, or pages, to attend him. The lords in waiting, called *Najirans*, ſtood before him to report matters to the king, and return his anſwers, as occaſion required. His treaſurers, with other principal lords, were on the left hand; and near to him, on the right, was the prince *Maupa Râjah*, his eldeſt ſon, ſeated on a kind of ſcaffold. At the lower end of the hall were the nobility and great officers, ranged in order according to their ſeveral degrees.

in public audiences.

THE king had in his hand a fan, which he kept in conſtant motion. High over his head were four gilded umbrellas, borne on the top of ſpears, which were alſo gilded and adorned with gold fringes of a good length. During the audience, his elephants paſſed before him in review: four white elephants, preceding the reſt, when they came right before the king, each of them, by way of doing him honour, raiſing his trunk, opened his mouth and neighed three times: after this they kneeled down; then, riſing, walked to their ſtables.

Profound reverence

As *Balbi*, with his interpreter, approached the king, they fell on their knees, with their hands lifted up in a ſuppliant manner, and made as if they kiſſed the ground three times before they roſe again. This reverence, called *rombi*, they performed four times before they came to the ſteps of the place where his majeſty was ſeated; ſo near him that he could diſtinctly hear his words, though he underſtood not what was ſpoken. Then, giving the emeralds to the interpreter, this latter held them over his head, and made the *rombi*. Immediately a *Najiran*, making the ſame reverence, took the jewels, and having delivered them to the king, retired a few ſteps back. Afterwards, the ſame lord being ordered to aſk our traveller ſome queſtions concerning his country and voyages, he took the anſwers down in writing, and

read them to his majesty: who, hearing that *Venice* was in the kingdom of *Italy*, and yet not governed by a king, seemed greatly surprised; and then fell a laughing so heartily, that it brought a cough upon him, which for some time hindered him to speak. In the end, he ordered a present to be given *Balbi*, of a gold cup and five pieces of *China* damask, over and above the payment for his emeralds; with an exemption likewise of duty for his goods, by which he saved 800 ducats. A generosity which all present admired at, it not having been customary with that king to make presents to strangers [s]. 6. Branjinoko. *paid by all*

PRANJINOKO, according to *Balbi*, had four sons. The first, called *Maupa Râjah* (or *Maupatalia*, as he is named in one place). He was king of *Martavân*; and killed in the war of *Siam* 1590, as before related. The second, called *Naydu*, was king of *Ava*; and, after his brother's death, became heir to the crown. According to *Jarric*, he deserted his father, during the siege, as above related, and was put to death by his aunt, the queen of *Tangu*. The third son was named *Naymor*; the same, we conjecture, who was Regulo of *Prom*, and slain about 1597 [t]. The fourth is not named by *Balbi*, any more than the king himself. This, we should have concluded, was the young prince, who, on the surrender of *Pegu* in 1599, was, according to *Boues*, put to death, along with his father and mother, by the king or queen of *Tangu*. But we find that there were thirteen children given up to the king of *Tangu* [u]; and that they were all slain, excepting two sons, who were delivered to the king of *Arrakan*. These were named *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettam*; and three or four years after, went with the prince of *Arrakan* to the siege of *Sirian* [x]. *his children.*

After the death of this *Barma* king, *Pegu*, by the retreat of the king of *Tangu*, was left in the hands of the *Arrakan* monarch, as before-mentioned, and annexed to that crown. Authors do not take notice how long it continued so, but it seems to have ceased about the year 1606 or 1607; at which time it probably fell into the hands of the king of *Ava*: at least, in 1613, we find that monarch leading an army through it, as if it was his own dominion, to the siege of *Sirian*; which he took from the *Portugueses*, as will hereafter be related. Pegu *subject to* Arrakan.

[s] Balbi viag. p. 102, 109.
[t] Ibid. p. 116, 120.
[u] See Jarric, ubi supr. l. 4. c. 31. vol. iii. p. 132.
[x] See De Faria,

In

6. Branjinoko. *Annexed to* Ava,

In 1619 or 1620, we read of a king of *Pegu*, who was alſo king of *Ava*, reſiding in the city of *Pegu*, at which time the affairs of that country began to be re-eſtabliſhed. This king, we are told, was nephew to his predeceſſor, and ſucceeded in prejudice to his children; likewiſe, that he recovered the kingdom and city of *Zangomay* (or *Jangomay*) from the king of *Siam*, who had taken them from the former king. This recovery was made in the year 1615 or 1616; and the ſtrangers found there carried with the conqueror into *Pegu*[y]. From this imperfect account we conjecture, that the prince who took *Sirian*, and he who recovered *Jangoma*, were the ſame: and that he removed the royal ſeat from *Ava* back to *Pegu* between the two expeditions. However that be, the *Engliſh*, by his encouragement, began a trade at *Pegu* in 1619; but, by ill management of thoſe employed, they were forced to abandon it almoſt as ſoon as they had commenced it[z].

and ſo continues.

As to the predeceſſor of this king above-mentioned, whether he was one of the ſons of *Pranjinoko*, carried to *Arrakân* by *Shelîmi Shâh*, and ſet up by his aſſiſtance, or ſome other perſon of the *Barma* race, we cannot pretend to determine: neither does it appear when the royal ſeat was tranferred from the city of *Pegu* to that of *Ava*, where it at preſent is, and ſeems to have been fixed for above a century paſt.

SECT. V.

Proceedings of the Portugueſes *in* Pegu.

THIS is all we have been able to collect from good authors concerning the hiſtory of *Pegu*, and its ſurpriſing revolutions (Y), within the compaſs of leſs than a century. However, we meet with one reign more, which may be added to the reſt, as, in effect, it is ſubſequent to them; and that is the reign of a *Portugueſe* king, or emperor, of *Pegu*. As the ſubject promiſes ſomething very curious and uncommon, it would be unpardonable in us not to lay it before our readers.

[y] See METHOLD Ind. obſ. ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005, & ſeqq. [z] Idem ibid.

(Y) The account given by Captain *Hamilton*, from the report of the natives and *Portugueſes*, confounds the actions of different times and perſons together, as will appear by comparing it with the preceding hiſtory.

SHELIMI

SHILIMI Shâh, king of *Arrakan*, to expreſs his gratitude to the *Portugueſes* who ſerved him in his armies, beſtowed on them the port of *Sirian*, at the requeſt of *Philip De Brito and Nicote*, before-mentioned; who, being raiſed from the ſtation of a collier to the favour of that prince, ſoon after requited him with the baſeſt ingratitude [a]. This is *De Faria*'s account of the matter: but we are told by *Boues* the Jeſuit, who went to *Sirian* with *De Brito* in *February* 1598; that the king, not being yet acknowleged by the *Peguers* who lay concealed, or were fled, delivered the port of *Sirian* to *De Brito*, that the fugitives might there find refuge under *Portugueſe* protection [b]. He likewiſe honoured him with the title of *Chenga*, or *Shenga*, which ſignifies *honeſt* (Z); but which his ingrateful returns ſhewed he no ways deſerved. A. D. 1600. Sirian *given to the* Portugueſes.

SHILIMI Shâh, confiding in *De Brito*, was by him perſuaded to erect a cuſtom-houſe at the mouth of *Sirian* river, under pretence of increaſing the king's revenue; but, in reality, with deſign to ſeize on, and convert it into a fort (A); in order to ſecure the *Portugueſes* a footing in *Pegu*, and facilitate the conqueſt of that kingdom, which he had formed in his mind. The work being finiſhed, the king put it into the hands of one *Banna-dala*, who began to fortify it; and, being more jealous of the *Portugueſes* than was his maſter, would ſuffer none of that nation to enter the place, except a *Dominican* frier. *De Brito*, finding his deſign fruſtrated, reſolved to ſeize the fort by force, before the works were too far advanced; and accordingly ſent three officers with fifty men, to put his project in execution; preſuming that he had credit enough with *Shilimi Shâh* to get the poſſeſſion of it confirmed to him.

THE three captains ſo well performed *Nicote*'s orders, that they gained the name of *founders of the* Portugueſe *dominions in* Pegu. *Banna-dala*, appriſed of their intention, attacked the enemy's factory firſt, and obliged them to quit it; but, at the ſame time they fled from thence, they aſſaulted the other's fort with ſuch fury, that he was glad to retire to an *De Brito's ingratitude.*

[a] DE FARIA, ubi ſupra, p 127. [b] BOUES ap. Haies, ubi ſupr. & PURCH. p. 1748.

(Z) *De Faria*, p. 131. ſays, *Chenga* ſignifies *good man:* be which it will, *De Brito* deſerved neither character.

(A) *Boues* the Jeſuit ſays, that ſo early as *March* 1600, when he wrote his letter, *De Brito* was actually preparing to build a fort at *Sirian*; which was as ſoon as the place was delivered to him.

A. D. 1600. island not far off; where he fortified himself with 1000 men, securing the treasure of the pagod of *Digan* (or *Dagun*), to maintain them. The king, being informed of this proceeding, was much offended, and resolved to support *Banna-dala*: but *De Brito* had the art to dissuade him; representing the other as a sacrilegious robber, and offered to compose matters with the *Portugueses*. The king consented, and he went to *Sirian*; but, instead of putting a stop to the work, it still advanced under his direction. When the fort was in a good posture of defence, *Nicote* set sail for *Goa*, in order to deliver it up to the viceroy, and sollicit succours, wherewith he might become emperor of *Bengâl*. He likewise persuaded each of the neighbouring princes, that if he would join the *Portuguese* viceroy, he might easily arrive to be king of *Pegu*; and, on this encouragement, some of them sent ambassadors along with him.

Scarce was *Nicote* gone, when *Shilîmi Shâh* became sensible of his oversight, and sent down the river a fleet with 6000 men, under the command of *Banna-dala*. When near the fort, they were met by three vessels, with only thirty *Portugueses* on board, commanded by *Salvador Ribeyro*, chief of the three officers who had taken that place; yet in a little time he destroyed many of the enemy, took forty ships, and put the rest to flight, without losing one man[c].

The city besieged. The king of *Arrakan*, finding this to become a serious affair, in conjunction with the king of *Pram* (B) (or *Prom*), beset the place with 1200 sail by water, and 40,000 men by land. *Ribeyro*, perceiving that they observed no order, fell on them with his handful of men; and, killing the general, put the whole army to flight. *Banna-dala*, gathering 8000 foot of this scattered army, sat down the third time before the fort, lodging his men in good order; and having furiously battered the place for some time, in the dead of night ventured to give a fierce assault, but was repulsed with the loss of above a 1000 men, whose bodies filled up the ditch. The enemy continued the siege eight months; and although some *Portugueses* deserted *Ribeyro*, yet, far from being dismayed, he burnt the vessels which were in the port, to take from the rest all hopes of escaping. At length considerable succours came from the viceroy *Ayres de Saldanna*; and many, covetous of honour or profit, resorted thither: so that the

[c] De Faria, ubi supr. p. 127, & seqq.

(B) A city standing on the west side of the river which passes through *Ava*. By this it appears, that *Prom*, so lately desolated, had recovered again.

commander,

commander, finding himſelf 800 ſtrong, reſolved to attack the enemy in his works. A. D. 1600.

RIBEYRO put this deſign in execution, with much conduct as well as bravery, and was received with no leſs; but at laſt *Banna-dala* was forced to fly; and had the mortification to ſee all the works, which he had raiſed in a year, burnt to the ground. The *Portugueſes*, thinking this ſucceſs had ſecured their affairs in *Pegu*, diſperſed, in order to reap the benefit of it by plundering; ſo that there remained with the captains no more than 200, who had been ſent by the viceroy. The enemy, taking advantage of this opportunity, returns the fourth time, provided with ſeveral moving caſtles and kinds of fireworks: in ſhort, the fort was reduced to great diſtreſs, when a fiery meteor ſo affrighted the beſiegers that they fled, leaving their caſtles a prey to the flames. After this the *Portugueſes* took the field; and marching againſt king *Maſſinga* (C), met his forces in the province of *Kamelan*, where they obtained a victory; killing him on the ſpot, and doing great miſchief both by ſea and land. *The enemy retire.*

THESE ſignal advantages procured the *Portugueſes* that ſecurity they ſo much ſought after: for the natives, finding them not only victorious, but alſo obliging, flocked to them in great numbers; ſo that, in a few days, they found above 20,000 ready to join them. Theſe men, reflecting on the extraordinary ſucceſs of *Philip de Brito and Nicote*, joined to his natural good-temper, which had procured him among them the name of *Chenga*, reſolved to proclaim him king of *Pegu*: but, being at that time abſent, *Ribeyro* accepted of the crown in his name; and this might be the reaſon how it came to be thought in *Spain*, that it was the captain who had been raiſed to that dignity. *Nicote* afterwards arriving in perſon, received the kingdom in the name of his prince; and was the firſt *Portugueſe* who roſe to that pitch of fortune in *Aſia*. He was ſucceeded in the command of the fort by *Roderick Alvarez de Sequeyra*, who bravely defended it till it accidentally took fire, and only the bare walls were left ſtanding [d]. De Brito *proclaimed king of* Pegu.

MEAN while *Nicote* ſollicited at *Goa* for ſuccours, and received ſix ſhips with men: for the viceroy, eſteeming him for his great wealth and growing power, married him to a niece he had there, born of a *Javan* woman, and for her ſake could *Defeats the* Tangi *fleet.* A. D. 1603.

[d] DE FARIA, p. 129, & ſeqq.

(C) Whether this prince was king of *Kamelan*, or *Prom*, does not appear from *De Faria*; who often leaves his readers at a loſs on ſuch occaſions, which yet require explanation.

A. D. 1603. deny him nothing; he likewiſe conferred on him the title of commander of *Sirian*, and general of the *Pegu* conqueſt. At his return to *Sirian*, the king of *Arrakan* himſelf ſent to compliment him on his arrival, and had a rich preſent from *Nicote* on that occaſion; after this he repaired the fort, and built a church, at *Sirian*. As to the cuſtom-houſe; he, according to the viceroy's inſtructions, obliged all veſſels, which traded on the coaſt of *Pegu*, to make their entries there; and compelled ſome ſhips of *Choromandel* to comply with his orders. Theſe proceedings revived in the king of *Arrakan* a reſolution to poſſeſs himſelf of that cuſtom-houſe; and, with that view, he ſent an embaſſador to the king of *Tangu* (D), with twenty *jalias*, or ſmall ſhips, to join him in the expedition; but *Nicote*, being informed of this, ſent his ſmall craft, which defeated and obliged them to fly to the king of *Jangoma*'s country (E).

Prince of Arrakan A. D. 1604. THE enemy, thus exaſperated, gathered 700 ſmall veſſels, with 4000 men, under the command of the king of *Arrakan*'s ſon, who was accompanied by *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettam*, ſons of the late emperor of *Pegu* (F). To meet them, *Paul del Rego Pinnero* ſet out with the boats and ſeven ſhips: with which, having taken ten advanced boats, he went in to ſecure them; and then, putting out again with more force, meets the prince, routs him, and takes ſeveral veſſels. The prince, running up a river, got into a ſmall creek; where *Pinnero* ſeized all the reſt of his fleet, and obliged him to eſcape by land, after having loſt one thouſand men. Then he took the fort of *Chinim*, and in it many priſoners, among whom was the wife of *Banna-dala*. At this time *Nicote* was abroad with fourteen ſmall veſſels, in which were ſixty *Portugueſes* and

(D) *Tangu* ſeems to be a maritime province; or, at leaſt, to lie not far from the particular province of which *Pegu* city is the capital, on the eaſt of the river which paſſes by or near that laſt city. For we find, that the king of *Tangu* was ordered to tranſport the inhabitants of that city to the capital in ſhips: and the king of *Siam*, in his way to invade *Tangu*, entered the kingdom of *Martavan*. See before, p. 42.

(E) The kingdom of *Jangoma* ſeems to have lain to the north of *Siam*: its capital was *Jamahay* (the ſame, we apprehend, with *Chiamay*); to which *Fitch* travelled from *Pegu* city in twenty-five days, going to the north-eaſt. And, it is probable, that the river of *Pegu* paſſes through that country, or near the borders of it, ſince the *Arrakan* fleet, in flying to the kingdom of *Jangoma*, muſt have paſſed up that river.

(F) Theſe princes, as hath been mentioned before, were delivered by the king of *Tangu* to him of *Arrakan*.

200 *Pegu* men: he happened to run up the afore-mentioned river, and hearing the prince was on the ſhore with 4000 men, 900 of them muſketeers, ventures to attack him. In the encounter, *Shimi Toto*, a valiant native, attempting to ſeize the prince, was wounded; but happened, at the ſame time, to wound the prince in the face; which occaſioned his being made priſoner, and gained the *Portugueſes* the victory. They likewiſe defeated 2000 men, ſent by the king of *Pram* (or *Prom*), who arrived too late to join the other troops [e]. A. D. 1604.

THE *Pegu* ſoldiers, almoſt diſtracted to ſee their prince carried into captivity, would all have gone with him, ſtriving to get into the *Portugueſe* ſhips. Nor was *De Brito* behind them in point of duty: for, not forgetting that he had been a ſlave to the prince, now his priſoner, he ſerved him with the ſame reſpect as he had done before. He watched him aſleep, holding his buſkins with arms a-croſs, according to the cuſtom of thoſe countries; and attended him on all occaſions. This generous behaviour might well have equalled him with men truly great, and merited the title of *Chenga*, which was given him, had he not ſullied it by his covetouſneſs. For *Shilimi Shâh*, to redeem his ſon, thought proper to treat with *Nicote*: who, contrary to the viceroy's orders, which were to to return the prince without ranſom, ſold him for 50,000 crowns; pretending it was to defray the expences of the fleet, which the king had obliged him to fit out [f]. *taken and ranſomed.*

THE king of *Arrakan*, farther provoked hereat, ſent a ſmall fleet againſt *Sirian*; which, though eaſily defeated, gave him an opportunity of enſlaving above 100,000 converts to the *Romiſh* religion, whom he had treated with great rigour. After this, the king of *Tangu*, being prevailed on to join him a ſecond time, beſieges the city by land, while *Shilimi Shâh* ſhut it up by ſea with 800 ſail, in which were 10,000 men. *Paul de Rego* met this fleet with eighty veſſels; and, failing of the ſucceſs which he had formerly, ſet fire to the powder, and blew up himſelf, with all the men on board his ſhip, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The ſiege continued ſo long that the place was ready to ſurrender: when, on a ſudden, the king of *Tangu*, upon ſome jealouſy conceived, quits the field by night; and he of *Arrakan* found it to no purpoſe to lie longer upon the ſea. Portugueſe *hotly attacked.* A. D. 1605. A. D. 16.6.

SOME of the neighbouring princes, ſtartled at this ſucceſs of *De Brito*, ſought his friendſhip, and an alliance with the king of *Portugal*. The firſt who entered into theſe engagements was his late enemy the king of *Tangu*; who, ſome time *Steils Tangu.*

[e] DE FARIA, p. 131, & ſeqq. [f] Ibid. p. 133, & ſeqq.

A. D. 1606. after, having been attacked by the king of *Ava*, was defeated, and became his tributary. The king of *Martavân* was another of *Nicote*'s confederates; who, to ſtrengthen himſelf, marries his ſon *Simon* to that prince's daughter. Thinking himſelf now in a condition to execute a long premeditated deſign, of robbing the king of *Tângu* of the great wealth he had a few years before carried out of *Pegu*, he reſolves, in conjunction with the king of *Martavân*, to attack his territories; alleging in his defence, that, ſince the treaty made with that king, he had been overcome by him of *Ava*: as if the moſt idle pretence was ſufficient to juſtify the breach of faith. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the king of *Tangu*, and his proteſtations of continuing a faithful vaſſal to the crown of *Portugal*, *De Brito* fell upon, and took him priſoner; returning with him and above a million of gold to *Sirian*. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes [g].

and is beſieged

THIS act of violence and injuſtice, committed on the king of *Tangu*, highly provoked the king of *Ava*, under whoſe protection he enjoyed his dominion. Scarce had he heard the news, when caſting on the ground his gown and veil, he vowed to the idol *Biay*, worſhipped at *Degun* (or *Dagun*), that he would not enter within his gates till this injury was revenged. Reſolving to attack *Sirian* effectually, both by ſea and land, he equipped a fleet of 400 ſtout veſſels, on board of which there were above 6000 of thoſe *Moors*, of noted valour, called *De Caparuça*, or *who wear caps*. At the ſame time he marched at the head of 120,000 men; and, the moment he arrived before the place, ſet fire to every thing which he found without the walls. Although *Nicote* was, at this time, wholly unprovided, having ſuffered moſt of his men to go for *India*, yet he made a vigorous defence. What concerned him moſt was the want of powder: for he had been ſo imprudent as to ſet fire to a vaſt quantity of it, which he found at *Tangu*. In this diſtreſs he ſent a ſoldier to *Bengâl* to buy powder; but that truſty ſervant ran away with the money. He likewiſe ſent for ſome to the city of *St. Thomas*, on the coaſt of *Choromandel*; but his friends there were ſo kind as to refuſe him. Beſides, thoſe few *Portugueſes* who were with him, committed ſuch outrages, robberies, and murders, as ſeemed to call down vengeance upon them, and haſten his ruin.

A. D. 1613.

by the king of Ava.

He is taken,

IT is true, his number of ſoldiers might have ſufficed to defend the place againſt the enemy, though ſo much ſuperior in numbers; having had with him 3000 *Peguers*, beſides

[g] DE FARIA, p. 138, & ſeqq.

100

100 *Portugueſes:* but as there was no firing of cannon without powder, they could not keep the beſiegers at a diſtance from the walls. All the reſiſtance they were able to make, was to annoy them by pouring down boiling pitch and oil from the battlements. *De Brito*, to try what could be done at ſea, ſent out three ſhips againſt the fleet: but this enterpriſe was attended with very ill ſucceſs: for, in one of them, all the men were ſlain; and the two others returned with all theirs wounded. The enemy now began to undermine the works; and the beſieged beſtirred themſelves much, but to very ſmall purpoſe. At length, after the ſiege had laſted thirty-four days, *Nicote* ſent to beg mercy, but was not heard. He imagined he could prevail by means of the king of *Tangu*, whom he had robbed of his crown, his riches, and liberty. But the king of *Ava*, being reſolved to puniſh him, rejected all manner of applications in his favour. A. D. 1613.

MEAN time the king of *Arrakan*, more through jealouſy of that monarch's power, than in kindneſs to *De Brito*, who had ſo grievouſly offended him, ſent fifty ſail to his aſſiſtance; but they proved of no uſe to him, having all been taken by the beſiegers. At length the king of *Ava* gives an aſſault, and both parties fought for three days without intermiſſion. The iſſue of it was, that 700 of the beſieged having been ſlain, *Nicote* was betrayed by one *Banna*, whom he had always treated with diſtinction, and carried to the king of *Ava*, who immediately ordered him to be impaled (G); and the ſtake fixed upright upon an eminence above the fort, *that*, as the victor expreſſed it, *he might the better look to it*. He lived two days in that dreadful miſery, and then expired. *and impaled.*

HIS wife, *De Luiſa de Saldanna*, was kept three days in the river to be cleanſed; becauſe the king deſigned her for himſelf: but as ſhe exclaimed againſt him, when brought into his preſence, he ordered her leg to be bored; and that ſhe ſhould be ſent to *Ava* among the other ſlaves. *Francis Mendez*, and a nephew of his, were treated in the ſame manner as *Nicote* had been. The traitor *Banna*, demanding a reward, was torn in pieces; the king ſaying, *that he could never be true to him, ſince he had betrayed the man who had done him ſo much honour.* *Sebaſtian Rodriguez* was cooped up with a yoke about his neck. At firſt the king deſigned not to ſpare any of the inhabitants of *Sirian*; but growing calm, he ſent many of them ſlaves to *Ava*. Then paſſ- *His wife enſlaved;* *his ſon ſlain.*

(G) According to *Floris*, this happened in *March* 1613. See *Purchas*'s pilgrims, vol. i. p. 325.

ing on to *Martavân*, he obliged that king to kill his own daughter's huſband, that none of *De Brito*'s race might remain. This was the end of that man's avarice; who, being naked but a few years before, was raiſed to be worth three millions. He had one when he went to *Goa*; he brought another from *Tangu*; and had gotten at leaſt another ſince then, by prizes and merchandizing. The enemy confeſſed, that they loſt at the ſiege no fewer than 30,000 men [h].

Allowing to her,

How little ſoever the reader may be concerned for the fate of the huſband, he will be apt, no doubt, to pity that of the wife; imagining that ſhe drew on herſelf the puniſhment which was inflicted on her, through conjugal affection. But indeed her ſufferings are ſo little to be aſcribed to the love ſhe had for her huſband, that ſhe was actually one of the principal cauſes of his ruin: for ſhe entertained one of his captains as her gallant; and perceiving that the *Portugueſes* cenſured their familiarity, they perſuaded *De Brito* that he had no farther need of them. This was the reaſon why they were diſmiſſed; and that diſmiſſion was the cauſe of his deſtruction, and loſs of the place [i].

and late ſuccours.

As ſoon as the viceroy heard of the danger that *Sirian* was in, he ſent thither *James de Mendez Fuſtado*, with five gallies. This officer had orders to ſtrengthen himſelf by the way, with ſome ſhips and men: but he was not able to do any thing of the kind, till he arrived at *Martavân*; where, in the river, he found a fleet of twenty ſail. Theſe, after a ſharp engagement, fled, excepting four, which were taken, with ſome ſoldiers; by whom being informed of what had happened at *Sirian*, he ſaw it would be to no purpoſe to proceed farther, and therefore returned to *Goa*.

CHAP. V.

The Empire of Ava.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of the Country.

Little known in Europe.

OUR informations, with regard to this great monarchy, are, in general, ſo ſcanty and imperfect, that it is proper to take notice thereof, before we enter upon either the deſcription or hiſtory of the country; leſt our readers

[h] De Faria, p. 191, & ſeq. [i] Ibid. ubi ſup.

ſhould

ſhould otherwiſe think that the fault is owing to us, and not to the defect of our materials.

We have already obſerved, in our general remarks concerning the farther peninſula of *India*, that no part of *Aſia* has been leſs frequented, eſpecially the inland countries towards *China*. Hence it is, that *Pegu*, *Ava*, and others, were ſo disfigured in the maps of *European* geographers, that *Du Chatz*, a Jeſuit miſſioner, could not know them. He particularly remarks, that the *Sanſons* have introduced much confuſion, by deriving the great rivers, which paſs through the kingdoms and capitals of *Siam*, *Pegu*, and *Ava*, from a lake called *Chiamay*, although they have all different ſources [a]. In theſe enormous errors the *Sanſons* have been followed by all other geographers, till Meſſieurs *De Liſle* reformed them in 1700. However, the *Sanſons* are not to blame on that account; but rather *Mendez Pinto*, who, though guilty of many forgeries, yet poſſibly in this reſpect was guided by reports of the *Indians*, which have miſled others. *Diſfigured in maps.*

If *Ava* be ſo little known, it is not that it has never been viſited by *Europeans*: for the *Portugueſes*, *Dutch*, and other nations, have been often in that country, led on account of war, or trade. But theſe are a ſort of people who have ſeldom either the curioſity or capacity to obſerve and write. We have, in ſhort, no profeſſed travellers into the inlands: at leaſt we meet with only two journals of perſons who have travelled into *Ava*, towards the end of the laſt century; and that not from the coaſt upwards, but through the continent downwards, from *China*. The firſt performed by four *Chineſes*, down the river which paſſes by *Ava*: the other by the Jeſuit *Du Chatz* before-mentioned, who travelled the ſame way, and has given a map of the courſe of that river from *Ava* to the ſea, in which are contained almoſt all his remarks; for he ſays very little concerning either the country or inhabitants. To theſe may be added ſome obſervations of Mr. *Roger Aliſon*, who had been twice ambaſſador from the governor of *Fort St. George*, or his agents at *Sirian*, to the court of *Ava*, about thirty years ago. *No travellers there.*

These three pieces, joined to ſome ſcattered remarks found in *Cæſar Frederic*, *Gaſpar Balbi*, *Gaſpar da Cruz*, and ſome other early voyagers, are the principal funds from whence we draw our materials; which, therefore, our readers muſt not expect to be either very copious or ſatisfactory. *Materials ſcanty.*

[a] Du Chatz ap. mem. acad. ſcien. ann. 1692, p. 399.

Bounds and extent. Ava kingdom.

AVA, or *Awa*, which ſome write with a ſtrong aſpirate *Hava* (A), may be conſidered either in a reſtrained ſenſe, as a ſingle kingdom; or in a more extended ſenſe, as enlarged by the conqueſt of ſeveral other dominions. But in which ever ſenſe it be taken, we are not able to ſpeak with any certainty concerning its juſt bounds and dimenſions, eſpecially as to *Ava* as a particular kingdom: we only know, in general, that it lies incloſed with *Jangoma* or *Siam* on the eaſt; *Pegu* on the ſouth; and *Arrakan* on the weſt: what country lies to the north of it, we are not informed by travellers. *Mendez Pinto*, in place of *Ava*, puts the kingdom of *Chaleu*, whoſe capital he makes the city of *Ava*. He mentions alſo a city of the ſame name, which he ſets on the river *Queytor* (ſo he calls the river of *Ava*), between *Prom* and *Ava*. He likewiſe gives to the inhabitants the name of *Chaleus* [b]. This is all we can ſay touching the kingdom of *Ava*, properly ſo called.

Empire of Ava.

WITH regard to the extent of the empire of *Ava*, including the kingdom of *Ava* with its conqueſts, we are able to ſay ſomething more preciſe. A late miſſionary tells us, that it is twice as big as *France* [c]. What we know, in general, is, that it is bounded on the weſt partly by the gulf of *Bengâl*, and partly by the kingdoms of *Arrakan* and *Aſſem*, from which laſt it ſeems to be ſeparated by the great river of *Arrakan*; on the north by mountains dividing it from *Tibet* and *China*; on the eaſt by the country of the *Laos*; and on the ſouth by the kingdom of *Siam*, and the gulf of *Bengâl*. It is ſituated between the 15th and 26th degrees of latitude, and between the 109th and 118th degrees of longitude: ſo that its length, from ſouth to north, is about 660 geometrical, or 765 *Engliſh*, miles; and its breadth, from weſt to eaſt, 494 miles of the firſt kind, and 575 of the ſecond (B).

[b] PINTO's voyage, p. 136, 208, 214. [c] DU CHATZ, ubi ſupra.

(A) Some authors write *Auva*, as *Balbi*: others *Avaa* and *Ova*, as we find in *De Faria*, vol. iii. p. 139, 353, & *paſſim*. The *Chineſes* pronounce *Yawa*. It is called *Pamahang*, in the *Chineſe* journey from *Siam*.

(B) Captain *Hamilton*, who ſometimes calls this the kingdom of *Barma*, and ſays it lies about 500 miles up the river of *Pegu*, gives it different dimenſions. According to him, it reaches from *Maravi*, near *Tanaſſerim*, to the province of *Yunnan*, in *China*, and is about 800 miles long, from north to ſouth, and 250 broad, from weſt to eaſt. New account of *Eaſt Ind.* vol. ii. p. 38, & ſeq.

THE country of *Ava*, properly so called, is, for the general, flat, especially near the great river. It is all fertile; producing rice, fruits, and variety of animals wild and tame, like *Pegu*. It has also mines of *Cyprian* brass, lead, and silver [d]. Musk and rubies likewise come from thence to *Pegu*. As to the conquered countries lying to the north and east, excepting that of *Jangoma*, we know but little concerning them in any respect, not so much as their names (C). The best information we can give our readers is from the travels of four *Chinese*, in company with others, from the province of *Yun-nan* to *Ava* and *Pegu*, towards the middle of the last century. Departing from the city of *Jun-nan* (or *Yun-nan*), capital of the province of the same name, in the south-west of *China*, they went to *Jun-cham* (D), in the same province, in eighteen days; from thence to *Tien-nio-theou* (E) in four; and in five more to the last village on the borders of *Yun-nan* and *China*: a fatiguing way, through woods, full of tigers, but no elephants. *Soil. Rivers. Soil and produce.*

AT this village, where there is a custom-house and garrison, they embarked on a river more large and rapid than that of *Siam*, and in twenty days sailed down it to the city of *Ava*. The first four or five days were through a desart country: afterwards they daily met with one or two plantations on the river, whose inhabitants, dwelling in houses made of *bambû* canes, fled into the neighbouring woods at their approach. The journey may be performed by land, but not conveniently [e]. The name of the river, down which our *Chinese* passed, is not mentioned by them: but it is doubtless that which, in the Jesuits map, is called *Lu-kyang*, because of its largeness; there being no other in *Yun-nan*, on that side, so big as the river *Siam*, to which it is compared; nor perhaps capable of bearing large passage-boats. This river rises a great way to the north of *Yun-nan*, in the country of *Tibet*; so that it may well be considerable, not only at the city of *Ava*, as *Du Chatz* says it it is, but even in *China* itself, from whence its course seems to be first south-west, and then south. *River Lukyang.*

[d] PIMENTA ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746. [e] GOUYE obs. math. &c. ap. mem. acad. ann. 1699, p. 399.

(C) *De Faria* tells us, from *Pinto*, that the dominions of the king of *Ava*, about the year 1539, were two months travel in extent, and contained sixty-two cities; but names none of them.

(D) In the Jesuits late map *Yong-chang*.

(E) In the same map *Tengye-chew*.

FROM

Cities. FROM the city of *Ava* this great river, which is there called *Menan Kiow* (F), runs south-west to the city of *Prom*, about 140 leagues distant; from whence to *Mero*, another considerable city, its course is almost north and south. From *Mero* it turns off almost due eastward; and, in that direction, passes on to *Sirian*, the port of *Ava* and *Pegu*, eighty leagues distant from *Mero*, and near three hundred from *Ava*. Above *Sirian* it receives the river of *Pegu*; and below it, at ten leagues distance, falls into the sea. Along the river, from *Ava* downwards, the banks are set with villages, often better than the country towns in *France*, and not above a mile and half asunder. They sail in vessels as large as our biggest ships, though not a nail or peg is used in building them. They have only one sail, but it is much higher and broader than any which the greatest *European* ships do carry. The *Chinese* above-mentioned were one month in their passage down it from *Ava* to *Pegu*; and, from the first of those cities to *Siam*, it was fifteen easy days journey by land [f].

or Menan kiow.

City of Ava. THE capital of *Ava*, which bears the same name with the kingdom, is about as large as *Rheims* in *France*. The houses are high, and built of wood; and the streets as strait as a line, with trees planted on each side [g]. The reason why the houses are built of no better materials than *bambû* canes, thatched with straw or reeds, we are told, is; that criminals, if they do not appear when summoned, may be easily forced out by fire. But then that sort of structure diminishes much from the beauty of the city, which is both great and populous.

The palace. THE king's palace is very large, and built of stone; yet the buildings of it are but mean. It has four gates: the eastern is called the *golden gate*, because all ambassadors, who enter by it, approach him with presents: the south gate is called the *gate of justice*, for those to go-in at who bring petitions, accusations, or complaints, to the king: the west is the *gate of grace*, through which all who have received favours, or been acquitted of crimes, do pass-out in state; and all condemned persons are carried to execution in fetters: the north gate, fronting the river, is the *gate of state*, reserved for his majesty when he goes abroad; and by it all his provisions and water are carried into the palace [h].

[f] GOUYE ubi supra. [g] Ibid. [h] HAMILT. new acc. East Ind. vol. ii. p. 45, & seq.

(F) *Mendez Pinto* calls it every-where *Queytor*.

THIS

Cities.

THIS is the account given by Mr. *Alison:* but *Du Chatz* describes it to more advantage. He says it is gilded both within and without; and situated in a square inclosure of brick, each side no fewer than 800 paces long. The same author tells us, that he found the latitude to be twenty-one degrees; but says not with what instrument he observed it [i]. It is remarkable that this city is mentioned by *Antony Zeni*, so early as the year 1430. This author informs us, that passing up the river *Ganges* to *Chernowem* and *Maarazia* (G), he from thence crossed over land, in seventeen days, to the city of *Ava*, which he affirms to be fifteen miles in compass. He adds, that the inhabitants of both sexes indulge themselves much in eating and drinking. But what is most curious in this traveller, he is the first who speaks of bells being worn by the inhabitants of these countries in their privities: he says they were of gold, silver, and brass; that they were as large as nuts; and that certain old women lived by selling them [k].

Its splendor.

Jewel-trade.

THE city of *Ava* is remarkable for having a great trade in musk and jewels; that is, principally rubies and sapphires, so long ago as the time of *Edoardo Barbosa*, in 1516: who also observes that the inhabitants were excellent jewellers; and *Method* says, the most esteemed rubies and sapphires were brought from thence [l]. This city has, no doubt, suffered many changes, by the wars and revolutions which have happened from time to time; particularly in 1583, when it was razed by order of the king of *Pegu*, after the rebellion of his uncle, and all the inhabitants banished to the woods [m].

Other cities.

THERE are other cities of *Ava* mentioned by authors, such as *Bakan*, *Chaleu*, and *Prom*, of which some account has been already given in the history of *Pegu*, and of which we find the names in *Du Chatz*'s map of the course of the river *Menan Kiow*. *Bakan* was the capital of a kingdom conquered by *Chau-migrem*, second *Barma* king of *Pegu*: *Prom* was the metropolis of another small kingdom, which suffered greatly in the *Barma* wars: and *Chaleu*, we are told by *Pinto*, was both a city and a kingdom; of which last he makes *Ava* itself the capital.

[i] See GOUYE ubi sup. [k] NIC. DE CONTI ap. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 158. [l] PURCHAS, vol. v. p. 1017. [m] BALBI, p. 114.

(G) We meet with no such place in modern travellers as *Chernowem*. *Zeni* writes *Cernowem*. As for *Maarazia*, it ought doubtless to be *Mâha Râjah*, which signifies the *great Râjah*, that is, chief of the *Râjahs* or kings of *India*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Account of the Inhabitants of Ava.

The Barmas. *Of what kinds.*

WHETHER the inhabitants of *Ava* were originally *Barmas*, or a different nation, authors do not afford us light enough to determine. *Mendez Pinto*, indeed, mentions a people in these parts calls *Chaleus*, inhabitants of a kingdom called *Chaleu*, of which he makes *Ava* the capital city. But as that author is not clear in this particular, and is besides not much to be depended on, we can venture to affirm nothing in this point upon his authority. In short, as the *Barmas* have been, for above two centuries at least, the proprietors of this country, not only of the kingdom of *Ava* in particular, but also of several other kingdoms or states which are annexed to that crown; and are the only nation within their dominions which have as yet come to our knowlege, we must here content ourselves with giving an account of them.

The Barmas;

THE *Barmas*, called by some *Baramas* and *Vermas*, but mostly *Bramas*, as to their persons and dress have been already described in our account of *Pegu*. We shall only add from *Da Cruz*, that they have a great resemblance of the *Chineses* in their faces[a]; and some judge, from the great likeness which appears in their persons, and even their customs, that the inhabitants of all the farther peninsula of *India* are descended from the *Chineses*.

their country,

THESE *Barmas*, or *Bramas*, according to *Mendez Pinto*, originally inhabited the hills or highlands which surround *Pegu*; containing a country about 200 leagues in length, and 80 in breadth. From these quarters they, by degrees, extended themselves over the neighbouring countries, sometimes gaining, at other times losing, what they had conquered. About the year 1516, when *Barbosa* was in the *Indies*, the kingdom of *Verma*, as he terms it, extended along the coast from *Bengâl* southward, as far as *Pegu*; and *Arrakan* lay within land to the north of it. But, not long after, they were driven out of the maritime parts, where they had no trade, nor ports fit for it, by the inhabitants of *Arrakan*, who took possession of them. In 1539 their power was so much reduced, that, though they seem to have been masters of *Ava* not long before, they were, at this time, tributary to the king of *Pegu*. However, an accident soon after gave them an opportunity not only of recovering their freedom, but al-

and conquests.

[a] DA CRUZ ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 167, & seq.

so

ſo of ſubjecting *Pegu* in their turn; which they loſt again for a ſhort ſpace of time: when recovering it about the middle of the ſixteenth century, they, under the conduct of a valiant prince, over-ran almoſt the whole farther peninſula of *India*. In the reign of his ſon they loſt *Pegu*, and other countries; but recovered them again in a few years ſpace, and have continued in poſſeſſion of them ever ſince [b]. *Govern-ment.*

SECT. III.

The Government of Ava.

THE government in *Ava* is arbitrary; for the commands of the king are laws: but then the reins are kept ſteady in his own hands, and managed with gentleneſs and attention. He ſeverely puniſhes the governors of provinces or towns, if guilty of oppreſſion, or other illegal practices: and, to inform himſelf how affairs go every-where, each has a deputy reſiding at court, which is generally kept in the preſent capital *Ava*. Theſe attend every morning, in an apartment of the palace; to which adjoins another, whither the king repairs, who from thence can ſee the whole aſſembly, without being ſeen himſelf. A page ſtands without, to call whom his majeſty appoints to make report of what had been tranſacted in his city or province; all which is performed by the deputy, with profound reverence towards the room where the king is. If any thing be concealed, and that prince comes to know it, ſevere puniſhments are inflicted on the offender. Thus he paſſes his mornings, from breakfaſt-time, in hearing the neceſſary caſes of his own affairs, as well as thoſe of his ſubjects. *How the king knows all affairs.*

IN matters of treaſon, murder, or the like, the king appoints judges to try the accuſed; and, on conviction, ſigns the dead warrant: wherein he orders, that the wretch convicted ſhall tread no more on his ground; and execution preſently follows, either by beheading, or being thrown to his elephants, cruelly to be maſhed to pieces under their feet. Sometimes criminals are baniſhed for a term to the woods (A); and, when that is expired, if they are not devoured by tigers, or killed by wild elephants, they may return, and ſpend the remainder of their days in ſerving a tame elephant: and, for *Capital puniſhments.*

[b] MENDEZ PINTO's voy. p. 241.

(A) This, according to *Balbi*, is the puniſhment, inflicted on robbers.

ſmaller

Government.

ſmaller crimes, they are only condemned to cleanſe his elephants ſtables for life [a].

Law of debtors.

In civil caſes the laws are very ſtrict. With regard, particularly, to debts, there is no loſing any: for, one way or other, they muſt be paid; and at laſt the debtor ſold, with his family, as hath been already noted. Sometimes the *Peguers*, when they want money, will pledge not only themſelves, but their wives and children, to obtain it. If payment is not made at the time limited, the creditor may then ſeize them all, and lock them up in his warehouſe. They are ſo much at his diſpoſal, that he may even lie with the inſolvent's wife, if he has a mind: but then, by that action, the debt is underſtood to be quite diſcharged [b].

Police in cities.

All cities and towns in this king's dominions are like ariſtocratical commonwealths. The prince, or governor, ſeldom ſits in council himſelf, but appoints his deputy, and twelve counſellors or judges, who ſit once in ten days, or oftener, if buſineſs requires it. They aſſemble in a large hall, mounted about three feet high, with double benches round the floor, for the people to ſit or kneel on, to hear the free debates of council. The hall is raiſed on wooden pillars, and open on all ſides. The judges are placed in the middle, on mats; and, ſitting in a ring, have no precedency one of another. There are no lawyers or attornies to harangue at the bar: but every body has the privilege to plead his own cauſe, or ſend his caſe in writing, to be read publicly; and he is ſure to have it determined within three ſittings of council at moſt. Neither are there any fees due to the officers of the court, which they call *Roundáy*; but the charge, which is very ſmall, is defrayed by the people of the town.

No lawyers, nor fees.

Excellent regulations.

At the backs of the judges there are placed clerks, who write down whatever the plaintiff and defendant have to ſay; and the cauſe is determined by the judgment of the governor and council. If in the ſentence there happens to be the leaſt partiality to either party, and the king is made acquainted with it by the deputies at court, the whole is reverſed, and the judges corrected for it. This good regulation is a ſtrong check upon the council, and makes appeals very rare. On the other hand, if an appeal is not well-grounded, the appellant is chaſtiſed; which juſt rigour prevents vexatious ſuits, common in countries where there are no penalties annexed to ſuch litigious proceedings [c].

[a] Hamilt. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 42, & ſeqq.
[b] Balbi viag. del l'Ind. orient. p. 127. [c] Hamilt. ubi ſup. p. 47, & ſeq.

For

Govern-ment.

Ordeal trials.

For diſcovering murder, theft, or perjury, alſo to find the truth, where the evidence is doubtful or contradictory, the ordeal is much uſed in *Pegu*. Of this there are ſeveral kinds: one way is to make the parties chew ſome raw rice, and ſwallow it: but they ſay the guilty cannot get it down, and thus he ſtands convicted. Another method is to oblige the accuſed, and the accuſer, to lay hold of a ſtake driven into a river; and he who ſtays longeſt under water is judged fit to be credited. The guilty perſon (that is, he who was ſo unlucky as to have the ſhorteſt breath), muſt lie on his back for three days and nights, with his neck in the ſtocks or pillory, without meat or drink, and is fined to boot. Scandal, and malicious ſlander, is puniſhed in this manner. They have alſo the cuſtom, in caſe of atrocious crimes, of dipping the naked hand in boiling oil, or melted lead; and if the accuſer is ſcalded or burnt in the trial, he muſt undergo the puniſhment due to the crime: which makes people very cautious how they calumniate one another. In ſhort, whoever calls a woman a whore, and cannot prove the aſperſion to be true, is fined ſeverely [d].

Differences how compoſed.

With regard to little differences and diſputes, which ariſe among neighbours, the making of them up is generally undertaken by the clergy, who never ceaſe mediating between the parties, till there be a reconciliation; in token of which they eat *Champok* (B) from one another's hand, and that ſeals the friendſhip. Nor muſt we omit giving the *Pegu* eccleſiaſtics the praiſes due to them on another occaſion. If a ſtranger happens to be ſhipwreck'd on their coaſt, by the laws of the country the men are the king's ſlaves: but, by the mediations of the church, the governors overlook that law: and when the unfortunate people repair to their temples, they are relieved both with food and raiment. If ſick or wounded, they keep them till they are cured, and then give them letters of recommendation to the next convent, paſſing them thus from one to another, till they meet with barks to tranſport them to *Sirian* [e].

[d] Hamilt. p. 58. [e] Ibid. p. 61.

(B) *Champok* is a kind of tea, of a very unſavoury taſte, growing, as other tea does, on buſhes.

SECT. IV.

Of the King or Emperor.

Emperors ſtate.

Reverence paid him.

THE king or emperor of *Ava* gives great attention to public affairs. Soon after he has riſen in the morning, he dreſſes himſelf, and then takes his breakfaſt. This uſually conſiſts of rice boiled in water, and reliſhed with *prok*, of which we have already given an account in treating of *Pegu*. The *prok* uſed by the king is a mixture of ſhrimps, dried and powdered, with ſalt and cod-pepper, which makes a very pungent ſauce, in great eſteem. When his breakfaſt is over, he retires to hear what paſſes in the aſſembly of deputies beforementioned, and hear the petitions of his ſubjects; by whom, if they may be ſo called, he is approached with the moſt abject reverence (A). The higheſt title which any of them aſſumes is to call himſelf his majeſty's firſt ſlave. When pots of water or baſkets of fruit are carried through the ſtreets for the king's uſe, an officer attends them, and the people who happen to be near muſt fall on their knees, and let them paſs by; as a good catholic does, ſays our author, when he ſees the hoſt.

Vain titles,

THAT their language may be conformable to their actions, they treat him with the moſt fulſome adulation. When they ſpeak or write to him, they call him their *kiak*, or *gold*: and the king himſelf, in his letter to foreign princes, aſſumes the title of "*king of kings*, to whom all other kings ought to "be ſubject, as being near kinſman and friend to all the "gods in heaven and on earth: that, by their friend-"ſhip to him, all animals are fed and preſerved, as well as "all the ſeaſons of the year have their conſtant returns: "that the ſun is his brother, the moon and ſtars his near "relations: that he is lord over the ebbing and flowing of "the ſea: laſtly, that he is king of the white elephant, and "twenty-four umbrellas (B)." Theſe are only common *China* umbrellas, covered over with thin *Chormandeel Batte-*

(A) The ſame with that paid to the king of *Pegu*, of whom this prince is properly no more than the ſucceſſor, only reſiding in a different part of his dominions: ſo that what is related here of the king, is no more than an addition to what has been ſaid before: but having been applied to him, as reigning in *Ava*, we have inſerted it here.

(B) Theſe being uſed as enſigns of dignity by the princes of this peninſula, ſeem to denote the number of kingdoms and ſtates conquered by the *Barma* monarchs, and added to their dominions.

laes,

laes, with their canes lackered and gilded. Yet becauſe his own ſubjects dare not wear ſuch umbrellas, he lays his commands on all other kings to forbear making uſe of them, when they go abroad, with the ſame air of vanity. *Emperor's foaces.*

AFTER his majeſty has dined, there is a trumpet blown, to ſignify to all his ſlaves (meaning all other kings), that they may go to dinner, becauſe their lord has already dined. And as he terms all other kings (though ever ſo powerful and out of his reach), his ſlaves, ſo their ſubjects are conſidered as ſuch, when they come into his ports to trade, or on any other occaſion. When a foreign ambaſſador is admitted to audience in the palace, he is attended with a large troop of guards, with trumpets ſounding, and heralds proclaiming the honour which he is about to receive, in being permitted to ſee this king of kings, the glory of the whole earth. When the ambaſſador is come between the gate and the head of the ſtairs which lead to the chamber of audience, he is attended by the maſter of the ceremonies, who inſtructs him to kneel three times in his way thither; in which poſture he muſt continue, with his hands lift over his head, not daring to riſe, till a proclamation is read for that purpoſe. And becauſe the very brutes ought to pay obedience to this univerſal monarch, ſome of his elephants are taught to fall on their bellies when his majeſty paſſes by them [a]. *and aſſumed authority.*

NEITHER his ſoldiers nor military officers have any pay: but there is a province, or city, with lands, given to ſome lord or commander, who is to maintain out of it ſuch a number of men, ready to attend the wars on all occaſions; and to find the palace at *Ava* with ſuch proviſions as the providore thinks fit to demand. In time of war, however, they are all allowed pay, proviſions, clothes, and arms, which are returned into the magazines as ſoon as the war is over. Hence it is that diſcipline is but little known among this king's troops; and a man of a tolerable ſtock of courage may paſs in thoſe parts for a hero. This is the account of our lateſt travellers. But ſome of thoſe who went firſt to *Pegu* admired their diſcipline [b]. The quality of an officer is known by his tobacco-pipe. This utenſil conſiſts of three parts, a head or bowl, a ſhape or ſhank, and a mouth-piece. The head is either of metal or clay, with a ſocket to let in the ſhaft, which is made of a jointed reed or cane: the mouth-piece is of gold, fixed on the upper end of the ſhaft, and, *Forces how paid.*

[a] ALLISON ap. Hamilt. ubi ſupr. p. 42.

[b] See before, p. 120, & ſeqq.

A. D. 1430. like the reed, has joints, whoſe number aſcertains the degree of the officer, and he is reſpected according to that token [c].

WHAT has been ſaid with regard to the religion, temples, and clergy, of *Pegu*, may ſerve for thoſe of *Ava*: and indeed the laws, cuſtoms, and every thing elſe, are nearly the ſame in both countries, as hath been already mentioned. It remains therefore only to add a few things concerning

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Ava.

Earlieſt notices. WHAT we have to lay before our readers on this ſubject is but very inconſiderable, and little more than what hath already occurred to him in the hiſtory of *Pegu*. In the time of *Nicolo di Conti*, about 1430, it ſeems to have been an independent monarchy, and in a flouriſhing condition [a]. In 1505, when *Vertoman* or *Barthema* was there, the kings of *Ava* and *Pegu* had been at war together for two years; but coming at length to a pitch'd battle, the latter obtained the victory. However, that advantage did not oblige the king of *Ava* to ſubmit to him: for preſently after we find the lately defeated monarch moving againſt his enemy, with a very numerous army, although we know not whether there enſued a ſecond engagement, or how the war terminated; our author having left *Pegu* before any action happened [b].

Bramas *invade* WE meet with nothing after this relating to the affairs of *Ava*, till the year 1545; when *Parà Mandarà*, the *Barma* king, having conquered *Pegu*, upon advice that the king of *Ava* intended to give a paſſage to the emperor of *Pandalu*'s troops, ready to invade his dominions, marched with a numerous army to attack *Prom*, a city belonging to *Ava*, and governed by a king or regulo, who was married to him of *Ava*'s daughter. The *Barmas*, by treachery, became maſters of the city, which they demoliſhed, after exerciſing unheard of cruelty againſt the king and queen. From thence the victor proceeded to *Meleytay*, a fortreſs twelve leagues diſtant, which he took, after defeating the prince of *Ava*; and then went up the river with his forces in barks, with deſign to attack the city of *Ava*; but finding it in a very good poſture of defence, and hearing that a powerful aſſiſtance was coming to it from the mountains of *Pandalu*, he returned to

[c] HAMILT. p. 46. & ſeqq. [a] See PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 158, & ſeq. [b] VERTOMAN ap. Willes's collect. p. 402.

Prom,

Prom, and put off his enterpriſe againſt *Ava* till he had ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with ſome other powers [c]. A. D. 1553.

PARA Mandarà, after this, being engaged in other wars, no farther attempts were made againſt *Ava* during his reign. But as ſoon as his ſucceſſor *Chau-migrem* was ſettled in the throne, which was in the year 1553, he formed in his mind the conqueſt of all the neighbouring kingdoms; of which, no doubt, that of *Ava* was one of the firſt, although the preciſe date of this event is not marked by authors. However, it muſt have been precedent to his expedition againſt *Jangoma* and the *Laos*, which latter was performed in 1556, or 59 at fartheſt [d]. *and conquer* Ava.

UPON the death of *Chau-migrem*, in 1583, the king of *Ava*, who was his brother, and uncle to his ſucceſſor *Pranjinoko*, refuſed obedience to his nephew; who thereupon invaded and ſlew him in ſingle combat. After this, *Ava* remained in ſubjection to the crown of *Pegu* during the life of this monarch: but, at his death, the kingdom of *Pegu* being quite ruined, and the monarchy diſſolved, the king of *Arrakan* took poſſeſſion of *Pegu*; and it is not to be doubted but that, at the ſame time, *Ava* became independent, under a ſovereign of its own. Who this new king was, does not appear from any of the authors before us. *Naydu*, eldeſt ſon of *Pranjinoko*, and king of *Ava*, we are told, deſerting his father during the ſiege of *Pegu*, in 1599, was ſlain by order of his aunt, the queen of *Tângu*. There were, indeed, two other ſons, named *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettâm*, priſoners at the court of *Arrakan*; one of whom might have been advanced to the throne of *Ava* by the king of *Arrakan*. But if ſo, it was not till after the expedition againſt *Sirian* in 1603 or 4, in which thoſe princes accompanied the prince of *Arrakan*: and it is not likely that the throne of *Ava* ſhould have been vacant ſo long. Beſides, if that had been the caſe, it may be preſumed that the king of *Arrakan* would have obliged his captive to have relinquiſhed his title to *Pegu*, as a condition of his advancement: whereas we find him no more acting as lord of *Pegu* after the year 1607. Pegu *empire deſtroyed.*

HOWEVER that be, the king of *Ava* was a *Barma*, and, in all probability, of the *Pegu* line. He was likewiſe a prince of courage, and had begun already to extend his dominions. It is probable that the king of *Arrakan*, ſeeing him grown powerful, yielded up the kingdom of *Pegu* to him, without diſputing his title: after which he turned his arms againſt *Recovers again.*

[c] See before, p. 76. alſo before, p. 92.

[d] See PURCH. pilgr, vol. iii. p. 168.

A. D. 1613. the king of *Tangu*, and obliged him to become tributary. The next, and indeed only farther tranſaction of this prince, which occurs in our authors, is his expedition againſt *Sirian*, which yielded to his arms, after it had more than once baffled the united forces of the king of *Arrakan* and his confederates. The taking of *Sirian* happened in 1613: and, two or three years after, *viz.* in 1615 or 16, we find the kingdom and city of *Jangomay* or *Jangoma* recovered by the king of *Ava*, from him of *Siam*, who reduced it about 1604.

Royal ſeat removed THIS, from his martial ſpirit, we take to be the ſame king with him who had before ſubjugated *Tângu*, and reduced *Sirian*. We are told that he was nephew to the former king, whom he ſucceeded, in prejudice to that prince's children. From whence it appears that *Ava* had two kings, ſince the great revolution of *Pegu* in the year 1600, unleſs we ſuppoſe this victorious prince to have been a nephew of *Pranjinoko*, laſt king of *Pegu*. However that be, it is certain that he removed the imperial ſeat from the city of *Ava* to that of *Pegu*, which began to flouriſh again after its late deſtruction: for in 1619 the *Engliſh* found him there with his court [e]. Since that time it is probable, that the kings or emperors of both thoſe dominions have reſided ſometimes at one capital, ſometimes at another; but it is uncertain when they transferred it laſt to *Ava*, where it at preſent is, and ſeems to have been fixed for above a century paſt: poſſibly becauſe being more towards the centre of the empire, the king is nearer at hand to keep the conquered countries in obedience.

to Ava *city.* HOWEVER that be, the court ſeems to have been at *Ava* about that time: for we are told that the *Lanjans*, or *Laos*, who had been carried into *Pegu* by the *Barma* conqueror, in proceſs of time took arms, and forced their way home, with the deſtruction of all the *Peguers* who oppoſed them. Hereupon the king of *Ava*, perceiving it difficult to reduce them again by force, deſigned to ſurpriſe them under colour of amity; but died in 1647, before he could execute his intentions: and, to prevent his ſucceſſor, they invaded his dominions, committing great ſpoil on the frontiers of *Pegu*, which they carried away without any oppoſition from the king of *Ava*; who, being hated by his ſubjects, feared they might take that opportunity to revolt. Notwithſtanding this, they muſt have been obliged to ſubmit ſhortly after: for in 1652 we find them tributary to *Ava*, as will appear in our account of thoſe people [f].

[e] See before, p. 112. [f] MARINI deſcr. Tonquin, &c. p. 368.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Country or Kingdom of Jangoma.

IT hath been already obſerved, that *Europeans* know little or nothing of the dominions of the *Avan* empire, from its capital northwards, to the borders of *China*, either as to the different kingdoms and ſtates it contains, or even the country and inhabitants. We only find, in general, from the journal of the four *Chineſes* above-mentioned, that after they paſſed out of the provinces of *Yun-nan* they met with nothing but deſarts for five days together: but from thenceforward the country put on another aſpect; and they found plantations along the river every day. Whether this be the condition of the country along the frontiers of the two empires of *China* and *Ava*, as far as the territories of the *Laos*, which bounds the latter eaſtward, we cannot determine, for want of ſufficient information. We only know, in general, from the obſervations of the latitudes made at the capital of *Ava*, and along the borders of *China*, joined to the ſurveys of *Tibet* and *Yun-nan*, communicated by the Jeſuits, that there muſt be a large ſpace of country within the above-mentioned limits; and that, according to the tradition of the *Siamites*, the *Laos* and the other neighbouring empires, it was formerly inhabited by a very powerful people, who had formed a dominion of vaſt extent.

Situation. Extent. Country between Siam *and* China.

THESE people were named *Tay-yay*, that is, *the great freemen*, or *Franks*; ſo they are called at preſent, both by the *Chineſes* and *Siameſes*. They were ſituated to the north of theſe latter; who acknowleging themſelves to be deſcended from them, take the name of *Tay-noe*, or *the little freemen*. Their country is called by the *Chineſes*, *Ko-ſang-pye*, and was, according to them, three months journey in length, and governed by prieſts [a]. Theſe people were probably called by the *Peguers*, *Sions* or *Siams*; which, in their language, we are told ſignifies *tree*: and from them, doubtleſs, the *Portugueſes* took the name of *Siam*, for it is not known in the country itſelf. It is probable, likewiſe, that the *Laos* are deſcended from the ſame people; and hence they might have gotten the name of *Sions*, or *Siams Maons*; and the rather, as the *Siamites* are alleged to be derived from the *Laos* [b].

The great Siams.

[a] LOUBIERE relat. Siam, p. 7. DU HALDE's deſcr. China, vol. i. p. 62. [b] LOUBIERE, ubi ſup.

Situation. Extent. Their vaſt dominions.

HOWEVER that be, we think we may here find the original of *Mendez Pinto*'s two mighty empires of the *Siamon* and *Kalaminham*, which he places in the region in queſtion. He had heard ſome reports concerning the *Sions Maons*, or *the great Siams*; and of a country governed by prieſts: and, from theſe ſlender notices, has formed two mighty empires out of his own fertile imagination, as exiſting at the time when he was in *Pegu* [c]. But not knowing the juſt diſtance of *China*, and other bordering countries, has made them larger than is conſiſtent with the at preſent tolerably well known limits of this part of the *Avan* empire.

PERE Du Halde, from the circumſtance of this country being governed by prieſts, takes *Tay-yay* for *Laſſa*, and *Ko-ſang-pyi* for *Barantola*, where the Grand Lama of *Tibet* reſides [d]. But there is no manner of occaſion for removing *Tibet* out of its place, in order to account for this ſingularity; ſince it is enough to ſuppoſe that one of the Khûtûktûs, or deputies of the Great Lama, reſided formerly in theſe parts: and indeed the religion profeſſed all over the farther peninſula of the *Indies* is evidently derived from that of *Tibet*.

Now a deſart.

THE *Chineſe* memoir places *Ko-ſang-pyi*, or the country of the *Tay-yay*, to the weſt of *Leng*, one of the northern provinces of the *Laos*; and ſays that it is, at preſent, no more than a vaſt foreſt, contiguous to that of *Pahima Pan*, which lies to the weſt of the other [e]. Whether this be fact, or only agreeable to the imperfect ideas which thoſe ſtrangers may have conceived of theſe parts, we know not: but this is certain, that *Jangoma* is the only country, in all the large region in queſtion, which travellers have brought us acquainted with.

Jangoma *kingdom.*

THE kingdom of *Jangoma*, or *Jangomay* (A), lies in the moſt ſouth part of the above-mentioned region, directly north of *Siam*; having the territories of the *Laos* on the eaſt, and the kingdom of *Ava proper* on the weſt. As to its extent we are quite at a loſs, no traveller having mentioned it. However, we may conclude it not to be very inconſiderable, from the number of forces which we are told its king could raiſe; namely, ordinarily 350,000, and, upon occaſion, one million [f].

[c] See before. p. 58 & 76. [d] DU HALDE ubi ſup. p. 62.
[e] Ibid. [f] HAYES de reb. Japon. &c. p. 748.

(A) *Pinto* writes, *Janguma*; *Methold*, *Zangomay*; ſome *Jagoman*, and *Jangoman*.

MENDEZ

MENDEZ Pinto pretends, that, in the year 1545, he paſſed thro' the kingdom of *Janguma*, in his fictitious journey to the court of the *Kalaminhan*: but we have more reaſon to believe our *Fitch* was there, who, in 1587, travelled from the city of *Pegu*, ſhaping his courſe north-eaſt, through many fruitful countries; and, at the end of twenty-five days, with the Karawân, arrived at the city of *Jamahey*. He found the country very flat, and full of rivers. Wild buffaloes and elephants were numerous: and the houſes in the villages very ordinary, being made of canes, and covered with ſtraw. *Cities. Inhabitants.*

THE city of *Jamahey* is very populous, fair, and large: the houſes built with ſtone, and the ſtreets very wide [g]. This is all the account *Fitch* gives us of this city, which we conceive to be the ſame called by *Mendez Pinto* and others *Chiamay*. According to the *Siameſes*, this laſt is ſituated on the river *Menân*, which croſſes *Jangoma*, as well as *Siam*, from north to ſouth, about ſixteen days journey more north than the frontiers of that kingdom: but, as the journies are by water, and againſt the ſtream, *Loubiere* computes the diſtance to be between ſixty and ſeventy leagues at moſt [h]. However, we reckon the diſtance to be much exaggerated by theſe foreigners; and, deducting for the windings of the river, judge *Chiamay* to lie north from *Siam*, in a direct line, not above ninety miles; nor to exceed the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes (B). Jamahey, *or* Chiamay, *city.*

MENDEZ Pinto, and *Le Blanc* after him, makes a lake of the ſame name, called alſo by him *Kunabetee* and *Singapamor*; from whence he derives the *Menan*, which he terms *Ventrau*, and other great rivers [i]: but the *Siameſes*, who had been at the taking of *Chiamay* about 1657, knew nothing of the aforeſaid lake.

FITCH ſays that *Jamahey* is in the country of the *Lanjeyannes* (or *Lenjeyans*), whom *Europeans* call *Jangomas*; by which he would intimate that theſe are different names for the ſame people, which may poſſibly be the caſe: but we may rather ſuppoſe them two different nations: for *Jangoma* *The inhabitants.*

[g] FITCH ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1740 ubi ſup. p. 3. [h] LOUBIERE [i] PINTO's voy. p. 49 & 165.

(B) This is as much, we think, as can be allowed for its latitude; ſince then it will lie mid-way between the frontiers of *Siam* and *Yun-nan* in *China*. Whereas *Loubiere*'s map puts it in twenty-five degrees; which is three degrees more north than the borders of *Yun-nan*, under the ſame meridian with *Chiamay*, really are.

lying

Inhabitants.

lying between two great powers, thoſe of *Ava* and the *Lanjangs*, who are a branch of the *Laos*, has ſometimes been ſubject to one, ſometimes to the other. Before it was conquered by *Chau-migrem*, king of *Pegu*, about 1556, it had probably been, for a long ſeries of years, in the hands of the *Lanjans*, who might have become more numerous than the old poſſeſſors, or even extirpated them. But whether *Jangomas* be the name of the old inhabitants, or only an appellation given to the *Lanjangs* by the *Peguers*, *Siamites*, or ſome other of their neighbours, this is certain, that *Jangoma* is a different country from that of *Lanjang*; and the city of *Jamahey*, or *Chiamay*, 200 miles, perhaps, diſtant from its capital, which bears the ſame name [k].

Dreſs and diet.

THE inhabitants of *Jamâhay*, or *Chiâmay*, are well-ſet and ſtrong. Their dreſs is very ſimple, conſiſting only in a cloth wrapped about them: and they wear bells in their privy members, like the people of *Pegu* and *Ava*. They go both with their head and feet bare; for, in all theſe countries, they wear no ſhoes. The women are fairer than thoſe of *Pegu*. Proviſions are exceeding plenty: but they make uſe of rice-cakes inſtead of bread; there being no wheat in all thoſe parts.

WHEN any are ſick in theſe countries, they make a vow to offer meat to the devil in caſe they recover. On which occaſion they then prepare a banquet, and invite their friends, who bring preſents of fruit: and while they are dancing to the ſound of drums, pipes, and other inſtruments, they offer meat to the devil, accompanied with much ſhouting, in order to drive him away. During their illneſs a *Talepoy* or two ſit by them every night, and ſing, with a view to ſooth the devil, that he may not do them hurt. When a perſon dies, his corpſe is carried on a ſort of frame-work, made of canes, with a covering at top, which is gilt all over. This machine, carried by fourteen or ſixteen men, is preceded by ſeveral ſorts of muſic, and accompanied by the male friends of the deceaſed; in which order being conveyed to a place out of town, it is there burnt. On this occaſion the prieſts have a preſent of mats and linen. After the funeral is over, a feaſt is made, which is kept for two days: and then the wife of the deceaſed, attended with all her ſhe-friends and neighbours, go to the place where the body was burned, and there lamenting, while they pick up the pieces of bones which remain unburned, bury them. This is all their mourning, excepting that both men and women ſhave their heads, in

Their funerals.

[k] FITCH ubi ſup. p. 1740.

caſe

caſe the defunct be ſome very dear friend; otherwiſe not, for they are very fond of their hair [l]. *Trade. Hiſtory.*

PIMENTA ſays the country of *Jangoma* (of which we ſuppoſe *Jamahay* or *Chiamay* to be the capital) abounds with muſk, pepper, ſilk, ſilver, gold, and copper [m]. But *Fitch* confines its native commodities to copper and benjamin: however making the reſt to be brought in by the *Chineſes*, who trade thither [n]. In 1613 *Floris* ſent goods from *Siam* to *Jangomay*, to try the trade there; and, in 1615 or 16, one *Thomas Samuel* was ſent thither from the ſame country, upon the ſame account: at which time the king of *Pegu* and *Ava* invading *Jangomay*, conquered it from the king of *Siam*, and carried *Samuel*, with all other ſtrangers, priſoners to *Pegu* [o]. *Trade and commodities.*

JANGOMA, or *Jangomay*, was formerly an independent kingdom; but when it firſt became ſubject to ſome of the neighbouring powers, does not appear from hiſtory. It ſeems to have been under a prince of its own in 1556, when *Chaumigrem*, the great *Barma* king of *Pegu*, reduced it under his dominion, before he ſubdued the *Laos* [p]. It continued in this ſtate during the reign of that monarch and his ſucceſſor, whoſe brother was made governor of it, with the title of king, probably in the reign of their father, as we find another of his ſons was, at his death, king or regulo of *Ava*. In the midſt of the diſtractions which afflicted *Pegu* in 1598, the king of *Jangoma* was perſuaded by the prieſts to dethrone his brother *Pranjinoko*: this he might eaſily have done, if, as it is ſaid, he was able to bring into the field 350,000 men, and even a million in caſe of neceſſity [q]. But while he delayed putting his deſign in execution (if, in reality, he had formed it), the kings of *Tângu* and *Arrakan* joining their forces, took the work out of his hands, and deſtroyed the kingdom of *Pegu*. However, to be revenged for the diſappointment, as well as get ſhare of the ſpoil, he, in the year 1600, joined with the *Rájah Api*, called the black king of *Siam*, againſt him of *Tângu*, whom they invaded together [r]. But it does not appear what was the iſſue of that war. Poſſibly the king of *Tângu* bought his peace, by giving them part of the plunder, as he did the king of *Arrakan*. *Hiſtory of Jangoma.*

NOT long after this, the king of *Siam* falling out with him of *Jangoma*, who, on the deſtruction of *Pegu*, was be- *Often changes maſters.*

[l] FITCH ubi ſup. [m] Ibid. p. 1746. [n] Ibid. ubi ſup.
[o] New collect. voy. vol. i. p. 441. [p] DA CRUZ ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 168, & ſeq. [q] PIMENTA ap. Hayes, de reb. Japan. &c. p. 748, [r] Ibid.

Bounds. Extent.

come independent, conquered his country, and alſo that of *Lanjang*. This muſt have happened between the years 1600 and 1605, in which laſt *Râjah Api* died. *Jangoma* continued as a province of *Siam* during the reign of his ſucceſſor, who died in 1610; but, in 1612, we find the king of *Ava* and *Pegu* attempting the recovery of thoſe countries [s]; and about three years after got *Jangoma* into his poſſeſſion [t]. What changes have happened afterwards in this country we are not ſufficiently acquainted with: we only know that, about the year 1657, the king of *Siam* took *Chiamay*, and carried away the inhabitants; with whom it was ſoon after repeopled by the king of *Ava* [u]. But, in 1690, we find it in the hands of its old maſters the *Laos*; ſince we are told that *Lanjang* and *Chiamay* were then their two principal cities [x].

Preſent ſtate.

CHAP. VII.

The Kingdom of Lawhos, *or* Laos.

SECT. I.

The Bounds, Name, Mountains, Rivers, Provinces, and Cities. Errors of Geographers.

Bounds and extent.

THE country of *Lawhos*, *Lao*, or of the *Laos*, of which *Jangoma* was originally, or by conqueſt, a part; taken in its largeſt ſenſe, is bounded on the weſt by the dominions of *Ava* and *Siam*; on the north, with the province of *Yunnan*, or *Jun-nan*, in *China* (A); on the eaſt, with *Tong-king*; and on the ſouth, with *Kamboja*. It is ſituated between the 15th or 16th and the 22d degrees (B) of latitude, and between the 119th and 122d degrees of longitude; ſo that the territories of the *Laos*, taken all together, may extend in length from ſouth to north about 420 geographic miles, and in breadth from weſt to eaſt about 180 (C), although moſt geogra-

[s] Floris, ubi ſupr. p. 439. Kempf. p. 26. [t] Methold. ap. Purch. vol. v. p. 1006. [u] Kemp. ib. [x] Loubiere, p. 3.

(A) *Marini* places on the weſt *Pegu*, on the north *Ava*, with the province named *U and Lu*; extending it ſtill more north, to the borders of the people called *Gnay*.

(B) *Marini* makes it extend from 14° to 22° 30′, the ſpace of 500 geographic miles from ſouth to north. *Marini* hiſt. de *Tunq.* et de *Lao*, p. 329.

(C) That is 483 *Engliſh* miles one

geographers make it scarce half so much. It is surrounded on all sides by mountains covered with forests (D), which serve as ramparts to secure it, and break the force of rapid torrents which descend from thence into the plains [a]. *Mountains. Rivers.*

THE name generally given by travellers to this region is *Lao*, or the country of the *Laos*; by some, as *Pinto*, written *Lauhos*, or *Lawhos* (E). *Da Cruz* says [b], the *Laos* are by some (but whom he nameth not) called *Siones Maons* (F); and *Marini* says, that this country is more properly called the kingdom of the *Lanjens*, than of *Lao* [c]. But we apprehend that this is giving to the whole, what belongs only to a part, which has for its capital *Lanjan*, or *Lanjang*; as the northern part, or perhaps the whole, has for its metropolis *Leng*. With regard to the name of *Siones Maons*, it seems to be given to the *Laos* on account of the great *Siams*, called *Tayyay* [d], who possessed the country to the west of *Lao*, and of whom the *Laos* probably are the remains. *Name.*

THE country of *Lao*, or of the *Laos*, seems to be for the general flat, and to have scarce any hills or mountains but those which encompass it on all sides, and serve as barriers against the potent kingdoms with which it is inclosed. From these mountains descend infinite rivulets, which drain into one large river, that crosses the whole region from north to south (G). The source of this river has been but little known to former geographers; but the Jesuits, of late, have fixed it with great precision. According to their map of *China*, it rises in the north-west borders of the province of *Mountains and rivers.*

[a] MARINI hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 331. [b] Ap. PURCH. vol. iii. p. 168. [c] MARINI, ubi supr. p. 329. [d] See before, p. 135.

one way, and 203 the other; its extent northward, along the borders of *China*, is marked in the Jesuits map at about one degree and a half.

(D) *Kæmpfer* says, it is separated from the neighbouring states by forests and deserts. Voy. to *Japan*, p 26.

(E) The *Chinese* call them *Lau*, and their country *Lau Chwa*, or the kingdom of *Lau*. *Lao* is the *Portuguese* pronunciation.

(F) From this name, possibly, *Pinto* has made his *Siamon* and *Mons*, as before has been observed. *Sion*, is the *Portuguese* way of pronouncing *Siam*.

(G) Much after the same manner that the *Nile* does *Egypt*, to which this country bears some resemblance, excepting that the *Menan Kong* does not overflow the neighbouring lands. Hence it is perhaps, that, as *Kæmpfer* observes, the soil, being a fat clay, is so hard in summer that they thresh their rice on it.

Yun-nan

River Menan Kong. *Yun-nan* (H). Near its ſource it is called *Lan-tſan Kyang*; and where it enters the kingdom of *Lao*, within ten miles of the eaſt border (I), it bears the name of *Ku-long Kyang*. The *Laos* call it *Menan Kong*; in its paſſage ſouthwards it waſhes the cities of *Lê*, *Kyang-kong*, *Kyang-ſeng*, and *Lan-chang* (K) (or *Lan-jang*); afterwards it enters the kingdom of *Kamboja*, which it croſſes, and falls into the ſea at *Bonſak*.

The Menan Kong. FROM *Kyang-kong*, downwards to its mouth, it carries large barks; but from *Lê*, upwards, it bears none; ſo that one is obliged to travel from thence to *Yun-nan* by land [c]. Although ſuch a number of ſtreams fall into this river, yet, we are told, that it never overflows, by reaſon of a cauſey, fifteen or ſixteen feet high, which runs along its banks, and prevents inundations, even in thoſe years when the rains have fallen in the greateſt abundance. As ſoon as this river enters *Kamboja*, its waters ſeem to change their qualities; ſo that the fiſh, which paſs the frontiers, die immediately: in like manner, ſuch as aſcend the ſtream from *Kamboja* into *Lao*, feel the ſame effect; which ſurpriſing circumſtance has given occaſion to the proverb, *Each in his own kingdom*. The rivers uſually ſwell with the heavy rains, which begin to fall in *May*; and ſometimes with the quantity of ſnow, when it melts on the mountains of *Tibet*, which are ſeen from *Lao*. This great increaſe of water continues commonly from *September* to *January*, yet without interrupting commerce, or the tranſportation of merchandizes. It is true, that they who are obliged to aſcend the ſtream are extremely incommoded, not only on account of haling the bark along, but alſo from the rays of the ſun, which caſt a heat like that of a furnace.

Strange effect.

Navigation dangerous. FOR all this, it is much ſafer to ſail againſt the ſtream than with it, for the current is ſo rapid, that the bark ſeems to fly as ſwift as an arrow out of a bow; and, by the violence of the motion, is often overſet, or ſunk downright, and all the goods loſt. For this reaſon, when they arrive at the place which ſeparates the two kingdoms, it is neceſſary to unload the bark, deſtroy one part of it, and make uſe of waggons to convey the commodities for the ſpace of three miles over land; while the barge-men employ ten days in haling up the reſidue of the veſſel through the falls by force of arms. A miſſioner

[c] DU HALDE deſcript. China, vol. i. p. 63.

(H) Latitude 27° 30′ Long. from *Paris* 96° 40′ and 27° 20′ weſt of *Peking*.

(I) Lat. 21° 49′ Long. 99° 5′

(K) Afterwards, p. 64. a different river is ſaid to paſs by *Kyang Kong* and *Lanjang*. But the memoir, whence our account is taken, is not very exact.

propoſed

proposed to remedy this inconvenience by means of sluices; but the king would not consent to destroy what he deemed a strong barrier. *Provinces. Cities.*

TRAVELLERS have fallen into errors, with regard to the course of this river, misled, doubtless, by the reports of the people in these parts. *Marini* says, that a few leagues beyond *Lao* it begins to carry boats, and divides into two great branches (L): one, running west, passes through *Pegu* into the gulf of *Bengâl*; the other, forcing through rocks, spreads in several chanels through the kingdom of *Lao*, and divides it from north to south[f]. On the other hand, *Kæmpfer* tells us, that a branch of the *Ganges* runs through this country, and falling into the river of *Kamboja* renders it navigable[g]. But the map of the Jesuits, above-mentioned, discovers these informations to be false, no less than that of *Mendez Pinto*, who derives all the great rivers of this peninsula from a fictitious lake. *Errors about it.*

WE meet with very little in authors touching either the cities or provinces of this kingdom. *Marini* indeed tells us, that it contains seven provinces[h]; but mentions not the name of one. As to cities, besides *Jamahay*, or *Chiamay*, the capital of *Jangoma*, we find the names of several others; with an account of some of them, and their distances one from another, in a journal of some *Chinese* merchants, of the road they took from *Siam* to *China* in the year 1652. Whether all the names of places are those used in the country, or by the *Chinese* only, we cannot resolve; but, as that journal contains nearly all which we have relating to the geography of this region, we shall give our readers some extracts from it. *Provinces and cities.*

THESE merchants set out on horseback from *Kyang-hay* (M), or *Kyau*, on the borders of *Siam*, and in seven days got to *Kyang-seng*; in seven others they came to *Kemerat*; and in eight more to *Leng*, capital of *Laos*. The way hitherto *Journey through* Lao

[f] MARINI, ubi supr. p. 333, & seq. [g] KÆMPFER hist. Japan. p. 27. [h] MARINI, p. 359.

(L) Mention is made of other rivers in *Lao*, as the *Menan Tay*, or *Lay*, which is full of rocks; it rises in a mountain near the city *Kemarat*, and falls into the *Menan Kong* near *Bankiop*. 2. The river of *Siam*, rises in mount *Kyang-Daw*. 3. The *Kyang-hay*, or *Lay*, falls into the principal river of *Siam*, called *Menan*. *Du Halde* China, vol. i. p. 62.

(M) In the journal, the word *Meang* is prefixed to the name of each place; but as it signifies no more than city, or colony, we have omitted it. This word is variously written by authors, *Moang*, *Muang*, *Mong*, *Meuang*, *Mhang*, *Moan*, and the like.

was

Provinces. Cities.

was full of woods, rivers, and ſettlements, for the moſt part impaſſable for waggons (N); but free from either wild beaſts or robbers. From *Leng* they were ſeven days going to *Lê*, and eleven more on the road to *Meng*; in all forty ſtages: here they turned northward to get into *Yun-nan* (O), from whence, in a ſhort time, they arrived in *China*[1]. Here then we have an account of a road almoſt through the whole extent of *Lao*, from ſouth to north. It is true, that this itinerary is defective, inaſmuch as the ſituation neither of *Kyang-hay* nor *Meng* (the two terms of the journey) is fixed, by their diſtance being marked from ſome known place. For all that it is of conſiderable uſe, as the poſitions of the intermediate places are in good meaſure aſcertained; the rather as we find two of them, *Lê* and *Kyang-ſeng*, are ſeated on the *Menan Kong*. To theſe may be added *Kyang-kong*, lying between thoſe two cities, and *Lan-chang* (or *Lan-jang*), ſtanding lower down than *Kyang-ſeng*, upon the ſame river. More than this, we have the latitude of *Lan-jang* (if it may be depended on) to regulate the poſition of the whole. So that, by means of theſe materials, joined to the deſcription which is given of the abovementioned places, we may be ſaid to know more of the inland parts of *Lao*, than of any other country in the farther peninſula of *India*, *Siam* and *Pegu* excepted.

by ſome Chineſes.

Lao *wrongly exhibited*

But, before we proceed farther, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething farther with reſpect to the ſituation and dimenſions of *Lao*, which the geographers ſeem to have been much miſtaken in. Mr. *De L'Iſle*, it is true, has given this country its due extent from ſouth to north; but has reduced its bounds from eaſt to weſt to a narrow gut of land. He has likewiſe placed *Lanchang* in twenty degrees of latitude (P); in conſequence of which ſituation *Kyang-ſeng*, *Leng*, and other cities, are placed too much northward; and the diſtance between *Kyang-hay* and *Meng*, which is forty days journey, is reduced to leſs than half that meaſure. This was owing to his relying too much on *Loubiere*'s map of *Siam*, which places the northern borders of that country in twenty-three

[1] Du Halde, ubi ſupr. p. 61.

(N) *Kæmpfer* obſerves, p. 26. that the road from *Siam* to *Lao* is troubleſome by land, on account of the high mountains; and by water, on account of the rocks and cataracts in the river *Menan*, which runs through *Siam*.

(O) In the original *Vi-nan*, which, with the *Vi* reverſed, makes *Yun-nan*.

(P) Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of *Siam*, *Tonquin*, &c. inſerted in Mr. *Prevoſt*'s hiſt. gen. des voy. tom. ix. puts *Lan-chang* near half a degree higher.

degrees

degrees of latitude; and consequently near one degree and a half more northward than the southern bounds of *China*. Mr. *Bellin*, in his late map (Q), has given *Siam* the same extent; but, that the frontiers of the two kingdoms might not appear to break-in upon each other, he has taken care to make those of *China* give way, by removing them two or three degrees more eastward than they ought. *Geography imperfect.*

This procedure in Mr. *Bellin* is the more surprising, as he could not but know that the bounds of *China* had been determined both by measures and astronomical observations (R); whereas it does not appear that those of *Siam* towards the north were at all regulated mathematically, or that the map, published by *Loubere*, was drawn with any accuracy; on the contrary, that author declares himself, that he does not think it correct. Methinks therefore Mr. *Bellin* ought to have taken the contrary course; and, instead of altering the bounds of *China*, as laid down in the Jesuits map, have placed those of *Siam* three or four degrees more to the south. By this way only room can be made for inserting the places mentioned in the *Chinese* journal: and, in this case, *Lan-chang* must be removed lower. Which shews that the latitude of eighteen degrees, given to it by *Marini*, must be much nearer the truth than that assigned either by him or Mr. *De L'Isle*. *in the maps.*

The country of *Lao*, considered at large, is commonly represented as subject to a single monarch; and *Marini* expressly affirms as much, informing us farther, that *Lao* contains seven provinces; that the royal seat was at *Lanjan*; and that the proper name of *Lao* is *Lanjans* [k]. On the other hand, we find by the journal of the *Chinese* merchants, who travelled through the country much about the same time when the missionary was there; that there were two kingdoms within the region of *Lahos*, or *Laos*, namely, *Kemerat* and *Leng*: which latter, they tell us, is more properly called *Lahos*; and that its chief city is the capital of *Lahos*: and a third author names a fourth kingdom, named *Thiem*, with a certain wild people called *Ke-moy*, who have neither king nor religion; both bordering on *Kâchinchina* to the north-west [l]. To reconcile these different accounts, we must suppose the follow- *Accounts of travellers*

[k] Marini hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 329, 359. [l] Choisy voy. de Siam, p. 563.

(Q) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

(R) As the map of the Jesuits was not published till after the time of Mr. *De L'Isle*, he is the more excusable.

(S) The *Chinese* in about 1652, and *Marini* in 1657 or 1658.

Geography imperfect.

ing things, *viz.* that *Marini* aſcribes to the whole what only belongs to a part of the country: that the whole is divided into ſeveral diſtinct kingdoms or parts: that it is inhabited by ſeveral nations; different, at leaſt, in name and intereſt: that the *Lanjans* are, in this ſenſe, a diſtinct people from the *Lahos*; although originally they might have been all the ſame people, going under the name of *Lahos*, or *Laos*, till they came to be divided under different princes.

very defective.

MARINI is not the only traveller who has applied to the whole what only belongs to a part. *Kempfer*, ſpeaking of the *Laos*, informs us, that their two chief cities are *Lanjang* and *Chiamay* [m]. But if *Lao* was here to be underſtood in its full extent, we ſhould imagine *Leng* would have been joined with *Lanjang*; and not *Chiamay*, which is a city of *Jangomay*, a province or part belonging to the juriſdiction of *Lanjang*. It is evident from hence, that *Kempfer* knew nothing of the provinces of *Lao*, to the north of *Lanjan*; and although *Marini* extends the country of *Lao* as far as *China*, yet he ſuppoſes the whole to be under the juriſdiction of the king of *Lanjan*; and to be inhabited by *Lanjans*. At the ſame time both theſe authors acknowlege *Lanjan* to be inhabited by the *Laos*; only the latter ſays, that the name of *Lanjans* more properly belongs to them.

Diviſion of Lao.

THE defects of *European* travellers is in good meaſure ſupplied by the *Chineſe* memoir: but although *Lanchang*, or *Lanjang*, is therein occaſionally ſpoken of, it is not ſaid to be the capital of a kingdom; nor is any mention made of the kingdom of *Lanjang*, becauſe the author of it does not enter into the deſcription of any place which he was not at; and therefore, there may have been other kingdoms or ſtates in *Lahos*, beſides thoſe two ſpecified in the journal: for this reaſon we ſhall not pretend to divide this country into its particular kingdoms or provinces, but content ourſelves with dividing it into two great parts only; one called the northern, or proper *Lao*; the other, the ſouthern *Lao*, or kingdom of *Lanjang*.

SECT. II.

The ſouthern Lao, *or Kingdom of* Lanjang.

The name.

THE kingdom of *Lanjan*, *Lanjang*, or *Lanchang*, as others pronounce it, would ſeem to moſt perſons to derive its name from that of its capital city: but, we are told, it takes that denomination from the great numbers of

[m] KÆMPFER, p. 27.

elephants

elephants with which the country abounds; the word *Lanjens*, or *Lanjans*, signifying properly, *thousands of elephants*[a]. *Southern Lao.*

We cannot precisely determine the extent of this southern *Lao*, or *Lau*, from south to north, authors not having so much as mentioned any city subordinate to that of its capital; or indeed in the whole country, excepting *Chiamay* may be considered as one. However, upon a supposition that *Kyang-seng*, which is situated on the *Menan Kong*, to the north of *Lanjang*, belongs to the northern province, and is not far from the frontiers of the southern; this latter will extend to near the nineteenth degree of latitude, and consequently, containing almost four degrees in extent from north to south, will have the larger half of *Lao* to its share; as its breadth from west to east will be equal to that of the other: but, in case we comprise *Jangoma* within its limits, the breadth will be augmented perhaps a hundred miles, or more. Upon this footing, the province or kingdom of *Lanjang* will be near twice as large as the northern *Lao*. *Its dimensions.*

The climate of this country is somewhat more temperate than that of *Tongking*, but exceedingly more healthful: so that one meets with old men, of a hundred and a hundred-and-twenty years of age, who are as robust and vigorous as if they were but fifty. *Climate very healthy.*

The soil is generally very good, being rendered fruitful by a great number of canals cut from the great river (*Menan Kong*); which serve both to water the lands on each side, and drain-off the streams, made either by the torrents descending from the hills, or the great rains which fall at stated times, so that they never make any marshes or stagnant pools in the country. It is remarkable, that the lands on the eastern side of the river are vastly better and more fertile than those on the western side: the very animals, such as elephants and unicorns (A), are larger. The rice too is incomparable, and of a particular scent as well as flavour. The forest, and other trees are high, strait, and, for the general, incorruptible; qualities wanting in those on the western side, where they are ill-shaped, and the rice so hard that it is scarce fit for boiling. As soon as the rains begin to cease, certain southerly winds blow, and the lands, which had been sown with rice immediately after the harvest, produce a kind of scum, which, covering this champain like snow for several miles, is hardenend with the sun, and becomes solid salt. There is *Soil and produce.* *Excellent rice.* *Plenty of salt.*

[a] Marini, p. 337.

(A) By *unicorns*, probably, are to be understood *rhinoceroses*.

Southern Lao.

so great a quantity of it produced in this manner, that not only the whole kingdom is supplied with it, at a very trifling expence, but enough is left to serve strangers, who come every year and carry away as much as they think fit. Then the new rains, which succeed this second gathering, cleanse and meliorate the soil in such a manner as gives the rice that delicious taste above-mentioned, which the rice of other countries hath not.

THE principal drugs found in this kingdom are *benjamin* and *lakka* [b].

Benjamin.

The *benjamin* is reckoned the best in the east, and is found in great abundance. The tree, from which it distils, grows mostly in the mountains. The leaves are like those of the chesnut-tree, and the flower very beautiful, being white and odoriferous like those of orange-trees. The fruit likewise is sweet-scented, of the shape and bigness of an acorn, but very ill-tasted, and degenerates when planted in foreign soils; yet, as the gum produces a great revenue to the king, the *Lanjans* are forbidden to sell the fruit to strangers.

Gum lakka.

THE *lakka*, or *lakre*, which is used in making *Spanish* wax, is nothing but a certain kind of earth, found in forests round about the ant-hills, and with which those insects cover the surface of their little territories for the use of their magazines.

Ivory.

THERE is not better ivory, nor greater plenty of it, in any country than this; and no wonder, since it has its name from the number of elephants found in it, as hath been already mentioned. But the unicorn's (or rather rhinoceros's) horn, is the thing most prized by the *Lanjans*; from a belief, that whoever is possessed of one may command fortune. And as some have more virtue than others, when a person is advanced to a new post, he sells the horn which he had before, and buys another, of a better kind, at the expence of several hundred crowns. His next care is to hide it so effectually that he shall be in no danger of having it stolen, and so deprived of all the good-luck which they think inseparable from it [c].

Mines.

As the forests are of great extent, and the plains enamelled with variety of flowers, they make abundance of honey, wax, and cotton. One meets also with several mines of iron, lead, and tin, in which they are at work. Gold and silver also are found here; but the inhabitants gather those metals out of certain places of the river, by means of iron nets. The utensils which are made with what they thus fish up, bring great ad-

[b] MARINI hist. Turq. & Lao, p. 332, 335, & seq. [c] Ibid. p. 337, & seq.

vantages

vantages to the kingdom, but not so much as the king could wish. From the neighbouring countries they have red amber and musk, with which they drive a great trade. The amber comes from the kingdom of *Ava*, and is found in the forests at the roots of certain very old trees, which grow among the rocks and inaccessible places. The musk is brought from the kingdom of *Gnay* (B), and taken from a bag joining to the navel of an animal, which the *Chinese* call *ye hyang*, or the *musk stag*. The *Lanjans* make likewise a counterfeit musk, with ambergris, and the juice drawn from the body of a cat, which they call *algalia*. This mixture yields a more agreeable and mild smell than the pure musk; and this kind of musk is what first appeared in *Europe*[d].

Southern Lao.

Red amber, musk.

The *Lanjans* make great advantage of several other animals, particularly buffaloes and oxen; whose number is almost infinite, and which are employed in the service of the plains. Their garden fruit is likewise very profitable to them, as well as their excellent rice. Their rivers abound with fish of several kinds; some so large and heavy, that two men can hardly carry one of them. The smaller sorts are caught in such plenty, that a hundred-weight of them may be had for the value of five-pence. They pickle them, as we do herrings, and the poor eat them with their rice; which is their ordinary food[e]. According to *Kæmpfer*, *Lao* produces precious stones, especially rubies; also pearls, called by the *Siamites*, *muk*; which that author esteems the more strange, as the country does not lie near any salt sea[f]: but probably his surprize would have ceased, had he known of the above-mentioned saline quality of the land, which must needs be communicated to the flooding waters.

Animals, fruits, fish.

The kingdom of *Lanjans* contains seven provinces, and several considerable cities; for what *Marini* ascribes to *Lao* in general[g], we apply, for the reason already taken notice of, to *Lanjan* in particular. But this correction, if it be one, is of no great advantage to us, since that author neither describes, nor so much as mentions the name of any one of them all, excepting the capital *Lanjan*. On this occasion, we cannot forbear censuring the negligence of travellers, especially the missionaries, who have frequented this, and the neighbouring

Provinces.

[d] Marini, p. 337, & seqq. [e] Ibid. p. 341. [f] Kæmpf. ubi supr. p. 26. [g] Marini, p. 348, & 359.

(B) The *Gnay* are a nation bordering on *China*, with which they have much commerce. *Marini*, p. 331. They seem to lie on the north-west part of the upper *Lao*.

Southern Lao.

countries (C); yet in their relations treat of them ſo ſuperficially, that the reader is no way benefited by what they publiſh. Thus geography receives little or no improvement from the perſons from whom only it can expect any; and is more obliged to the ſmall journal of ſome *Chineſe* merchants, ſo often mentioned, than the united informations of all the *European* miſſioners, who have ſpent ſeveral years in travelling over the country. It is this ſilence of *Marini*, the almoſt ſole author who treats expreſsly of *Lao* (D), which ſupports our diviſion of that region into upper and lower, as well as our opinion, that his relation is to be confined to the latter only, although he would make it extend to the whole. For we impute his ſilence to his want of knowing the country; and, on his want of knowlege, we ground our diſſent from him. However, if *Marini* has mentioned but one city, amongſt a great number (for one author ſays, there are no fewer than thirty-eight cities[h] in the kingdom of *Lanjang*); other travellers have not done more; and what gives him the preference to all the reſt, he is the only one we meet with who deſcribes it.

Miſſioners cenſured.

City of Lanjan.

LANJAN, written alſo *Lanjang*, and *Lan-chang*, according to the *Chineſe* pronunciation, is by *Marini*, *Choiſy*, and *Kæmpfer*, reckoned the capital of the kingdom of *Lao*; which words we reſtrain however to the territories of the *Lanjans*, for the reaſons already mentioned. It is the city where the king uſually reſides, in the latitude of eighteen degrees. It is defended on one ſide by good ditches, and walls exceeding high; on the other by the great river (E). The king's palace is of ſo vaſt extent that it may well paſs for a city, both with reſpect to its magnitude, and the number of people who inhabit it. It appears to the view at a very great diſtance; and is admirable, as well for its ſtructure, as the ſymmetry of the buildings which compoſe it. The royal

King's palace.

[h] De Faria, Aſia Portug. vol. ii. p. 11.

(C) The like may be ſaid with regard to his account of *Tong-king*; alſo *Borri*'s, of *Kochin-china*; in ſhort, the voyages of *Alexander De Rhodes*, and other miſſioners, into thoſe countries.

(D) *Gio. Philip. Marini*, a Jeſuit, publiſhed ſeveral relations in *Italian*, in five books; among which thoſe of *Tonquin* and *Lao* have been tranſlated into *French*, and publiſhed in 1666. From a note of Mr. *La Croze*, hiſt. du Chriſt. p. 51. the account of *Lao* ſeems to have been written by *Leria*, a Jeſuit; for we have not ſeen the *Italian* of *Marini*.

(E) Or the *Menan Kong*; which, according to the *Chineſe* journal, afterwards enters *Kamboja*, as if at no great diſtance.

apart-

apartment is adorned with a magnificent portal, and a great number of beautiful chambers, accompanied with a grand ſalon or hall: the whole, built with incorruptible wood, is adorned both on the inſide and outſide with excellent bas-reliefs, all ſo delicately gilded, that they ſeem to be covered rather with plates, than leaves, of gold. *Northern Lao.*

FROM the king's apartment you enter into very ſpacious courts, where you behold a long ſeries of houſes, all of bricks, and covered with tiles, in which uſually dwell his wives of the ſecond claſs; and beyond them another range of buildings, equally neat and uniform, for the officers belonging to the court. It would require a volume, ſays *Marini*, to give an exact account of the riches, gardens, and other quarters, of this ſumptuous manſion.

THE houſes of the grandees, and perſons of condition, are very high and fair, well contrived and ornamented: but thoſe of the inferior people are no better than huts. The prieſts alone have the privilege of building their houſes and convents with brick or ſtone. People of faſhion, inſtead of carpets and other furniture, make uſe of certain mats made of reeds, ſo very finely wrought, and adorned with figures of various kinds, that, in our author's opinion, nothing looks more beautiful or agreeable to the ſight. With them they commonly hang the wall of their houſes and their chambers, both within and without. Their apartments are exceeding neat; and they take more than ordinary care to keep them ſo [h]. *The houſes.*

SECT. III.

The Northern Lao, *or* Laho.

WE conſider the territories within theſe limits as the proper country of the people called *Lao*, *Lau*, or *Laho* (A), diſtinct from that of the *Lanjans*, which bounds it on the ſouth. Its extent, from ſouth to north, is about three degrees, or 210 *Engliſh* miles; and its breadth the ſame with the whole country in general, already mentioned. *Extent.*

THE country, ſoil, and produce, are much of the ſame nature with thoſe of *Lanjang*. However, every province ſeems to have ſomething peculiar to it in thoſe reſpects. The number of provinces, however, is not mentioned by authors,

[h] MARINI, p. 341, & ſeqq.

(A) Or terminating with an *s*, *Laos*, *Laus*, *Lahos*, to denote more preciſely the plural in our language. The country itſelf is alſo called *Laos*.

Northern Lao.

unleſs we ſuppoſe *Marini*'s ſeven to be comprehended in both the northern and ſouthern *Lao*. All the account we have, relating to them, is contained in the *Chineſe* memoir or journal, ſo often before cited; and that only mentions two or three large provinces at moſt, each of which has under it ſeveral leſſer provinces or diſtricts, whereof we find the names, with ſome light concerning their ſituations: the whole ſubject to *Ava*.

Kyang-ſeng *province*.

THE moſt ſouthern of the provinces or diſtricts mentioned in the *Chineſe* journal, is *Kyang-ſeng*, ſeven days journey from *Kyang-hay*, or *Kyay*, on the frontiers of *Siam*. This is all we meet with relating to this province, excepting that, as to its ſituation, it lies north of the province or diſtrict of *Kyang-hay*, and ſouth of that of *Kemerat*. The chief city of that name alſo ſtands on the river *Menân Kong*, which from thence flows ſouthward, into the kingdom of *Lan-chang* or *Lanjan*. The denomination of *Mohang* is prefixed to all the local names inſerted in the journal, and ſignifies, as it is applied, either province, diſtrict, colony, or city (B): but we have omitted it, to avoid a needleſs repetition [a].

Kemerat *province*.

THE province of *Kemerat* next occurs. It is bounded on the eaſt by that of *Lé*, on the north by *Lang* (C), on the ſouth by *Kyang-ſeng* and *Kyang-hay*. After this account of its bounds there is ſubjoined another; for, we are told, *Vay*, *Rong*, *Ngong*, *Labi*, *Maa*, and *Laa*, lie to the eaſt; *Hang*, *Kroa*, *Loey*, *Jang*, and *Pen*, to the north. Poſſibly the firſt bounds reſpect the province of *Kemerat* in general, and the latter relates to the diſtrict of *Kemerat* in particular; for it is added, that theſe eleven cities or colonies are in the juriſdiction of *Kemerat*. We are farther informed, that it is one day's journey from the city *Hang* to *Kroa*; and the ſame from *Loey* to *Jang*. This province of *Kemerat* is ſaid to be 400 *ſenes* (D) in compaſs, and eight days journey in length: its capital city, of the ſame name, ſeven days journey from *Kyang-ſang*, is ſituate on the river *Menân-tay*, or *Menân-lay*, which falls into the *Menân-kong* towards the town of *Bankiok*; lying, as we judge, to the ſouth-eaſt from *Kemerat*, and between the cities of *Kyang-kong* and *Kyang-ſeng*. When the *Chineſes*

The capital city.

[a] DU HALDE, ubi ſupr. p. 61.

(B) *Moang*, *Mohang*, *Muhang*, or *Mong*, ſignifies alſo kingdom ſometimes, in the language of theſe countries.

(C) By *Lang*, perhaps, is to be underſtood *Leng*.

(D) This muſt be but a ſmall circumference, and no way conſiſtent with the length of eight ſtages; ſince we are told theſe *ſenes*, or cords, are but of eight fathoms each.

paſſed

paſſed through it, a king reſided there, named *Prachyau Otang*, who was tributary to *Hawa* or *Ava*, and ſent ambaſſadors thither every year with his acknowlegements, conſiſting of two ſmall ſhrubs, one having its leaves and flowers of gold, and the other of ſilver. *Northern Lao.*

In this country they have the uſe of fire-arms, great and ſmall cannon, muſkets, *zagays* (or darts), and croſs-bows [b]. While the *Tartars* were ſubduing *China*, in the laſt century, a great number of *Chineſe* fugitives out of *Yun-nan* (E) fell upon, and reduced, the neighbouring territories, among which was *Kemerat*, whoſe inhabitants abandoned the city. Before the *Chineſes* drove thoſe people out, they went every year to trade with them, carrying velvets, and other ſilks, camblets, carpets, hair, blue and black callico, muſk, quickſilver, kori ſhells, and bonnets (or hats); kettles, and other utenſils of copper; precious ſtones of a green colour, emeralds, gold, ſilver, and china-ware. In exchange for theſe commodities they returned with cotton-thread, ivory, an earth or medicinal paſte called *zhadam*; a ſort of medicinal wood named *ingo*, by the *Portugueſes*, and *maha ing* by the *Siameſes*; likewiſe opium; *kotſo*, a kind of medicinal root ſo called; and white linen cloth. All theſe commodities were brought from *Ava*; and the *Chineſes* repaired to *Kemerat* in the three firſt months, in order to carry them home in *April* [c]. *The inhabitants uſe fire-arms.* *Trade with China.*

The kingdom of *Leng*, or more properly *Lahos* (F), has on the ſouth *Kemerat*; on the eaſt *Luan* and *Rong-faa*; on the north *Put*, *Pling*, *Ken*, *Kaam*, *Paa*, *Saa*, *Bo'noy*, *Ningneha*, *Kaan*, and *Ghin-tay*, cities all depending on it; on the weſt it is bounded by *Ko-ſang-pyi*, the country formerly poſſeſſed by the *Tay-yay*, or great *Siams*; and farther weſt is the great foreſt of *Pahima-pan*. They reckon eight cities or places in this kingdom, each containing a garriſon of 1000 men. Leng *kingdom.*

The country of *Leng* produces rice in abundance; buffaloes, ſtags, and other animals, are common, and their fleſh cheap; but fiſh is ſcarce. Five days journey north from *Mohang Leng*, there are mines of gold, ſilver, and copper; alſo a kind of red ſulphur, which has a very ſtinking ſmell. Two hundred *fenes* or cords from the city, on the ſame ſide, is a pit *Soil and produce.*

[b] Merini, p. 62, & ſeq.

[c] Ibid. p. 64, & ſeq.

(E) If this be not an interpolation of the miſſioners, *Vi-nan* muſt be a different province or diſtrict from that of *Yun-nan*.

(F) According to this explanation, the name of *Lahos*, or *Laos*, is peculiar to this province; and from thence extended to the whole country.

Northern Lao.

Mines of gold, silver, rubies.

or mine of precious ſtones, full 100 *ſenes* deep, out of which they get rubies, ſome of them as big as a walnut; alſo emeralds, or green ſtones, of which the king of *Lahos* has one as large as an orange. There are ſtones likewiſe of other colours: and a brook, which runs through the mine, carries ſeveral down its ſtream, which ſometimes weigh two or three *mas*, that is, a quarter or third part of an ounce. The king draws from the ſilver mine above 360 *katis* annually. They are *Chineſes* who work in, and direct, it. The merchants of *Kemerat*, *Lê*, *May*, *Teng Maa*, *Meng*, *Daa*, and *Pan*, repair to this mine, which is incloſed by mountains, 300 *ſenes* in height, covered with graſs, preſerved continually freſh and green by the dew.

THERE is found here a medicinal root, called *tong-quey* by the *Chineſes*, and by the *Siameſes kot-wha-bwa*. Alſo a tree named *vendez-hang*, which bears flowers about the thickneſs of one's finger, of a very agreeable ſmell, and of various colours, as red, yellow, white, and black. The fruit, when come to perfection, has the ſhape of a duck; and the dew falls in greateſt quantity in the parts where the trees moſt abound.

Trade and commodities.

THE inhabitants of *Leng* traffick with their neighbours, who come to fetch their commodities, conſiſting in precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, tin, lead, ſulphur, both red and common; cotton ſpun and unſpun, tea, lack, japan, or brazil-wood, and the medicinal root above-mentioned. The merchants of *Mohang* (G) bring them elephants; the *Chineſes* raw and manufactured ſilk, with white hair, as fine as ſilk, and civet. Of this hair, taken from a certain animal (H), the great tufts are made which adorn the elephant's ears, on which the king of *Siam* rides, and hang down to the ground; alſo the tufts worn by the *Chineſes* on their bonnets. The weſtern merchants from *Tay-yây* and *Pama-hang* (or *Ava*), bring iron, yellow and red ſanders, linen, chints, or painted callicoes, veniſon, a kind of red medicinal paſte, opium, and other commodities of *Hindûſtân*; which they exchange for gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, *&c.* Laſtly, thoſe of *Kemerat* and *Kyang-hay* bring cows and buffaloes, to barter for ſilver, tin, and ſulphur [d].

[d] MARINI, p. 62, & ſeq.

(G) The name of the city or province is here omitted; but what it ſhould be we cannot determine, excepting perhaps *Lan-chang*, the country of ele-

(H) Perhaps the oxen; which, of the country of *Koko Nor*, between *China* and *Tibet*, are famous for their fine hair.

THE

THE city of *Leng*, capital of the *Lahos*, is eight days journey from *Kemerat*, and situated on both sides of the river *Menân Tay*, or *Menân Lay*, which runs thence to *Kemerat*. It has neither walls nor fortress; being inclosed only with palisades; and in circuit about 400 *senes* or cords, each twenty *Chinese* fathoms. Rice is so plenty in this city, that one may have fifty or sixty pounds of it for a few halfpence. Fish, indeed, is scarce; but, to make amends, the markets abound with the flesh of buffaloes, stags, and other animals. The months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, are the season for fruit, of which all sort may be had there, found in the kingdom of *Siam*, excepting the *Thûrian*, or *Dûrian*, and the *Mangûstan*. The king of *Leng*, or *Laos*, is tributary to *Hawa*, or *Pama-hang*; and an ambassador is sent annually from this capital to pay the tribute. This does not hinder the *Lahos* (I) from appointing a successor, when their king dies; but they are obliged to notify it to the king of *Hawa*, or *Ava*. The king of *Lahos* employs but one minister of state; and, for his revenue, besides 360 *katis*, which he receives yearly from the mine, to the north of *Leng*, he raised 860 more out of the rest of his territories. *Northern Lao.* *City of Leng.* *Tributary to Ava.*

THE *Chinese* memoir gives no account of *Lê*, and its province or district, farther than that the city is seven days journey distant from *Leng*, towards *China*, and situate on the *Menân Kong* [e]. According to our estimation it seems to lie north-eastward from *Leng*. *Lê province.*

THE next place mentioned in the journal is *Meng*, eleven days journey from *Lê*. This, we are told, is the capital of a particular province (K), which has on the west *Pan* and *Kaa*, on the south *Tse*, and on the east *Chiong* and *Kû*, both dependent on *Vinan*, or *Yun-nan*. It is seventeen days journey in length, from north to south, and about seven from east to west. The whole country is without the tropic; for the inhabitants never see the sun directly over their heads. A river crosses this province, which rises from a mountain in the north, and falls into the *Menân Kong*. They reckon in it eighteen cities, which depend on the capital. *Meng province.*

THE soil of *Meng* produces all sorts of fruits which are found in *Siam*, excepting the *Dûrian* and *Mangûstan*. There are mines of *kalin*, or tin, on the west side; of silver, cop- *Soil and produce.*

[e] MARINI, ibid.

(I) It is observable, that the *Lahos* are no-where called *Lanjans* through all this journal.

(K) There seems to be some mistake here; for there is not room for so large a country in these quarters.

per,

Northern Lao.

per, and iron, towards the north; and on the south side there is one of salt. The musk animal is found in this province, but chiefly about *Pang*, *Chay-daw*, and *Kong*, all three depending on *Vinan*. Many also are caught in the district of *Tay-yay*. It is as big as a young goat, with a purse under its belly, three or four inches thick; which, when cut, seems to be a piece of fat, or bacon. They dry it till it may be reduced to powder; and then sell it in the country for its weight in silver. The natives being prohibited from selling the true bags to strangers, they make counterfeit ones, which they fill with its blood, rotten wood, and other ingredients. The peasants bring great quantities of them to *Meng*, which they exchange for things of small value: but the buyers sell them again to foreigners at a pretty dear rate.

Musk animal.

This is all which is contained in the *Chinese* memoir or journal relating to *Lahos* or *Laos*, except a few particulars touching *Moang Chay*, or *Vinan*, a district belonging to a province of *China*, and probably to *Yun-nan*; if it be not, according to the missioners, *Yun-nan* itself [f].

SECT. IV.

Inhabitants of Lahos, *particularly the* Lanjans, *their Manners and Customs.*

Their persons.

THE *Lanjans* are well-shaped and robust, rather fat than lean, and of an olive-colour. They are good-natured, affable, courteous, and obliging [a] (A). The *Laos* resemble the *Chineses* in shape and mien, but are more tawny and slender, consequently of a much handsomer appearance (B) than the *Siameses*. They have long ear-laps, like the *Peguers*, and inhabitants of the sea-coast [b]. They are of a very sprightly genius, and sound understanding. They are fond of strangers, and value themselves on being sincere. They are free from deceit, and of great integrity; never breaking their promise or their trust. This character they are zealous to ac-

[f] MARINI, p. 63, & seq.
[b] KÆMPFER, p. 26.
[a] Ibid. p. 345—350.

(A) In one place, *De Faria* says the *Laos* are very good-natured; but, in another, that they are very brutal and uncivilized: he allows however that they are honest, and have no thieves among them. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 178. and vol. ii. p. 12.

(B) *De Faria* says, their colour is white, and the women very beautiful. *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 178.

quire;

quire; and the rather, as they are subject to covet what belongs to another. When they see any thing which pleases their fancy, they never cease importuning the owner till they get the whole, or some part of it. However, in case of refusal, they never offer to take it by force. *Their character.*

THE *Lanjans* are extremely honest; so that there are no thieves to be met with throughout the whole kingdom. In case there is any report of a robbery or murder being committed on the highway, all the enquiry imaginable is made after the criminal: because, if he be not found, the neighbouring towns or villages are obliged to indemnify the parties injured; and thus both the lives and goods of people are secured throughout the kingdom of *Lao*. But the cities are not altogether so free from these inconveniencies, which our author wisely ascribes to the power of sorcerers; who, by their art, can throw the people of any house into a dead sleep, and keep them in that condition till they have robbed it [c]. *Their virtues.*

As the kingdom of *Lanjan* enjoys a very wholesome air, and abounds with the necessaries of life, it is very populous, and the inhabitants live to a very great age. In a numberment which was made of them about the middle of the last century, there were reckoned above 500,000 able to bear arms, without taking in the old men; who are so numerous and robust, that even out of those aged 100 years, a very considerable army might be formed, for the defence of the king. For all this the *Lanjans* are not of a warlike dispositon, nor expert in the use of arms: which may be owing to the advantageous situation of their country, inclosed with mountains and steep precipices; serving as so many natural fortifications, sufficient to defend them against the insults of their enemies: and should any such break through those ramparts, they have a way to get rid of them, by poisoning their rivers. It was thus that the king of *Tong-king* was obliged to retreat, after having lost a great number of his army, with which, about the year 1650, he proposed to annex this monarchy to his own. Before this, several petty kings joining their forces with the same design, against the inhabitants of *Lao*, lost so many of their men and beasts, by drinking the water of a river along which they encamped: that they were at last compelled to retreat, without daring to cross the stream and fight their enemies, who insulted them on the other side of it [d]. *Very numerous.*

IN effect, the *Lanjans* are very slothful, and averse to business. They apply themselves to nothing but agriculture *Their vices.*

[c] MARINI, p. 345, & seq. [d] Ibid. p. 343, & seq,

and

Manners, cuſtoms. and fiſhing They quite neglect all arts and ſciences: ſo that they lead an indolent life, without troubling themſelves about matters which require any great attention of the mind. They are much addicted to women (C), which is the bane of many. But their belief in witchcraft and magic is ſtill more pernicious, eſpecially as it prevails among people of rank. Some great men have a notion, that if the head of their elephant be rubbed with wine, in which a drop or two of human gall be put, the beaſt will become more robuſt, and themſelves more courageous: ſo that ever after they may aſſure themſelves of victory, either in war or on any other occaſion. In this ridiculous conceit the governors ſometimes, though but rarely, employ deſperate fellows, who, for twenty-five or thirty crowns, will go into the foreſts to hunt men; *Men hunters.* and the firſt they meet with, of either ſex, whether young or old, prieſt or layman, open his belly and ſtomach while alive; and, taking out the gall-bladder, cut off his head, to convince the more ſavage purchaſer that he has not deceived him. In caſe the aſſaſſin does not perform his engagement in the limited time, he is obliged to kill either himſelf, his wife, or a child, that his employer may take out the gall of the unhappy victim. The *Lanjans* would be an almoſt faultleſs people, and free from reproach, could this moſt horrid and cruel practice be once rooted out of the country: but although the king had uſed all means imaginable to effect it, he had not been able to ſucceed when our author wrote, becauſe the moſt conſiderable people of his kingdom, and even the magiſtrates themſelves, were addicted to that ſtupid, as well as execrable, ſuperſtition.

Their diet. THE diet of the *Lanjans* conſiſts in rice, fiſh, divers kinds of legumes, and the fleſh of buffaloes. This is their uſual meat; for they ſeldom eat any other ſort, not even veal or poultry. They kill animals deſigned for food by knocking them on the head with ſticks or clubs, and not by cutting their throats: for they hold it very barbarous and criminal to ſhed the blood of living creatures, and take away their lives in that manner. They make four meals a day; and roaſt their fowls, which they have in plenty, with all their feathers on; notwithſtanding the inſufferable ſtink ariſing

(C) We are told by our author, p. 451. that ſodomy, the great vice of *Aſia*, is quite unknown to them; and yet ſome authors, as *Pitch*, who was among the *Lanjans*, aſſure us otherwiſe; and that they wore bells inſerted in their privities, like the *Peguers*, and other neighbouring nations, in order to prevent that crime. But this ſtory of the bells is ſuſpicious.

from

from that kind of cookery (D). They have, indeed, excellent ſtomachs; but much cannot be ſaid in praiſe of their cleanlineſs: for the veſſels they keep their water in, and even thoſe they drink out of, are commonly hung up in their ſmoaky chimnies [e]. *Manners, cuſtoms.*

THE *Laos* wear gowns cloſe to their bodies. They go with their feet bare, and the head commonly uncovered. Their hair is clipped round, and ſhort, like a lay-brother's; excepting one lock on the temples, which is left to grow, and run through holes made in the ears for that purpoſe [f]. One author ſays, their bodies are adorned with blue figures, made with hot irons, down to the knees [g]: another, that they paint their legs from the ancle to the knee with flowers, and branches of trees, like the *Siameſes*, as a badge of their religion and manhood. The women wear pieces of gold in the holes of of their ears, until they are married; after which they lay them aſide: but the men wear none at all [h]. *Their dreſs.*

THE *Lanjans* approve of having only one wife; and ſay, that a man ought not to marry any more: but this they do rather from a principle of covetouſneſs, to avoid charges, than of virtue. Accordingly they, in their ſongs, rally the magiſtrates, and officers of ſtate, who are content with only one wife. Nor is this ſo great a piece of ſelf-denial, ſince they make their ſhe-ſlaves ſubſervient to their pleaſures, maintaining great numbers of them, according to their quality, as well for ſake of indulging their paſſions as for grandeur. The king who reigned in 1658 had two hundred women; but there is only one of the number who is named the principal, as being the firſt with whom the man is contracted; and the reſt are conſidered only as ſecond wives. Their marriages are for life, and performed in this manner. They chooſe out the oldeſt married couple they can find, who have lived in perfect agreement together, and promiſe, before them, to do the ſame till death. But often theſe fair promiſes are not long binding; and the parties have recourſe to very frivolous reaſons to ſeparate, and marry with others. This conduct is, in good meaſure, owing to the looſe education given their children, whom they abandon to their own inclinations; permitting even the boys and girls to live toge- *Monogamy.* *Their marriages.*

[e] MARINI, p. 347, & ſeqq. [f] DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 178. [g] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 12. [h] KÆMPFER Japan. vol. i. p. 27.

(D) *De Faria* tells us, that they eat vermin; and that the people of *Tong-king* deſpiſe them on that account. *Portug. Aſia*, ubi ſupr.

ther,

Manners, customs.

ther, and frequently visit one another, without considering the consequences which may arise from such familiarities. The most dangerous opportunities are the rendezvous's, which continue for a month in the house of a new lain-in woman, where all the family and relations meet, to divert themselves with dancing, and other kinds of merriment; in order to drive away the sorcerers, and prevent them from making the mother lose her milk, and the child from being bewitched by them, as they often are, says the sagacious Jesuit, to such a degree, that they die [i]. These revels are the more dangerous, as fornication is tolerated among the laity. But a woman convicted of adultery becomes a slave to her husband, who treats her in what manner he thinks fit; and may even oblige her to pay a sum of money [k].

Their burials.

When any of their relations die, they make a feast also, which holds for a month; and celebrate their funeral with great magnificence. The corpse is put in a coffin, daubed over with a kind of bitumen, to hinder any offensive smell from getting out. None are invited to wake the dead, but the *Talepoy*, or priests, who attend less to weep over the corpse, than for the sake of good cheer. However, they employ a great part of the time in repeating certain hymns, adapted to the occasion; by means of which the soul, as they say, is taught the way to heaven, to the end it might not stray in those unknown regions. When the month is expired, they raise a curious pyramid, according to the quality of the defunct, set-off with an infinite number of ornaments, and elegant bas-reliefs. Then, after they have deposited the corpse therein, they set fire to, and reduce it to ashes. These ashes, being carefully gathered up, are carried into one of their temples, which is filled with very sumptuous monuments; in erecting which, wealthy persons spend several thousands of crowns.

State of the soul.

After this ceremony is over, the relations think no more of the defunct, nor ever name him: because, according to the doctrine of the transmigration, which is received in the country, they believe the soul is gone to the place destined for it, and consequently belongs no longer to them. It is certain that they would willingly avoid those great expences, if they were not obliged to conform themselves to an ancient custom, and afraid to offend their *Talepoy*; who, to secure the gain arising from thence, have inserted it in their ceremonial, as an indispensible law, to be observed by all. And the people are

[i] Marini, p. 351, & seqq. [k] Ibid. p. 351.

the

the rather inclined to comply with this uſage, as they are told that, by neglecting to render the laſt duties to their predeceſſors, their ſurvivors may be induced to refuſe paying the ſame honour to them [l]. *Manners, Cuſtoms.*

We have already taken notice of the trade and commodities, both exported and imported, of the particular kingdoms or provinces into which the upper and lower *Lahos* or *Laos* are divided. It remains only to obſerve, in general, that the commerce of theſe countries has paſſed into different chanels, according to the viciſſitudes of affairs. We are told by *Da Cruz*, that muſk and gold were carried to *Sion* (or *Siam*), before the *Bramas* (or rather *Barmas*), conquered *Pegu* [m]: after which it was removed thither. The trade with *Siam*, in proceſs of time, was reſtored: but the king of *Siam* having invaded the *Laos*, and taken a province from them, which yet he kept not long (E), ruined the good underſtanding, which had ſubſiſted between the two nations, and cauſed the trade to be removed to *Kamboja*; whither the *Laos* carried their benjamin and lak, which meets with a good vent there, becauſe better than the kinds which grow in the country [n]. *Their commerce.*

The language of the *Laos*, or *Lanjans*, as well as their characters, are much the ſame with thoſe of the *Siameſes*; who, they ſay, have had the art of writing, and their ſacred language, from them: but they cannot pronounce the letters *l* and *r*. They write on the leaves of trees, like the *Peguers* and *Malabârs*; and in the manner which the *Siameſes* write their religious books. But matters relating to civil affairs are inſcribed on a ſort of coarſe paper, with earthen pins [o]. *Language and characters.*

SECT. V.

Religion of the Lanjans.

§ 1. *Primitive Religion, Providence, Origin of things, &c.*

The religion of the *Lanjans*, and probably of all the *Lahos* or *Laos*, is the ſame at bottom with that which prevails in all the countries compriſed in the farther peninſula of the *Ganges*. They lived a long time in form of a republic, and obſerved the laws of nature, rather than thoſe of the *Their primitive religion*

[l] Marini, p 354, & ſeq.
[m] Da Cruz, ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 168.
[n] Kæmpf. Japan. vol. i. p. 26.
[o] Ibid.

(E) This perhaps was *Jangoma*; which was taken about the year 1672 by the *Siameſes* from the *Lanjangs*, to whom this remark more particularly relates.

Their religion.

Chineſes their neighbours, which they, in part, followed, before they had kings, and were ſubject to their empire. The worſhip of images was, in thoſe times, unknown to them; uncorrupted as they were with the ſuperſtitions of other nations. The open ſky was their temple; and they adored one being, whom they eſteemed above all things, under the name of *commander*. They had ſome imperfect notions touching the origin of things: but held that this inferior world would be renewed; and that there were ſixteen other worlds or kingdoms under heaven, one ſubordinate to the other.

corrupted by Shaka.

In this ſimple and uncorrupted ſtate the *Lanjans* continued, till ſuch time as the diſciples of *Shaka* began to ſpread their doctrines over the eaſt. Some will have it that they received this polluted religion from the *Chineſes*; but our author rather follows thoſe who think they had it from *Siam*. However that be, the Jeſuit ſpeaks of it as a moſt impious and idolatrous religion; not conſidering, at the ſame time, that it is the very counterpart of his own. Preſently after the diſciples of *Shaka* arrived in this kingdom, the *Lanjans* ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with temples conſecrated to idols, and prieſts named *Talapoy*, deſtined to their ſervice. Theſe prieſts, ſoon getting the aſcendant over the minds of the people, preſcribed laws to them; and introduced books written in *Indian* characters, which the *Lanjans* did not underſtand: in order to render their doctrines the more myſterious and ſacred, for appearing in their original dreſs, as coming from the hands of *Shaka*[a].

Notion of providence.

However, this new religion could not ſo thoroughly root out the old, but that the *Lanjans* ſtill preſerved the firſt impreſſions which they had received, concerning the immortality of the ſoul; and a particular providence which continually directs affairs in this life: for they hold that the commanders, or intellectual beings, who are above all the ſixteen worlds, direct and govern this lower world which we inhabit, as a part dependent on them. Yet theſe tenets, being mixed with opinions of the different ſects, are much corrupted, and far from appearing in their original ſimplicity.

Their ſchools.

The ſchools of thoſe who paſs for doctors, and heads of their religion, conſiſt in three principal claſſes, which are filled with laymen, as well as clergy. The doctrines taught in the firſt claſs concern the origin of the world, of men, and the gods; mixed with a thouſand fabulous and ridiculous

[a] Marini, p. 376, & ſeqq.

circum-

circumſtances, which extravagances are ſubſtituted in place of the antient law. In the ſecond claſs they treat of the religion of *Shaka*, which paſſes for the new law. In the third they are employed to reconcile the oppoſite principles, to ſolve doubtful paſſages, with the opinions of thoſe who have written about them; and to ſquare the antient doctrine with the new. *Their religion.*

THE authors of this third claſs aſſume the title of *illuminated*; and their authority is revered by the name of *concord*, although nothing is farther from it than their writings: in which the ſenſe of words is ſo ſtrained and diſtorted, to make contradictory doctrines and opinions agree, that this third decretal is full of obſcurity, confuſion, and unintelligible explanations [b].

ACCORDING to this new theology, the *Lanjans* believe that the heavens are from all eternity; and that, perpendicularly under them, lie ſixteen terreſtrial worlds, containing all the pleaſures of life, which, in the higheſt, are in greateſt perfection. They hold likewiſe that this earth, which we inhabit, is eternal; but that, after a certain revolution of years, fire will deſcend from heaven, and reduce the whole maſs to water. Yet things are not to continue in this ſtate: for they who dwell in the firſt heaven, and of whoſe care this earth is the peculiar object, will re-unite the ſcattered parts together, and eſtabliſh it in the condition it was before. In effect, they hold that it hath already undergone a great many ſuch revolutions. *Origin of the world*

WITH regard to the original of the preſent world or earth, which had its beginning 18,000 years before the age of *Shaka*, they ſay, that, having been reduced to water after the manner above related, a commander, or divinity (F), deſcended from the firſt of the ſixteen worlds, armed with a ſimitar; and perceiving a flower floating on the water, cut it in two. Immediately there ſprings out a beautiful maiden, with whom being enamoured, he longed to marry her, in order to get a brood of children, to people the earth: but the innocent maid preferring her chaſtity to the quality of a mother, rejected his courtſhip. Although he burnt with amorous flames, yet, judging it to be unbecoming a man of his condition, deſcended from the gods, to uſe force, he gave over the purſuit, and took another method to obtain children by her, to anſwer his deſign. To effect this, he placed himſelf at a *and preſent earth.*

[b] MARINI, p. 378, & ſeqq.

(F) Named *Pon, Ta, Bo, Bà, Mi, Swan.*

Their religion. certain distance from her, that they might reciprocally look at each other; insomuch that, by the intense glances from his eyes, she at length conceived, and became a mother, without losing her virginity [c].

How peopled. By this contrivance they had soon a numerous issue: but as cares and uneasiness are the usual consequences of a great many children, the commander, though a god, found himself violently attacked by them. To free himself, therefore, from these disquietudes, he resolved to make use of his power, and supply his family with all the conveniences of life. In order to this, he furnished the earth with mountains and vallies, spacious plains, and agreeable hills. He likewise created trees, bearing various kinds of fruits; and rivers, abounding with all sorts of fish. Nor were mines of precious stones and metals forgotten. In short, nothing was omitted, which might contribute to the benefit and delights of life. Yet for all he approved of what he had newly created, and had made this earth a most delicious mansion, of which he was the lord, he could not resolve to continue here: but panting after the etherial abodes which he had quitted, and were vastly preferable to this inferior world, he determined to return to heaven; without having foreseen, that he could not get thither with the same facility which he came from thence. In a word, he was obliged to remain without: where he suffered so severe a penance, that the other commanders, or sovereign divinities of heaven, were at length moved with compassion, and admitted him into their society, to enjoy with them the highest kind of beatitude.

Whence the blacks. The *Lanjans* have another opinion concerning the peopling of the earth. They say that the inhabitants of heaven, having divided themselves into two parties, on account of the women, began a furious war, and fought several bloody battles. At length one party becoming victorious, to punish their enemies, they banished them into the great desart island, which was the earth: and as it was, at that juncture, reduced to water, they dried it, so that it became firm land again. The worst of it was, there were no women to be found. To supply this want, they got upon the highest mountain in the island, and, from a tree of prodigious height, called out to their wives: who, to testify the affection which they bore to their husbands, came down from heaven to them. But as the number of women exceeded that of the males, each of these latter took several of the former; by which means their offspring, in a short space of time, multiplied to such a de-

[c] Marini, p. 380, p. seqq.

gree,

gree, that, taking up arms, they went about to extirpate certain black men, who were demons, and had by force lain with ſeveral of thoſe white women, whoſe children were as black as their fathers. Nay, thoſe whom afterwards they had by their white huſbands, were as ſooty as thoſe begotten by the demons. And thus the blackmoors became ſo numerous in ſeveral parts of the earth [d]. *Their religion.*

SOME account for the origin of black people another way. They ſay that the commanders (or divinities) of heaven, having ſhut themſelves up in a great ſtone which was upon this iſle, the angels and demons, who heard that there were men within it, were reſolved to know if it was fact. Accordingly the demons made a great fire round the ſtone; that being ſoftened by the heat, the angels might enter it with greater facility. On the firſt impreſſions of the fire, ſome of the commanders ruſhed out, but as black as charcoal: whilſt others, who were not in ſuch a hurry, eſcaped, without being incommoded by either the fire or the ſmoke. After this, falling in love with women, whom they had never converſed with before, the black commanders aſſociated with black women, who were the wives of demons; and the whites with white women, whom the angels loved. To compaſs their deſign, after levying troops, they made war on the angels and demons, whom they drove out of the iſland; and obliged the women, who remained behind, to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Another opinion.*

THE *Lanjans* have a third tradition for the origin of the white and black people, not more romantic than either of the two former. They tell us, that formerly a buffalo, one of the moſt deformed creatures which ever was ſeen, lame, ill-ſhaped, extremely fearful, weak, and apt to ſtart, fell from heaven into the ſea; where, by the mere ſtrength of imagination, he conceived a monſter, and ſoon after brought forth a gourd full of white and black men. *A third tradition.*

§ 2. *Government of the world. Reign of* Shaka.

THIS is the ſubſtance of the *Lanjan* belief concerning the origin of the world. With regard to the government of it they relate, that, 18,000 years before the renewal thereof, there were four gods; three of whom, after they had governed the ſpace of fifty years, being weary of ſo great a trouble, retired into a very high and ſpacious pillar, ſituated towards the north, where they enjoy all the ſweet- *Government of the world.*

[d] MARINI, p. 382, & ſeqq.

Their religion.

Reign of Shaka.

neſs of life, which a man who loves his eaſe can deſire. At preſent, they ſay, the god *Shaka* governs the world, and is to reign 5000 years, of which 3000 are yet to come. That, after he had raiſed himſelf to a degree of perfection, greater than any perſon ever can attain, he reſolved to paſs to a ſtill higher degree, never heard of before, which was to *annihilate* himſelf. But for fear this perfect ſtate of *nothingneſs*, to which he was arrived, ſhould be attended with any bad conſequences, and the world ſuffer inconveniences by being deprived of his protection; he, before his annihilation, commanded temples to be erected in ſeveral kingdoms, and an infinite number of ſtatues to be made (A) in braſs and marble, with a deſign to honour them with his preſence on ſolemn feſtivals, where-ever great numbers of people ſhould be aſſembled; and, by blowing on them before all the congregation, communicate to them his divinity, which might ſupply his place, by aſſiſting them who ſhould pray to him in their neceſſities. For all this, ſays *Marini*, it is certain that the breath of *Shaka* has never animated thoſe images; and that they are at preſent dumb, unleſs ſome demon makes them ſpeak [a]: which is, in effect, to confeſs the fact which he denies.

His ſucceſſor.

AFTER the 5000 years of *Shaka*'s government are expired, the *Lanjans* expect another god, whom they name *Fa-mit-Tay*. This deity, ſays our author, like an *Antichriſt* againſt *Shaka*, will demoliſh all the temples which he finds ſtanding, throw down and break in pieces the images, burn the books, perſecute and prohibit the exerciſe of all religions, particularly that of *Shaka*: he will alſo preſcribe new laws, oppoſite to thoſe of his predeceſſor; promulgate other ſacred books; chooſe other *Talapoy*; in one word, change and reform every thing a-new.

God of Chriſtians

IN a conference held with the *Romiſh* miſſioners, ſome *Talapoy* advanced an odd kind of theology, poſſibly invented to mortify the Jeſuits. They ſaid that, 5000 years before the birth of *Shaka*, the world had been governed by the god of the miſſioners; who finding himſelf very old, when his ſucceſſor appeared, and no longer able to diſcharge ſo many cares, began to think ſeriouſly of the courſe he had beſt take for his intereſt. As he could not diſpenſe with obeying the orders of this new god, from whom he apprehended ſome violent treatment; and was deſirous to avoid the re-

[a] MARINI, p. 385, & ſeqq.

(A) Almoſt the ſame thing is ſaid of *Sommona Kodom* by the *Siameſes*. See hereafter the hiſtory of that lawgiver.

proaches

proaches due to his ill conduct, for having used some with too much lenity, and others with too much severity, he assumed the form of a very poor and despicable person, in order to move *Shaka* to compassion. In this abject condition he presented a petition, by which he begged leave to continue one year longer in discharging the functions of his office. *Shaka*, who was very benevolent and generous, signed the petition in a very obliging manner; but under this condition, that the missioners god should quit the rich and pompous kingdoms of the east, to retire into those of the west, which are miserable and barren. By this division of the empire and sovereign power, the jurisdiction of each god was much weakened, but that of *Shaka* infinitely surpassed the other in beauty and wealth [b].

Their religion.

quits the east,

According to this agreement, the god of the missioners left the east, in a very poor habit, accompanied with only a small number of people, his followers being very few. He was so confounded on this occasion, that, from thenceforth, he began to perform such extraordinary things, as manifested his greatness: so that he entered his kingdom of the west with an equipage suitable to his merit; and appeared as rich as if he had found immense treasures, or opened mines of gold and silver. This great and sudden change in his condition, made the inhabitants of the east conclude him to be some notorious robber, who had acquired so much wealth by unjust means. To discover the truth of this, they hired some about him, as spies, to observe all his motions; till such time as having detected him in some theft, they should put him to death for his crimes. He was accordingly watched, and often caught in the very fact; but the moment they were about to arrest him, he vanished out of their sight. However, in revenge for this disappointment, they seized his only son, and put him to death on a cross, instead of his father, who had merited the same punishment, for withdrawing into heaven. Notwithstanding all these disgraces, the occidentals cease not to render him worship, and acknowlege him for a god: because that, in voluntarily delivering himself up to death, although innocent, to expiate the transgressions of his father, he, by such great submission, shewed himself to be more than man, and that his father, as well as he, deserved to be adored as deities.

removes to the west.

His son crucified.

It is thus the *Lanjan* priests treat the god of the Christians, as represented to them by the *Romish* missioners; and turn in-

His law defective.

[b] Marini, p. 388, & seq.

Their religion.

to ridicule the hiſtory of the birth and crucifixion of Chriſt. They add, that, after the coming of *Shaka*, the Chriſtian law, which had prevailed over the eaſt for 5000 years before, ceaſed to be practiſed: and that it is defective, becauſe thoſe who profeſs it can expect from it neither gold nor ſilver, nor proſperity, nor the enjoyment of pleaſure, nor ſeveral women (B). On the contrary, it ſeems to draw advantage from confuſion and affronts; to conſider poverty as real wealth, and death as the greateſt of all goods. But becauſe *Shaka* is an enemy to ſuch rigours, and the courſe which he preſcribes is very commodious, broad, and accompanied with all the delights of life; therefore his ſectaries have him in infinite eſteem, and conſider him as a more indulgent deity [c].

§ 3. *State of the Soul, Hell, and Paradiſe.*

Ancient doctrine of ſouls.

ALTHOUGH the *Talapoy* have had ſome knowlege of hell, yet they do not care to ſpeak of it, for fear of diſturbing the thoughts of their followers, immerſed in ſenſuality, with the conſideration of thoſe dreadful and eternal pains. They who ſtill adhere to the doctrines of the antient law, and deny the tranſmigration of ſouls, ſay, that thoſe of the wicked are annihilated at their death: but that the ſouls of good perſons aſſume a body of air, as pure and ſimple as the light of the ſun. After this, paſſing through the ſixteen heavens, where they enjoy all the pleaſures with which they abound, they return at length, very happy, to re-unite themſelves with their bodies, and become men, in the ſame condition which they enjoyed before; but ſo repleniſhed with goods of every kind, as, by their means, to obtain the rank of kings.

The preſent doctrine.

ON the contrary, the followers of the doctrine of *Shaka*, and the fabulous hiſtories of the prieſts, hold that the ſouls of bad men have no retreat after this life but hell, where they muſt expiate their crimes by ſuffering inconceivable torments. Their hell is divided into ſix wards, where there are ſo many degrees of puniſhments; and is ſituated under that vaſt column of the ſixteen worlds, which are the paradiſes of

[c] MARINI, p. 389, &c. ſeqq.

(B) If they cannot have theſe things by the indulgence of their religion, they find ways to obtain them; and by their licentious way of living become odious to the orientals, as hath been often remarked from the writings of the miſſioners themſelves: ſo that our author may be ſuſpected, as to what he ſays here, and in other places, upon the ſame ſubject.

the

the bleſſed. They, who are condemned to go thither, languiſh in torments for the ſpace of ſome ages; after which they return to this world. But before they re-animate a human body, they are obliged to enter thoſe of animals, beginning with the moſt contemptible, and gradually tranſmigrating into the more noble, till at length they aſſume a human ſhape, as before, but yet in the moſt deplorable circumſtances; in hopes, however, of being raiſed to a more proſperous ſtate, provided they give liberally to the *Talapoy*. In this caſe, when they come to die a ſecond time, they ſhall obtain a paſs to be admitted into one of the ſixteen paradiſes, without being obliged to do any farther penance. From thence likewiſe, when tired with delights, they may return to this world; not indeed in the form of deified men, but infirm and imperfect like thoſe who are here at preſent: however with theſe advantageous circumſtances, that they ſhall be careſſed and honoured on account of the riches they ſhall be poſſeſſed of both in this world and in heaven, which will ſhower down gold upon them in profuſion, to anſwer the ſeveral occaſions of life[y].

Their religion. *Hell and paradiſes.* *Various tranſmigrations.*

But whereas loſſes, diſgraces, and other misfortunes, attend their moſt zealous devotees and benefactors, no leſs than others; to ſolve this difficulty, they pretend that ſuch afflictions are the puniſhment of the crimes committed by them in a former life, although they have no remembrance thereof (C). Theſe impoſtors likewiſe promiſe a manſion in the ſixteenth heaven to thoſe who ſhall be charitable to them: on the other hand, they declare, that the evils which happen to thoſe, who either cannot or will not beſtow alms on them, as well as to infidels, are a juſt puniſhment for their avarice; and becauſe they have preferred riches to the joys of heaven, therefore the idol begins to chaſtiſe them in this life: but let a man be ever ſo vicious, diſhoneſt, or wicked, all is well, provided he is but charitable, and gives alms to the prieſts.

Talapoy *evaſions.*

We muſt not omit another ſuperſtitious conceit of the *Lanjans*, which is, that the ſouls, after their ſeparation from the body, retire into a corner of the houſe; and that the heirs are ſeverely puniſhed, in caſe they fail to render them the honours due to their quality, ſuch as making a pompous

Souls require

[y] Marini, p. 391, & ſeqq.

(C) Is this worſe than the evaſion of *Popiſh* prieſts; who, when the diſeaſed people, after praying to their ſaints, find no relief, to ſolve the objection, pretend it is becauſe they had not faith.

feaſt,

Their religion.

feaſt, and performing other ceremonies, eſtabliſhed by the antient cuſtoms. On the contrary, they who acquit themſelves punctually, with regard to theſe duties, ſhall receive great temporal rewards. As the *Lanjans* are very fond of life, and afraid to die, when they find themſelves in the leaſt out of order, they immediately implore the aſſiſtance of theſe ſouls, making them preſents; and ſetting victuals of ſeveral kinds before them, they invite them to eat with them, and talk to them, as if they underſtood and ſaw every thing which is ſaid or done. The entertainment is accompanied with muſic and ſinging, which continues day and night, till the ſick perſon either recovers or dies. They do all this, in a belief that, by ſuch means, the ſouls lodged in the houſe are appeaſed; and that, if they do them no good, they will at leaſt do them no harm. The people of this perſuaſion believe nothing, ſays our author, either of hell or paradiſe, angels or devils; but live in the moſt diſſolute manner imaginable [a].

into a corner.

Polygamy a future reward.

ON a certain day ſeveral of the moſt underſtanding *Talapoy*, or prieſts, of different ſects, meet in preſence of one of the miſſioners, in order to reconcile ſo many various opinions, and bring people to one way of thinking. After a long conference, they came to this deciſion: that there was, for certain, another life; that the reward to be expected in it was a plurality of wives, and the puniſhment to be feared conſiſted in not having any. The Jeſuit hereupon aſked them, if a charitable man was to be rewarded with ſeveral wives, how many huſbands was the woman to have, who gave conſiderable alms? Theſe learned doctors of the law, it ſeems, were ſo nonplus'd with this unforeſeen queſtion, that they went back to their convents, and turned over their books: but not meeting with any thing to the purpoſe, came to this reſolution among themſelves; that ſuch a woman, for her reward, would be changed into a man; and that they who were covetous, would become the wives of devils, or of ſome *Talapoy*, black, filthy, old, and deformed; in ſhort, more horrible than the devil himſelf.

Gain to the prieſts.

THESE impoſing prieſts promiſe thoſe who are kind, and aſſiſt them in their neceſſities, that they ſhall have as many wives as all the alms which they had beſtowed on them during their lives, were able to purchaſe: and that the particulars of their good actions, recorded in the book of life, ſhould be made known, when it came to be opened. The *Lanjans*, charmed with doctrines ſo agreeable to their ſenſual inclinations, think they can never give their prieſts too much: and

[a] MARINI, p. 394, & ſeq.

this

this infatuation ſo univerſally prevails, that the good miſſionaries, who took a great deal of pains to open their eyes, could never diſſuade any of them from ſquandering their money in ſuch ill beſtowed charities. *Their religion.*

For all the *Talapoy* have no converſation with women, from whom, by the rules of their profeſſion, they are obliged to abſtain; yet they affirm, that ſuch of their order as obſerve continence in this life, will have the power to create, and produce from nothing, as many women as they have a mind, and diſpoſe of them at pleaſure: while they, who in this life are addicted to the ſex, ſhall, after their death, be doomed to hell torments, and not have the diſpoſal of any women. As if what is a vice on earth, could be a virtue in heaven; or that men could be rewarded there, for what they are puniſhed here. When theſe things are objected to the prieſts, and they are aſked how they can condemn, as a ſhameful practice in this world, that which is tolerated as a commendable action in the other, their anſwer is: that altho' the incontinence of a *Talapoy* be a crime in this life, and a ſin againſt the divine precept, yet God diſpenſes with it in heaven; and that chaſtity, which is a meritorious action in this world, is, in the next, the puniſhment of the damned. A theology and doctrines which *Epicurus* himſelf would be aſhamed to publiſh [z]. *A ſhameful doctrine.*

§ 4. *Their Prieſts, Orders, Habits, Exerciſes.*

Although the prieſts of *Lao* are called *Talapoy*, a name borrowed from *Pegu*, yet, in the language of the country, they are named *Fé*. This claſs of men are reckoned the moſt perfidious in all the kingdom, as well as the very dregs of the people. A lazy, ſlothful race, and the ſworn enemies of induſtry. Their convents, ſays our author (but it is a prieſt of another religion, though not much different from theirs, who ſpeaks), are ſo many ſeminaries of very profligate men, retreats of vagabonds and drones; in a word, ſchools of all ſorts of wickedneſs and abominations. The baſer their extraction, the more proud and inſolent they become, when raiſed to that dignity. They are hard-hearted and inhuman beyond expreſſion; more mercileſs and cruel than the wild beaſts. But what can be expected from men, who ſacrifice every-thing to their intereſts, and devote all their wit and vigour to debauchery [a]. This is the picture of *Prieſts their name.*

[z] Marini, p. 395—399. [a] Ibid. p. 341.

the

Their religion. the prieſts of *Lao*, painted by the Jeſuits, exactly like that which the proteſtants draw for the prieſts of *Rome*.

The novices THE *Talapoy* begin to embrace a religious life in their moſt tender age, and inure themſelves to the rigours of the profeſſion, during their noviciate, which continues till they are twenty-three. After this they are examined on the ſubjects of their theology, and ceremonies, by perſons appointed by the community, who, on their report, receive the novice into their body, by majority of voices. The firſt thing the new *Talapoy* does, is to ſeek out ſome magiſtrate who is rich, and well related, to aſſiſt him in quality of godfather. Although this office is expenſive, yet as it is reckoned an honour to be applied to on that account, nobody refuſes it. On the contrary, the invitation is received with great complaiſance; and the perſon who accepts it, always acquits himſelf with the greateſt pomp, in order to gain the applauſe of the people, as well as the approbation of the *Talapoy*.

how become profeſſed; IN the firſt place, the magiſtrate, choſen godfather, preſents the novice, who is going to be profeſſed, with rich habits. Then, on the day appointed, he orders his beſt trained elephant to be pompouſly harneſſed, and, with a little houſe on his back, led to the convent: where the novice, bloated with vanity, mounts the animal, and iſſues forth, at the head of the principal lords of the city, richly dreſt, followed by ſeveral regiments of foot, and a multitude of people. In this order they march through the principal ſtreets, to the temple, where the novice is to make his profeſſion; the ceremony often laſting till night. After this, a feaſt is made in the temple, whoſe altars ſerve for tables, on which are ſerved the coſtlieſt viands; and, for three days, nothing paſſes there but revelling. During this time, all diſtinction of perſons is laid aſide; and a man of quality makes no difficulty to eat off the ſame plate with a mechanic. This expence, though exceeding great, does not come up to that which the preſent coſts, made by the magiſtrate to the new-profeſſed.

may quit the convent, WHAT is very ſingular on this occaſion, the perſon, after making ſo ſolemn a profeſſion, may, if he has a mind, return to a ſecular ſtate; as many do who marry, and live with their wives, ſo long as the ſubſtance laſts which they gathered while *Talapoys*; and, when their ſtock is out, quit them,

and return. and retire again to their convents, where they are admitted without any oppoſition by the elders, who perhaps had experienced the ſame indulgence themſelves. And this they do as often as they pleaſe.

THE

THE *Talapoy* wear a ſhort caſſock of yellow linen, which reaches to their knees, and is girt about them with a red cloth. They go with their feet and the right arm bare, carrying in their hand a fan, with ſome device, to denote their rank. They ſhave their heads, even to their eye-brows, twice a month, on the firſt days of the new and full moon [b]. *Their religion.* *Their habit.*

THEIR convents, where they live in community, are like thoſe of the *Chartreuſians*, and *St. Romuald*, among the *Romiſh* orders. All the cells are ſeparate, in which they have ſeveral little apartments, made with boards: whereas the ſuperior's cell is built with bricks, and the chambers very magnificently furniſhed, as well as decorated with curious ornaments, finely gilded. His throne ſtands very high, and is ſet off on the ſides with curtains of very coſtly ſilk. This officer is always choſen from among thoſe *Talapoy* who are of an eſtabliſhed reputation, and have devotees of both ſexes; who cram them with neceſſaries, and never let them want for any-thing. *Their convents, and ſuperiors.*

THESE religious riſe at a certain hour; and, before the ſun is high, walk out by two and two, very modeſtly, and with profound ſilence: then ſeparate to beg alms in different parts of the city. This they do by ſigns; and, at their return, laying up the daintieſt morſels for themſelves, give the reſt to their ſervants, or ſend it to the priſoners, after throwing a part to feed the poultry. When this diſtribution is over, they break ſilence, and each repairs to his cell, where he breakfaſts. After this, they go to ſleep for three hours; and then repair to the common refectory, where they find a table covered with all ſorts of proviſions, which are generally well dreſſed. As they live at the expence of others, they uſually dine on ſmall birds, fowl, and game. If the victuals which their friends ſend them do not pleaſe them, they break the plates; and have the inſolence to threaten them, in very injurious language. *Their employments, and meals.*

AFTER dinner they ſleep for an hour; then riſe, and go to their reſpective exerciſes. The novices fall to ſtudy their ceremonies; the ſcholars to read and write. This they do in two languages: one the vulgar or common language of the country; the other peculiar to the *Talapoy*, and may be called the learned language, as *Latin* is in *Europe*. The reſt apply themſelves to other amuſements. Some learn to ſing; others paſs their time in converſation, at the door of the convent, where they receive viſits, and learn the news of the town. Towards evening they make a light ſupper, without

[b] MARINI, p. 401, & ſeqq.

candles;

Their religion. candles; and, having said grace, repair all to the temple, none daring to be absent. There they sing certain prayers, which sometimes they contract, or hurry over, that they may go take the air after sun-set: because then they are at liberty to do what they please [c].

Pride and arrogance. They exert as much authority over the people, as if they were their subjects. They always appear very serious; and affect a proud disdainful air, with a great deal of gravity. They behave very haughtily to those who are not liberal to them, scarce deigning to look at them. They are extremely ambitious of honour; and very desirous of having much respect paid them, without returning any. Their eyes are in perpetual motion; and their brows being shaved (A), adds to the severity of their looks. When they want anything, they do not civilly ask, but imperiously demand, it: for with them the virtue of humility is reckoned meanness, and civility subjection. They pretend to lord it over others, and expect a blind submission to their opinions; considering the least objection as want of the respect due to them.

Instance of cruelty; In a word, they surpass other people in nothing but pride and wickedness. A young man being in great haste to finish some affair of importance to him, happened to pass unawares before a *Talapoy*, without alighting, as is the custom; which so enraged the priest, that he sent persons to seize him, and had him so cruelly bastinado'd in his presence, that he died of his wounds next day. What is more shocking, when this outrage was complained of, many had the insolence to take the part of the *Talapoy*, and engage the judge to determine the matter in their favour; praising the murder as a generous action, done by the priest in defence of his religion and order. Thus the more mischief they do to others, the more they are feared and respected.

How punished. The *Talapoy* who are in their convents are not suffered to commit any debauchery: but if any of them is convicted thereof, especially of having sollicited and attempted to force a woman, a strict enquiry is made into the affair, and the aggressor punished according to the nature of the offence. As all matters relating to this insolent rabble are brought before the king, the accused appears at his tribunal: and however positively the crime may be proved upon him, yet if he has any thing at all to say in his defence, the king readily acquits

[c] Marini, p. 405, & seqq.

(A) This was customary among the *Roman* priests, according to the sarcasm of *Cicero*: *Capite et superciliis semper est rasus, ne unum pilum boni viri habere dicas.*

3 him,

him, in order to engage those religious in his interests, as having so great an influence over the people. But in case the crime be so flagrant and notorious, as not to admit of any palliation, the offender is condemned for life to serve the elephants, which is the most infamous of all employments. Was his majesty to punish with equal severity all those who are caught in the fact, there would not, in a little time, be left one *Talapoy* among the *Lanjans:* but as he calls himself their protector, and bears the title of general of their order, he is not willing to destroy the jurisdiction, which he has over their sanctuary: besides, he is afraid, in case he should not be favourable to them, that they would raise a rebellion against him [d].

Their religion.

for crimes.

Among other rules of the *Talapoy*, they are obliged to go to confession fourteen days in every month. Their manner is like that observed in the *Romish* convents. They assemble in a great hall, where being seated, according to their rank, the oldest leave their places one after another, and going into the midst of the company, on their knees, declare aloud the faults which they have committed in the preceding month, with regard to eating, drinking, diversions, anger, doing injury to others, speaking untruths, or the like. Absolution immediately follows the confession, each of them having power to give it: but where the satisfaction is so easy (B), they never scruple repeating the crimes.

Confession.

They likewise make a kind of holy water: but our author is at a loss to know how that usage came among them; unless from *Ethiopia* or *India*, by means of the disciples of *St. Thomas* (C). They send it to the sick, as a sovereign remedy, and keep good store for the purpose; because, in return, they get so many bottles of good wine. But although the people receive no benefit from it, they have great faith in its virtue (D).

Holy water.

The honour which they give to the idols or images, does not consist in sacrifices: they only offer flowers to them, accompanied with perfumes, and a little rice, which they lay upon the altars; where solely on such occasions they light

Offerings to images.

[d] Marini, p. 408, & seqq.

(B) May not the same be applied to the *Romanists?*

(C) This is not probable, since the religion of *Shaka* was in the world 1000 years before *Christ:* more probably therefore, that the church of *Rome* borrowed this, and many other ceremonies, from thence.

(D) One would think our author is reflecting on those of his own religion; since this is as much the case with them as the *Lanjans.*

up

Their religion. up tapers. They carry in their hands certain bracelets, consisting of 100 beads strung together like rosaries: these they conn over, standing before the image, and continually repeating their hymns.

Beads.

Talapoys *of the woods.* What has been said relates to the *Talapoy* who reside in the towns: but there are others who lead a more solitary life, in caves made in the woods and forests; the horrors of which, according to our author, are proper to conceal the enormity of their crimes (E). They retire to such places to pursue their debauched inclinations with more freedom: and, by degrees, the resort of women has become so great, that the solitude of these hermits is at present become a populous colony, and the deserts may be said to vie with the cities; with this difference, that, in the latter, the children know their parents, which is not the case of those who are born in these solitudes. These hermits receive more alms than the *Talapoy* of cities. They admit a fast of three months, to dispose them to celebrate their *Easter*. I would say, says our author, that they have three months of *Easter*, with two feasts a day: one of flesh, which is eaten in private, and cooked in the house; the other of fish, which is sent by their friends, and eaten publicly [c].

Lao *an university.* Our author passes over several other particularities, because they are either the same, or very little different from those mentioned in several relations, and in the history of the Bonzas of *Japan*; who, according to some authors, say they are the disciples of the *Talapoy* who were the followers of *Shaka*, and passed thither from *Lao* or *Siam*. However that be, at present they of *Siam* go to *Lao*, as into an university, there to learn the maxims of *Shaka*; which are at least more in reputation than the ancient doctrine, if they are not intirely conformable to it.

Talapoy *knavery.* To conclude, the number of these *Talapoy* is so greatly increased, that, fearing they shall in time fall short of necessaries, they learn all sorts of trades, and work at them in their convents, which seem to be changed at present into so many shops of mechanics and merchants, whom they even circumvent in their business. For if an artisan in the city has contrived any extraordinary piece of work, or invented some new fashion, they labour secretly to get the model and draught; and, having effected it, give themselves out for the

[c] Marini, p. 412, & seqq.

(E) This Jesuit draws a frightful picture of them; as it were to exceed what is reported of the *Romish* monks and hermits, in these parts of the world.

inventors,

inventors: so that when the author thinks to surprise the town with something new in its kind, they produce the model, to shew they were beforehand with him; and in case the true proprietor disputes the invention with them, the king is sure to ascribe it to the *Talapoy*. *Religion, priests.*

THE great credit which the *Talapoy* have acquired in *Lao*, is owing chiefly to two causes, their skill in magic, and the king's protection. His majesty, who is, as it were, the general or grand-master of their religion, loads them with honours, and, at the same time, takes care to govern them. He continually admonishes them to observe their rules, and sets before them the obligation of monthly confessions. He appoints the days for fasts and festivals; the ceremonies of which are regulated by him. He resolves all doubts, and reconciles the different scriptures; explains the difficulties found in their book; and never suffers any-thing to be printed (F), without his approbation. He likewise corrects the faults of such pieces. In a word, he is the sovereign judge of whatever relates to the conduct of the *Talapoy*, and punishes them for their offences: but, as if there was something sacred in them, suffers none to vex them on any account. *The king's supremacy.*

WHENEVER the king sees any of them, his majesty salutes him first, by raising the right hand, which is the usual mark of civility. He makes slaves of his vassals, and obliges them to serve in their temples, in lieu of the tribute due to him. He sometimes gives up whole towns and villages to them, obliging the inhabitants to maintain the convents within their precincts; which they always submit to with reluctance, on account of the insatiableness and insolence of such masters: for they would choose to be slaves to others, rather than be dependent on them. However, the king, for the reasons abovementioned, takes care to preserve their friendship, and overlooks many of their transgressions. In 1640 a *Talapoy* and his disciples, having been detected in coining and uttering abundance of false money, the informations were carried before the council: but the king caused the indictment to be quashed by an order, in which, after taxing the laity with avarice, he praised the piety of the *Talapoy*; who, for want of being relieved in their necessities, and finding their temples to be quite deserted, had been obliged to invent a way of relieving themselves, by coining money, and, out of a little, making a great deal [f]. *Talapoys indulged.*

[f] MARINI, p. 415, & seq.

(F) *Marini* does not explain what sort of printing is in use with the *Lanjans*.

Religion, prieſts. BUT this piece of lenity was infinitely more excuſable than that which he ſhewed on another occaſion. A *Talapoy* having caſt a covetous eye upon the gold bracelets which two young ladies, who were ſiſters, wore upon their arms: under ſome pretence got acceſs to them, about nine or ten at night, and, thinking they were alone, murdered them both with a dagger. After this he fell to romage the chamber: in doing which, to his ſurprize, he found a ſervant girl hidden in a corner; and, to prevent a diſcovery, aimed to diſpach her alſo: but the maid, having made ſhift to avoid the blow, got out of the window into the ſtreet, and gave the alarm. The villain hereupon thought it time to withdraw: but was ſeen in his paſſage by three other ſervants, who, next morning, along with the girl, went to a magiſtrate, and gave evidence of the horrid fact. On this information the *Talapoy* was cited before the king, in the hall of audience: where, on proteſting his innocence, and offering, in teſt of it, to undergo the ordeal trial, his majeſty commanded, that he ſhould remain ſeven days in the woods; and if, in that time, he received no hurt, either from the wild beaſts or venomous ſerpents, he ſhould be declared innocent. The aſſaſſin accordingly repaired to the woods; but took care to engage a company of ſlaves to attend him as his guard; ſo that he came off unhurt. Upon this the king, though convinced of his guilt, ſaid, that the devil, in ſhape of a *Talapoy*, muſt have been the author of that execrable deed, in malice to thoſe prieſts, that they might no longer be conſidered as fathers and maſters. After this acquittal, the murderer, to be revenged on the poor girl who was his accuſer, proſecuted her ſo violently, that ſhe was condemned to loſe her liberty: nor did the king interpoſe in her favour [g].

Inſtance in an aſſaſſin, who eſcapes puniſhment.

Pretend to magic. As to magic and ſorcery, the other means by which the *Talapoy* have gained authority and reputation, our author repreſents them as greatly ſkilled therein. He ſays they do things which ſeem miraculous; yet blames the credulity of the people, who, on that account, think them to be more than men: that they make uſe of their art to hurt people, and often merely to divert themſelves: that they catch and tame wild elephants, by means of a plaiſter or ointment put on the back and crupper of a female, whom they follow from the foreſts into the cities, without doing any harm; and that, as ſoon as the plaiſter is taken off, they grow wild again, till made tractable by management and confinement: that they do not ſcruple to exerciſe their ſorcery on their benefactors,

Abuſe the credulous.

[g] MARINI, p. 419, & ſeqq.

in

in order to obtain more by that means, than they could hope from their liberality; and frequently bewitch thoſe who aſſiſt them, as well as thoſe who do not, to oblige both parties to have recourſe to them for relief: that when any perſon is ſeized with any diſtemper or ſickneſs, the *Talapoy* is ſent for, who cures him, only by taking off the charm. Our author is ſo weak as to believe all this ſtuff; and tells of a great man, no leſs ſilly than himſelf, who, after taking medicines for ſome diſorder without effect, fancied himſelf bewitched, and applied to the *Talapoy*. Thoſe magicians, it ſeems, recovered him: but, as he was extremely liberal to them, they laid the ſpell on him, from time to time, in order to make their farther advantage of him. *Religion, priests.*

When a poor man is ſick, they agree to cure him for his weight in rice; and then ſend him one of their caſt-off habits to wear, as a ſovereign remedy. As they believe there is ſomething ſacred in the very touch of a *Talapoy*, the patient often ſends a new garment for the prieſts to ſanctify, by putting it on his back: but, inſtead of returning it, the prieſt ſends him one of his own old ones; aſſuring him, that there is no remedy comparable to their tattered gowns. And, as daily experience ſhews that thoſe ſorts of relicks do not work miracles; the *Talapoy*, to ſave their credit, aſcribe the cauſe to the poor man's covetouſneſs, and want of faith [h]. *Impoſe on the ſick.*

Oftentimes the chief officers of ſtate do not diſdain to ſerve the *Talapoy* in the moſt ſervile offices. They go in winter into the woods, fell timber, carry it on their ſhoulders to the city, and through the ſtreets, to the convents, in order to let the people ſee, that it is an honour to ſerve thoſe religious men; and that the ſure way to recommend them to the favour of the king, is to imitate their own example. During the great heats, theſe great men carry alſo to the *Talapoy* veſſels full of medicinal waters; accompanied with ſimples, and choice perfumes, for their uſe, when they go to bathe themſelves. *Served by noblemen.*

The principal revenue of the *Talapoy* ariſes from the offerings which are made in honour of *Shaka*, in *April*, which is the month of their jubilee, and plenary indulgence. On this occaſion the idol *Shaka* is expoſed to view upon an eminence, in a great court, accompanied with *Talapoy*; who receive the immenſe offerings which are made of gold, ſilver, rice, cloth, ſtuff, and all ſorts of neceſſaries. Nor does our author doubt, but that the prieſts, who are appointed to guard the ſtatue, purloin a large quantity of gold and ſilver, without *Feſtival or jubilee.*

[h] Marini, p. 416, 421, & ſeqq.

Religion, prieſts. being miſſed; the ſums which they receive are ſo prodigious great. All theſe alms and offerings are hung up in the temple; ſo that when the inferior *Talapoy* come to ſweep it, they take a good ſhare, over and above what they find on the ground.

Shaka's ſtatue. OUR author learned from a *Tong-king* lord, who was ambaſſador at the court of *Lanjang*, in the time of this great ſolemnity, that he obſerved a tower in the middle of the temple, about 100 cubits high, pierced on all ſides, and adorned with many large windows, for the better view of *Shaka*'s ſtatue; which is placed in the middle, and ſurrounded with numerous leaves of fine gold, like tinſel, which hang about it, and, with the gentle motion of the air, make ſuch a ſweet and agreeable harmony, that one would imagine it was a concert of ſeveral muſical inſtruments: they were hung there to ſerve as ſo many little vails, to hinder inſects from getting to the idol. The ambaſſador informed *Marini* likewiſe, that the great altar was decorated with two pillars of ſolid gold, ten cubits high, and proportionably thick, which were always expoſed to view, without danger of being ſtolen: although a miſſioner, from whom our author had a great deal of what he relates, never mentioned that particular.

Piety of the Lanjans. NOTHING is more ſurpriſing than the piety and devotion of the *Lanjans*; who are ſo far from the thoughts of robbing temples, that they exhauſt themſelves with making preſents, without deſiring any-thing more than to have them acceptable to their falſe god, as they are aſſured by the *Talapoy*: whoſe words are as firmly believed as an oracle, or a revelation from heaven, out of a perſuaſion that it is impoſſible their prieſts ſhould deceive them in an article of ſo great importance [i]. A perſuaſion which prevails no leſs among the *Romaniſts*; and almoſt every-where elſe.

§ 6. *Preaching and Commandments.*

Art of the Talapoys. THEY preach every day in the temple, during this month, to multitudes of people, and never change their text; which is to endeavour to perſuade their auditors, that there is no time in the year ſo proper to render themſelves worthy of the benefits both of this life and the next. In this hope they make every day a holiday: all buſineſs, as well public as private, is laid aſide; and people mind nothing but to make preſents, and viſit the temples, which, at that time, are always open. To render the viſit more agreeable, and draw

[i] MARINI, p. 427, & ſeq.

even

even thoſe whom devotion could not move, the *Talapoy* provide all ſorts of diverſions in the courts and porches of the temple, which are finely adorned. There the people are entertained with comedians, who recite verſes, and act very agreeable farces. Others expoſe to view ſeveral ſorts of workmanſhip. And, in ſhort, every one does what pleaſes him moſt: ſome ſing; others dance, or play on inſtruments; all in view of *Shaka*, annihilated. *Religion, prieſts.*

To put an end to this feaſt with more pomp and magnificence, one of the moſt famous preachers among the *Talapoy* mounts the chair; where, having recapitulated all which had been advanced on the ſubject, during the whole month, he adds an elegant diſcourſe. The way of preaching here, as well as in *Tong-king*, is to ſtand up, motionleſs, like ſtatues, the arms acroſs the breaſt, held in that poſture with great modeſty (A), and never once ſtirring them. On theſe occaſions they endeavour to perſuade their hearers to renounce the world, and take the *Talapoy* habit, in order to preſerve religion in its ſplendor, and prevent its ever failing. It is incredible how many advantages they promiſe, as well as how much fervour and zeal (B) they expreſs on this occaſion, ſo ſo far as to load, with grace and benedictions from *Shaka*, the families which ſacrifice their children, by devoting them to their convents. To excite them to this, they inſtance the example of their moſt ancient and pious *Talapoy*; who, when they have neither brothers nor nephews of the order, buy children of their neareſt relations: that ſo their family may not want the imaginary bleſſings of *Shaka*, and may always boaſt of having one belonging to it in his ſervice. *Way of preaching.*

TOWARDS the end of the ſermon, the preacher exhorts his auditors to an exact obſervance of the law, which conſiſts in five negative precepts: 1. Not to kill any-thing which has life. 2. Not to commit adultery. 3. Not to lye (or deny the truth). 4. Not to ſteal. 5. Not to drink wine. But however obligatory theſe commandments may be, there is none who keeps them: and the *Talapoy*, who aſſume the power of giving diſpenſations, ſell them at no ſmall rate to *Commandments and diſpenſations*

(A) This, which the *Romiſh* clergy would have paſs, and, among the laity, does paſs, as almoſt an infallible proof of the holineſs both of the prieſt and his religion, in their church; is here treated by the Jeſuit as it ought to be, that is, no proof at all.

(B) Yet remember, for all theſe ſigns of religion and piety, that they are idolatrous prieſts, and of profligate morals: ſo that a ſanctified outſide may be conſiſtent with a wicked heart, and is no proof of goodneſs.

Religion, prieſts. ſuch as ſollicit them, in order to avoid the guilt and puniſhment of breaking the commands. But the crafty prieſts never grant them for more than one precept at once; and that only for a certain term (C): ſo that when the time is expired, they are obliged to apply for a new licence to ſin. Theſe inſtruments, iſſued from this chancery, are written with an iron ſtyle, on palm-tree leaves, in characters which none, perhaps, can read, but he who traces them.

all reduced to charity. In one word, all the fruit of the *Talapoy*'s preachment turns to the profit of him and the convent; never to the advantage of the auditors: becauſe reducing the five precepts to one, the infamous prieſt, ſays our author, returns to his firſt leſſon, and inſiſts on the neceſſity of doing alms, from which there can be no diſpenſation. To inforce this the more, theſe cheats are continually telling the people, that if they will not obſerve this ſingle precept, which is ſo eaſy to be performed, it is a ſure ſign that they do not believe in *Shaka*: that it is indifferent to them whether their holy faith and religion be preſerved in the kingdom, or whether there be any *Talapoy* there to teach it, and pray for them. So that the poor *Lanjan* laity, to avoid ſuch reproachful imputations, as well as the wrath of *Shaka*, pay to the prieſts, under the title of alms, not only yearly, but every month, the tithe of all which they get by the ſweat of their brows.

Arts of Talapoys The better to ſecure themſelves, and augment ſuch conſiderable revenues, they have introduced a cuſtom, ſeemingly to do honour to their benefactors; but, in reality, the more effectually to pick their pockets, and ſuck the very blood of the people. The day before the full moon, from whence they begin their month, according to their rubriks, is always conſecrated to offerings, which, purſuant to their infamous policy, they accompany with the following ceremonies: firſt, they require, that every one ſhould carry his preſent on his head, ſo that all may ſee it; and, as the people aſſemble on that occaſion, the *Talapoy* ſend perſons to ſound the trumpet, and play on ſeveral other inſtruments: *to force alms.* in order, as they pretend, not ſo much to do honour to the people who make the offerings, as to ſollicit the governors of heaven to receive them as alms given the *Talapoy*, in honour of *Shaka*. When they are going to offer them, they muſt raiſe them three times upon the head, to ſignify, 1. that both their mind and eyes are turned towards heaven: 2. that they implore aid from the miniſters of its juſtice: and 3. that

(C) The *Romiſh* prieſts are more indulgent, and give much more extenſive diſpenſations.

they

they pray to them not to refuſe their protection, but to be kind to them in neceſſity. Laſtly, they deliver the offering into the hands of the *Talapoy*; and then retire perfectly well ſatisfied[a]. *Religion, idolatry.*

We have dwelt the longer on this ſubject, to give our reader as full an account as we could of the religion of *Shaka*, known, in the hither peninſula, by the name of *Budda*; in *China* by that of *Fo*, or *She-kya*; and in *Tibet*, whence it had its original, by the name of *La*. For although this religion is ſpread over the farther peniſle, it flouriſhes in no part of it ſo much as it does in *Lao*, or among the *Lanjans*; and our author *Marini* is the only one who has ſpoken of it in any detail, though neither ſo particularly, nor with ſuch exactneſs, as could be wiſhed. We ſhall therefore, before we quit it, add a few remarks more.

The *Indians*, that is, the original inhabitants of all the countries and iſlands eaſtward of *Perſia*, as far as the oriental ocean, ſeem to be divided between two religions, each of very great extent. For diſtinction ſake, we ſhall call one that of the *Brammans*; the other that of the *Lamas*. That of the *Brâmmans* prevails over *Hindûſtân*, and the hither peniſle: where, although the *Mogols* are become almoſt wholly maſters, yet it is computed that, in *Hindûſtân* itſelf, there are at leaſt 100 idolaters, or image-worſhippers, to one *Mohammedan*; conſequently their numbers muſt be much greater in the peninſula, ſeveral countries of which are yet intirely under the dominion of the *Râjahs*. On the other hand, the religion of the *Lamas* is the eſtabliſhed religion of *Tibet*, of all that part of *Great Tartary* called *Weſtern Tartary*, of the whole farther peninſula of *India*, and of *Japan*. It has likewiſe ſpread over moſt of the oriental iſlands: and although it is not the eſtabliſhed religion of *China*, yet it ſeems to be embraced by much the greater part of its inhabitants. So that the religion of the *Lamas* may be ſaid to be extended over three or four times as much ground as that of the *Brâmmans*. *Religion of the Lamas. vaſtly extended.*

These two religions, though agreeing in the moral precepts, the doctrine of the ſoul's tranſmigration, and the uſe of images (D), yet differ in ſeveral eſſential points: as the diſtinction of people into tribes, eating of fleſh, frequent waſhings, and the like; but eſpecially in the article relating *Differs from the Brâmman.*

[a] Marini, p. 430—436.

(D) See the conformity more at large in *Loubere*'s relation of *Siam*, p. 135.

Religion, idolatry. to the ſupreme being (E): for the *Lamas* hold, that God himſelf aſſumed fleſh, and actually dwells among them in a human ſhape; whereas the three incarnated deities of the *Brâmmans* are inferior and created beings. Not but the ſects which hold *Wiſhtnû* or *Iſhuren* to be the ſupreme god, ſeem, in this point, to differ but little from the *Lamas*.

Origin from Tibet. We have already ſpoken of the original of the *Brâmman* religion, in our deſcription of the hither *India:* as to that of the *Lamas*, it ſeems to have had its riſe in *Tibet*, where it has, at preſent, its principal ſeat. For there, we are told, that God himſelf, as the head of this religion, reigns in a human ſhape; ſo that the inhabitants of *Tibet* may be ſaid to live under a real *theocracy*, according to their own belief. This god, in human form, is, in *Tibet*, named *La*; in *China She-kya*, and alſo *Fo*; which name he aſſumed after his apotheoſis, or deification: he is, in his own country, called *Lama-Konjû* (or *Konchok*), that is, *the eternal father:* he is alſo ſtiled *Dalay Lama*, or *the grand Lama*, that is, *high prieſt*, *pope*, or *head*, of the religion [b].

Its ſeveral branches. From this fountain all the other gods, or founders of religion, in the ſeveral countries profeſſing the ſame, ſeem to be derived: as the *Budda*, or *Boutta*, of the hither *Indians*; the *Shaka* of *Laho*, or *Lao*, and *Japan*; the *She-kya* of *China*; *Thikka* of *Tong-king*; and *Sommona Kodom* of *Siam*. Some of theſe gods, or legiſlators, ſeem to be acknowleged the ſame with him of *Tibet*, particularly *She-kya*, or *Shaka:* the account likewiſe which is given by authors, of their origin and doctrines, internal and external, is nearly the ſame. It is true, none of thoſe nations ſeem to acknowlege *him* for their god, who is at preſent adored in *Tibet*; although they derive their gods from ſome part of *India*, weſt of *China* (F): but rather conſider him as coming from a diſtant country, and taking up his abode among them. Thus the *Ho-ſhang*, or prieſts of *China*, called, by *Europeans*, *Bonzas*, do not recognize the god of *Tibet* for the head of their religion; and bear a great enmity to the *Lamas*, whoſe footing in *China* they ſtrenuouſly oppoſe. The worſhippers, therefore, of *She-kya*, or *Shaka*, muſt look on the great *Lama* of *Tibet* as an impoſtor, and not as the real *Shaka*, whom they adore: for

[b] See new gen. collect. of voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 461.

(E) Mr. *La Croze* ſays, they differed in this point only.

(F) *Alex. de Rhodes* thinks, *Shaka* came from *Siam*; *Navarette* ſays, from *Ceylon*.

it

it does not appear, that they hold him to be existing anywhere on earth visibly, and in a human shape. *Religion, idolatry.*

WITH regard to *Budda*, and *Sommona Kodom*, who seem to be the same, their votaries refer his original to the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*; if they are not rather at a loss from what country to derive him. According to a *Balli* book, cited by *Loubere*, the father of *Sommona Kodom*, called also *Pouti Sat*, that is, *lord Pouti* (*Bouta*, or *Budda*, as we conjecture), was a king of *Seylan*[c]; whence it may be presumed, *Kodom* himself was a native of that island: although the *Chingalasses* of *Seylan*, who worship *Buda*, or *Budda*, as an inferior deity, say he was not born in that island, and that he died on the continent[d]. Budda, *the same with* Sommona Kodom.

BUDDA and *Sommona Kodom* seem to be the same, for two reasons: first, that the latter is, by the *Siamese*, called also *Pouti Sat*, or *lord Pouti*, which is doubtless the same with *Budda*: for, as Mr. *La Croze* well remarks, throughout the *Indies* his name is given to *Wednesday*; which, in the *Samskret* or *Samskrotam* language, is called *Boutta-varam*; in that of *Seykan*, *Bouda-dina*; in that of *Siam*, *Van Pouti*; and in the *Malabâric*, *Boudèn Kirúmei*[e]. The second argument (which we are surprised to find has escaped Mr. *La Croze*), is taken from the prænomen *Sommona*, which, in the *Balli* language, signifies *a religious man of the woods*[f]; and answers both in term and signification to *Sammanîn*, or *Shammanîn*, a sect formerly in *Malabâr*, and other parts of the hither peninsula, who dwelt in woods, and adored *Boudda*, or *Budda*.

FROM what has been said in the preceding paragraph, it may be inferred, that *Sommona Kodom*, is not only the same with *Budda*, of the western *Indians*, but that his worship was brought into *Siam* by the *Sammanîns*, possibly on their expulsion out of the hither peninsula, whence they were driven by the *Brammans*, about 500 years ago[g]. *His origin.*

AFTER all, our knowlege of the *Indians*, and their histories, is so very imperfect, that we cannot determine whether *Budda* be the very same person with *Shaka*, and the god of *Tibet*; or whether he was not a different person, pretending to the same divine extraction, who possibly came out of *Tibet*, and introduced the religion of that country among the western *Indians*. However, this is certain, that his origin is of great antiquity: probably long before the birth of *Christ*. For, not Budda's *antiquity.*

[c] Relat. of Siam, p. 136. [d] KNOX, hist. Ceylon, aliquo loco. [e] LA CROZE Chret. des Ind. p. 500. [f] LOUBERE, part i. c. xxii. p. 130. [g] See LA CROZE, ubi supra.

to

Religion, idolatry. to mention what authors say from the tradition of these eastern countries, we find him spoken of by several of the ancient writers, particularly *Clemens Alexandrinus*; who calls him *Boutta*, or *Butta*, and says he was worshipped as a god by the *Sarmanes* [h]. *St. Jerom*, and others, writes *Boudda*, or *Budda*; and says he came into the world through the side of his mother, who still remained a virgin [i]: in the same manner as the *Indians*, at present, relate of him, of *Shaka*, and of *Fo*.

The Shammanes. THAT this *Butta*, or *Budda*, was not a person newly sprung up in the days of those primitive doctors, appears from hence; that, according to the first of them, he was worshipped as a god, on account of his holy life, by the *Sarmanes*, of whom he gives the following account: "There "are two kinds of *Indian* gymnosophists, or philosophers, "one called *Sarmanes*, the other *Brachmans*. Those of the "*Sarmanes*, who are termed *solitaries*, neither dwell in ci"ties, nor make use of houses; but cover themselves with "the barks of trees, and feed on fruits. Water is their on"ly liquor, which they drink out of their hand. They ab"stain from marriage, and live after the manner of the *En*"*cratites* [k] (G). They obey the commandments of *Butta*, "and honour him as a god, on account of his holy life." These *Sarmanes* are the same with the *Germanes*, mentioned by *Strabo* [l], after *Megasthenes*, however the name came to be corrupted; for he speaks of them in nearly the same terms.

Their learning. THIS is a remarkable testimony of the antiquity, as well as eminency, of the sect of *Sarmanes*, in the hither *India*; and a confirmation of what the *Indians* of *Malabâr* relate concerning the *Shammanes*, or *Shammanins*, who, without dispute, are the same people. These *Shammanes*, according to the *Malabâr* authors, were the ancient inhabitants of *India*, and anterior to the *Brâmmans* in the hither peninsula. They were skilled in arts and sciences; which the *Malabârs* had from them. Several of their books, still remaining, are in great esteem; and quoted by the modern *Indians*, in the same manner as the *Greek* and *Roman* authors are with us.

Their sects. THE *Shammanes* were divided into two sects, *Buddergueuls*, that is, the adorers of *Budda*, and *Shammanergueuls*. They openly blasphemed the religion of *Wishtnú* and *Ishuren*:

[h] CLEM. ALEX. STROM. l. i. p. 529. edit. Potteri. ap. LA CROZE, p. 492. [i] Lib. i. adv. Jovin. [k] CLEM. ALEX. ubi supra. [l] Lib. xv.

(G) Who are the followers of *Tatian*, and *Justin Martyr*.

they

they deteſted the ſacred books of the *Brâmmans*; and compelled the *Malabârs* to embrace their doctrines [m]. This accuſation, perhaps, is brought to juſtify the proceedings of the *Brâmmans* againſt them. However that be, it is certain, that theſe latter, by degrees, gained over the *Indians* to their way of worſhip: and, as ſoon as they found themſelves the ſtronger party, began to perſecute the *Shammanes*, whom they at length drove beyond the *Ganges*, into the farther peninſula of the *Indies*. On this occaſion, doubtleſs, it was, that the *Brâmmans* have invented the fable of *Wiſhtnû*'s ſixth incarnation, into the *Brâmman Vegoud Dova Avataram*, who, by means of twelve diſciples, deſtroyed the two above-mentioned ſects [n] (H). But we learn from another quarter, that this great revolution was brought about by the *Brâmmans*, who, in ſeveral kingdoms of *India*, ſtirred up the princes to make a horrible maſſacre of them [o]. Conſidering that the *Malabârs* have no regular cycle of years, and that their hiſtory is ſo blended with fables, it is hard to determine when this bloody tragedy happened: but, as it appears by the books of the *Shammanes*, that 500 years ago there were yet ſome remains of them, on the *Choromandel* coaſt, it is probable that the idolatry of the *Brâmmans* hath not had the abſolute dominion in that country above five centuries. However that be, we are told the religion of the *Shammanes*, at preſent, is to be found neither there, nor on the coaſt of *Malabâr* [p].

Religion, idolatry.

Extirpated by the Brammâns.

ALTHOUGH, from the name of *Sommona Kodom*, chief lawgiver and idol among the *Siameſes*, we are inclinable to believe, that he was a *Shamman*, from the coaſt of *Malabâr*, or *Choromandel*; yet his arrival in *Siam* is not to be dated from the expulſion of the *Shammans*, by the *Brâmmans*: for the *Siameſes* place his death from whence their æra is computed, about the year 544 before *Chriſt* (I). Neither muſt we conclude, although he eſtabliſhed the worſhip and law of *Budda* in *Siam*, and ſeems to bear the name of *Budda* in that of *Pouti Sat*, or *lord Pouti*, as hath been before obſerved, that

Sommona Kodom.

[m] ZIEGEN BALG. ap. La Croze Chret. des Indes, p. 493, & ſeqq. [n] Ibid. p. 497. [o] PONS ap. Lettr. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 247. [p] LA CROZE, ubi ſupra, p. 497, 499.

(H) It ſeems not a little odd to us, that the end of *Wiſhtnû*'s ſixth incarnation ſhould be to preach down the religion of *Budda*, and yet that he ſhould perſonate him, or aſſume his form, in the ninth, as if he found no fault with *Budda*, but his worſhippers.

(I) Mr. *Loubere* informs us, in his relation of *Siam*, chap. iii. that the year 1689, beginning in *December* 1688, was the 2233 from *Sommona Kodom*'s death.

Government.

he was really *Budlı* himſelf: for *Budla* ſeems to have been worſhipped in the hither *India*, many centuries antecedent to that æra; and his religion ſettled in that peninſula long before the *Brâmmans* entered the country. It muſt, therefore, be thought, either that the name of *Puti Sat* was given to him, on account of having introduced the doctrine of *Budda* into *Siam*; or that he pretended to be *Budda*, regenerated in the perſon of *Sommona Kodom*.

SECT. VI.

Government and Hiſtory of Lanjang.

§. 1. *Government of* Lanjang.

Chief officers.

THE country of *Laos*, as hath been already obſerved, is divided among ſeveral kings; concerning whom we meet with nothing more than what hath been related, excepting him of *Lanjang*.

THE principal dignities and offices of this kingdom are eight. The firſt is that of viceroy-general, who manages one part of ſtate affairs, and aſſiſts the king in all matters which concern the government. On the demiſe of his majeſty, it is his buſineſs to aſſemble the council, convene the ſtates, and, in ſhort, take on him the quality of regent, until the ſucceſſor is enthroned; all other officers or miniſters being obliged to obey him. And, becauſe the kingdom is divided into ſeven provinces, there are appointed ſeven other viceroys, with equal power, for the government of them: but they reſide continually at court, as the king's companions in office, and his counſellors, where they enjoy the revenues, and other benefits, of their reſpective departments, which they commit to the care of their lieutenants, or deputy-governors. Beſides the provinces, there are other leſſer governments, which depend on the greater, in reſpect both to civil and military affairs.

EACH province has its own militia, conſiſting of both horſe and foot; whoſe officers depend on the viceroy or governor, he on the prime viceroy, and this laſt on the king. The troops ſubſiſt on revenues aſſigned them in each province, and are obliged to ſerve, on that conſideration, on all occaſions which the kingdom may require [a].

Their ſtate.

THE governors appear with large retinues, and often oppreſs the people, ſeizing by force whatever they take a fancy to, eſpecially of foreign merchandize; nor dare any oppoſe

[a] MARINI hiſt. de Tunq. & Lao, p. 358, & ſeq.

ſuch

such violences. However, the king does not countenance such acts of injustice; and they are punishable by the laws. His majesty, far from abusing his power in that manner, as soon as he is informed that a merchant has brought any curiosity into his kingdom, which he has a mind for, immediately orders him not to expose it to sale, and sends the full value of it, to prevent the ruin of commerce; the duties arising from which are of great advantage to his revenue [b]. What is still more barbarous in these governors, they often enter into measures to destroy particular men: for, being infatuated with the belief in magic and witchcraft, they hire assassins to hunt and kill men in the woods, in order to procure their gall, for making charms [c], as hath been before related. *Government.*

With regard to laws, the *Lanjans* have very few; nor need they many, where they have the customs of the country for the guide and rule of their conduct. Besides, the will of the king stands in place of laws, where they are wanting: nor does he exert that authority to the detriment of his subjects. And, in matters of dispute between the people, the opinion of the judges in former cases is made use of, as precedents. There is one custom almost peculiar to this country; for, though tolerated in *Siam*, it is not established there: this is, a certain subjection and dependence which every family has on one person, as the chief or superior: so that all the *Lanjans*, excepting the *Talapoy*, who do not descend in a right line from the principal branch of any family (be their condition what it will, dignified or not, rich or poor), must depend thereon during their lives, without ever having it in their power to free themselves. *Laws few.*

When they, who issue directly from the main branch, come to marry, the family divides itself in such sort, that the male descendants follow the degree and branch of the father, the female race those of the mother. This dependence or subjection is very strict and incommodious. First, they are obliged, twice a year, to pay their acknowlegements, and make presents, to the head of the family: secondly, they are obliged to serve their chief in whatever he commands them, whether he wants to build a house, to celebrate an idol-feast, or take a journey, they are obliged to attend him at their own expence, to obey his orders, and contribute to the expence of the work. On the road some must serve him as soldiers, for his guard, and others as his domestics. This custom proves of great use to the king; who, in a short time, may raise a considerable army: for he has nothing to do but to gain over *Subjection of families to their chief.*

[b] Marini, p. 346, & seq. [c] Ibid. p. 349.

the

Government. the chiefs of families. The worſt of all is, that, by the ſame cuſtom, if the chief happens to be convicted of any enormous crime, all thoſe who, in the leaſt degree of affinity, belong to him, are, at the ſame time, ſtripp'd of all their rights, and become more miſerable than ever; for they are deſtined thenceforth to ſerve the king's elephants, to gather herbs for them every day, to keep them clean, and watch them in the night.

Juſtice how adminiſtered. JUSTICE is not altogether well adminiſtered; and, becauſe crimes are very rarely committed here, many laws are not required: however, they have a few, which prove ſufficient to preſerve peace and union among them. The ſeverity, for inſtance, with which not only blows, but angry words, are puniſhed, is a great means of keeping people in awe. With regard to civil matters, juſtice is in a very languid ſtate. They have no comments to explain their laws: ſo that they are all ſubject to the interpretation of the judges, who are not without their prejudices, and may, on the ſlighteſt grounds, condemn the parties; who cannot appeal from his ſentence, but muſt ſuffer the penalty which cuſtom has eſtabliſhed [d].

The king. THE king of *Lanjan* is an abſolute independant prince; and acknowleges no ſuperior either in temporal or ſpiritual affairs. The property of lands lies wholly in him; who diſpoſes at pleaſure of the effects belonging to his ſubjects: nor can any family in the kingdom inherit or poſſeſs any thing left them by will.

No nobility. ONE here meets with no kind of nobility; nor is it to be acquired either by birth, riches, or virtuous actions. Employments, honours, and wealth, depend ſolely on the king, who confers thoſe benefits on whom he pleaſeth; and reſumes them at their deaths. The moſt he does in favour of their children, is to leave them in poſſeſſion of the moveable effects: as for houſes and lands, money and arms, they all return into the exchequer. No man can ſay he is maſter of one foot of land; only the *Talapoys* can diſpoſe of ſuch ſpots as are inhabited: but as for the reſt, the king diſtributes them among the governors and commanders, to ſome more, to others leſs. Theſe farm them out for three years only to perſons, who agree to give one half of the third year's produce to the king.

Viceroys. EVERY viceroy has a very numerous retinue: but the court of the king, whoſe ſplendor is vaſtly ſet off by the magnificence of theſe grandees, appears chiefly in the incredible number of pages who compoſe it. Theſe are always at hand

[d] MARINI, p. 370, & ſeqq.

to

to follicit for vacant places, to which they are promoted according to the years which they have ſerved: but, generally ſpeaking, they are advanced through favour, more than merit, as is the caſe in other countries. Beſides the above-mentioned officers, there is an infinite number of others, who have their different occupations. The rank of all courtiers is diſtinguiſhed by certain gold or ſilver boxes, which their pages carry after them where-ever they go. The prime viceroy has the privilege of riding upon an elephant richly harneſſed, whenever he goes abroad; but the reſt are allowed only to be carried in little chairs, adorned with cloth of gold, and accompanied with ſeveral footmen in handſome liveries. The other officers, let their quality be what it will, are obliged to go on foot; and although they have their boxes alſo, yet they muſt not be carried after them expoſed to public view [e].

Government. *Their ſtate.*

WHATEVER other monarchs may think of the king of *Lanjan*, he thinks them all his inferiors; nor will yield the ſuperiority to the emperor of *China* himſelf. To inſpire his ſubjects with the greater veneration for his perſon, he appears but ſeldom in public; and daily withdraws himſelf more and more from the eyes of his ſubjects, as if he was of a ſpecies ſomething more than human. He is diſtinguiſhed from others only by the holes made in the fleſhy part of his ears, which are of an extraordinary ſize: they are made ſo wide by ſtretching the holes with pipes, putting in a larger every month, till at length the tips of his majeſty's ears touch his ſhoulders. He wears no crown, but ſuch as the ancient emperors uſed, which is a gold band or ribband, which ſerves alſo to bind his hair.

King of Lanjan

HIS *Lanjan* majeſty ſhews himſelf but twice a year to his ſubjects: who, in return for that honour done them, ſtrive all they can to divert him, by means of elephants trained to do a thouſand little tricks; and wild beaſts, whom they ſet a fighting. They have alſo wreſtlers and gladiators on this occaſion, who exert their ſtrength and utmoſt ſkill to pleaſe the king.

ſeldom appears.

BUT the time to ſee the court in all its ſplendor, is when the king goes to viſit ſome temple; on which occaſion all the magnificence of the kingdom is diſplay'd in the dreſs and equipage of the officers, as well as of his majeſty himſelf, mounted on a lofty elephant moſt richly accoutred. The king is preceded by his chief officers, and followed by a multitude of horſemen, armed with muſkets, and in good order. The cavalcade is cloſed with ſeveral beaſts loaded with preſents,

Viſits temples.

[e] MARINI, p. 357, & ſeqq.

which

Their hiſtory. which his majeſty, in behalf of his people, is to make to the idol; whoſe temple, on that occaſion, reſembles an exchange, rather than a place of devotion. On this day the women are not permitted to ſtir out of their houſes: but, when the king paſſes by, they appear at the windows, and ſprinkle both him and his preſents with the perfumed waters of *Naffe*; which wetting is very agreeable to him. His majeſty is met at ſome diſtance from the temple by the *Talapoy*, dreſt in their moſt pompous habits, who attend him through the ceremony, and, at the end, divide the moſt valuable offerings among themſelves.

His audiences. THE magnificence which appears in this feſtival exceeds that which is diſplayed at court, when an ambaſſador is to have his audience, or the petty kings, who are his tributaries, come to pay him homage. On this occaſion he receives them in a great hall, ſitting on a very high throne, and dreſt in his robes of ceremony. He returns their compliments by the mouth of his chancellor; and never ſpeaks to them but by an interpreter [f].

§. 2. *Hiſtory of* Lanjang.

Ancient ſtate, WE meet with very little in authors concerning the hiſtory and affairs of the *Lanjans*. It has been already remarked, that they were, many centuries ago, in ſubjection to *China*; as were all the other countries of the farther *Indian* peninſula: but, after they had ſhaken off the yoke, and were powerful, they formed themſelves into a kind of republic, which continued till the year of *Chriſt* 600, when their ſtate became a monarchy.

FOR the country having become more populous by the great reſort of *Siameſes*, who, for that end, had leave to ſettle there; the *Lanjans*, to ſecure the power to themſelves, elected a chief or commander, whom they inveſted with all the authority, and acknowleged for their ſovereign. But factions ariſing among them, through the intrigues of the *Siameſes*; theſe latter, having had a powerful party, procured one to be raiſed to the throne, who was of the family of the kings of *Siam*. From this prince the kings of *Lao*, or rather *Lanjan*, have been lineally deſcended, for above a thouſand years; inſomuch that they ſtill retain both the language and dreſs of their anceſtors. From this time, likewiſe, they ſeem to have continued independent, although ſome authors report

free and independent.

[f] MARINI, p. 361, & ſeqq.

that

that they pay tribute to the king of *Tong-king*[a]. But that is a miſtake, ariſing from a circumſtance which they were not ſufficiently acquainted with, and is as follows. *Government.*

THE governor of a province of *Lao* having uſurped the ſovereignty, the king of *Tong-king*, to whom that province formerly belonged, invaded and obliged him by force to pay him tribute. This he did for ſome time: but, towards the end of the ſixteenth, or beginning of the ſeventeenth century, the king of *Ava*, after conquering *Pegu* and *Siam*, made himſelf maſter, not only of that province, but of all *Lao* (or *Lanjan*), whoſe inhabitants he carried to *Pegu*, in order to people that country. The *Lanjans*, who bore their captivity with the utmoſt impatience, at length formed a general conſpiracy, to recover their liberty; and riſing on a day appointed, put the *Peguers* to the ſword, where-ever they met with them. Their enterpriſe was attended with ſo great ſucceſs, that, had they purſued their good fortune, they might eaſily have reduced the whole kingdom under their ſubjection: but the deſire they had to return to their own country made them haſten thither, from whence they quickly expelled their enemies, who had it in poſſeſſion. The news of this revolution coming to the ears of the natives, who had fled for ſhelter into the neighbouring mountains and foreſts, they preſently returned, and re-peopled *Lanjan*, the capital of this kingdom, which ſoon recovered its former ſplendor, under its legitimate king. *Subject to Ava.*

THE king of *Ava* and *Pegu* not being able, at that juncture, to revenge the inſult, diſſembled his reſentment; and the better to compaſs his deſign by fraud, pretended to relinquiſh his right to the kingdom, and make an alliance with the *Lanjans*; contenting himſelf with a very ſmall acknowlegement on their ſide. Mean time he, under-hand, made great preparations for war: but his death, which happened in the year 1647, fruſtrated his intentions. However, his ſucceſſor, purſuing the ſame ſcheme, ſent ambaſſadors to the *Lanjans*, with rich preſents, and very obliging letters; by which he demanded, but in very moderate terms, a yearly tribute of only one choice elephant, and a beautiful maiden. The king of *Lao*, far from agreeing to the propoſal, was ſo provoked, that he cauſed the ambaſſadors and their equipage to be ſeized as ſpies. At the ſame time he ſent ſome of his beſt troops towards the frontiers of *Pegu*, where the king of *Ava* had his magazines filled with warlike ſtores, ready for his intended en- *Throw off the yoke.* *become independant.*

[a] MARINI, ubi ſupra, p. 356.

Name, Bounds.

terprise: but as he left them unguarded, in order to take off all suspicion, the *Lanjans* came on them by surprise, and burnt them to the ground. This unexpected blow ruined all the measures of that formidable monarch, who durst neither attack them, nor pursue their retreat, as well for want of ammunition, as for fear of a rebellion, knowing that his subjects hated him [b].

This is all the account we are able to give of the affairs of *Lanjan*; as having received very little information from that country, since the middle of the last century, when the missioners found it impracticable to propagate their religion among the inhabitants, who were too much under the influence of their *Talapoy*, or priests.

CHAP. VIII.

The Kingdom of Siam.

SECT. I.

Name, Extent, Mountains, Rivers, Soil, and Produce.

Its name.

The name of *Siam* came into *Europe* by the *Portuguese*, who write also *Sion*, and had it probably from the people of *Pegu*, or the *Malayans*, who call it *Tsiam* [a]. This is not the appellation given to the country by the natives: but as *Tsiam* or *Siam* signifies *Free* in the *Peguan* language, it seems to be a translation of the indigenous name of the inhabitants, which is *Tay*: and hence the country is called *Mouang* or *Muang* (A) *Tay*, that is, *the kingdom of free men*, or *Franks*. They also call themselves *Tay-noe*, *the little Tay*, or *Siams*; to distinguish them from the *Tay-yay*, or *great Siams* (B), who inhabit the northern mountains, and are reputed savages [b]. *Pinto* says, the true name of *Siam* is *Sornau*, or the empire of the *Sornau* [c]: but we do not find that what he asserts has been confirmed by any traveller since his time.

[b] Marini, p. 366, & seqq. [a] Kæmpfer hist. Japan. p. 25. [b] Loubere hist. Siam, p. 6, & seq. [c] Mendez Pinto's voyage, ch. 47. p. 269.

(A) It is also written *Meüang*, or *Mewang*, *Moang*, *Moan*, *Mong*, and the like. *Gervaise* says, p. 42. that *Meüang Thay*, signifies *a country of great strength*; they call it also *the circuit of the visitations of the Gods*. *Kæmpfer Japan*, p. 25.

(B) Of these an account has been given before, p. 135.

SIAM

SIAM is surrounded by high mountains, which, on the east side, separate it from the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Laos*, or *Laos*; on the west from *Pegu*; and on the north from *Ava*, or, more properly, from *Jangoma*, which is subject to *Ava*; on the south it is washed by the gulf of *Siam*, and has the peninsula of *Malakka*; the north part (C) whereof is under its dominion. *Situation, Extent. Bounds.*

THE general situation of *Siam* has been determined by the observations made in 1688 by the Jesuit missioners, at the city of *Siam* and *Louvo*; but its dimensions are uncertain. The *Abbe Choisy* promised to draw an exact map of it [d]; and we are told, the king of *Siam* would have engaged the missioners to have made a map of his own and the neighbouring kingdoms, but they were obliged to proceed for *China* [e]. However, Mr. *Loubere* has published one at the head of his description of *Siam*, made by an *Englishman*, who went up the *Menân*, as far as the northern frontiers [f]; which, according to this map, are placed in the latitude of 22° 30′. This Mr. *De l'Isle* has followed in his maps; and Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of the farther peninsula (D), extends them to the 23d degree. But the late map of *China*, published by the Jesuits, shews this to be a very great error: for in that case, instead of leaving room for the kingdom of *Jangoma*, and other provinces of *Ava*, which lie to the north of *Siam*, between it and *China*, its northern borders will be carried one whole degree within those of *China*. To avoid this error, Mr. *Bellin* has run into another, equally injurious to geography, by contracting the bounds of the province of *Yun-nan*, in *China*, above four degrees from west to east. Would it not have been better to make *Siam* contiguous with *China*, since *Loubere*'s map is not to be compared with that of the Jesuits for accuracy? On the contrary, that author confesses, that the person who made the map of *Siam* was not skilled enough to give the positions entirely exact. He should have gone farther, and said he had not taken any latitudes; at least he observed none on the northern frontiers, the situation of which, above all things, ought to have been settled. *Situation and extent. Mistakes about them.*

[d] CHOISY voy. de Siam, p. 552. [e] TACHARD voy. de Siam, p. 265. [f] LOUBERE, p. 3.

(C) In consequence of this, it may be said to be washed on the west side by the gulf of *Bengal*; where it has some good ports, as *Merguy*, *Junsalem*, &c.

(D) Inserted in the *Histoire generale des voyages*, tome ix. under the title of *Cartes des royaumes de Siam, Tunquin, Pegu*, &c.

Mountains.

Loubier's *map faulty.*

LOUBERE places the southern borders of *Siam* in thirteen degrees of latitude; by that means curtailing it more on that side than he has enlarged it on the other. *Jooſt Schuten* (E), with more propriety, extends it northward only to the eighteenth degree, and southward to the seventh; where it confines with the kingdoms of *Patâne* and *Queda*, which are its tributaries. However, we make its northern limits to touch the nineteenth parallel; nor durſt we venture to give them a greater elevation; ſince, in ſo doing, we leave no more than three degrees for the countries lying between *Siam* and *China*. According then to our computation, *Siam* is ſituated between the ſeventh and nineteenth degree of latitude, containing twelve degrees, or about 834 *Engliſh* miles in length from ſouth to north; and between the 115th and 121ſt degrees of longitude: ſo that its greateſt breadth from weſt to eaſt is about 400 miles; but, towards the north, it is not much above half that breadth.

The mountains

which ſurround it.

SIAM being, as hath been already obſerved, ſurrounded with mountains, and having very few hills within the intermediate country, may be ſaid to be one wide extended plain, with a great river, and its branches, running through it from north to ſouth. It is remarkable, that theſe great mountains, which make two huge chains, one on the weſt and the other on the eaſt ſide, diminiſh gradually as they advance ſouthward. That on the weſt ſide, having paſſed along the borders of *Pegu*, runs through the middle of the peninſula of *Malakka*, and terminates at the cape of *Sinkapûra*, the moſt ſouthern point of all *Aſia*, which ſeparates the gulf or bay of *Bengâl* from that of *Siam*. The eaſtern chain, which divides *Siam* from *Laos* and *Kamboja*, terminates at the cape of this laſt name, which makes the moſt eaſtern point of the gulf of *Siam*[z]. The kingdom of *Siam* extends on each ſide of the gulf like a horſeſhoe, beginning on the eaſt ſide at the river of *Chantabon*, which divides it from *Kamboja*: on the oppoſite ſide it reaches as far ſouth as *Quedah* and *Patâna* in the territories of the *Malayans*, of which *Malakka* was formerly the capital. Thus the coaſt runs about 200 leagues along the gulf of *Siam*, and 180 along that of *Bengâl*, affording great conveniency for trade to the kingdom.

SEVERAL rivers, deſcending from theſe chains of mountains, fall into both gulfs, and render the coaſts inhabitable.

[z] See LOUBERE, p. 3 & 7.

(E) He was director of the *Dutch* company in thoſe parts, and wrote in the year 1636.

Hence

Hence the coaſt of *Siam*, in the gulf of *Bengâl*, has ports and roads, which the oppoſite coaſt of *Choromandel* wants [h]. *Rivers.* Menân.

THE principal river of all *Siam* is called *Menâm*, *Menân*, or *Meynâm*, that is, *the mother of waters*, by way of excellency; *Menâm* being an appellation given to all great rivers through the farther *Indian* peniſle. The ſource of this river is either unknown to moſt of the inhabitants of theſe parts, or they miſrepreſent it, in order to magnify its origin. Hence travellers have given ſuch different accounts: ſome, as *Mendez Pinto*, ſay, it riſes in a lake called *Chiamay*, near a city of that name, ſeveral days journey to the north of *Siam*; but *Loubere* could not hear of any ſuch lake [i]. *Gervaiſe* ſays, it probably has its ſource in a great lake, diſcovered ſome years ſince in the country of *Laos* [k]; which, if there be any ſuch, may be the lake of *Chiamay*. According to *Kæmpfer*, the *Siameſes* derive it from the high mountains of *Imaus*; and report that it divides into ſeveral arms, which run through *Kamboja*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, into the ſea. They farther pretend, that theſe arms are joined by other ſmaller branches, not only among themſelves, but alſo with the *Ganges*, riſing in the ſame mountains, if they are not rather to be deemed branches of this laſt river; and hence a paſſage might be opened for veſſels to go from *Siam* into *Bengâl*. But our author will not vouch for the truth of this account [l]; and he is in the right of it, for it is contrary to experience. *The river* Menâm.

As ſome make it a branch of the *Ganges* [m], ſo others derive it, ſtill more extravagantly, from the *Indus* [n]. But we are told that Mr. *Le Clerc*, a miſſioner, who aſcended the *Menâm* as far as the frontiers of *Lao* (F), found it there very narrow; and the inhabitants aſſured him, that three days higher it was no more than a ſmall brook deſcending from the mountains [o]. This ſeems to be the moſt likely account of its origin; and agrees with what Mr. *Loubere* relates, that it is ſo ſmall at its entrance into the kingdom of *Siam*, that for fifty leagues it carries only little boats, holding no more than four or five perſons [p]. *Its origin.*

ITS courſe is from north to ſouth, through the whole country of *Siam*. As it advances towards the ſea, it is in- *Its courſe.*

[h] LOUBERE, ibid. [i] Ibid. p. 3. [k] GERVAISE relat. de Siam, p. 8. [l] KÆMPFER, p. 43. [m] CHOISY voy. de Siam, p. 526. [n] See GERVAISE, ubi ſup. [o] CHOISY, ubi ſup. [p] LOUBERE, ubi ſup.

(F) Rather perhaps *Jangoma*, then probably dependant on *Lao*, or *Lanjang*, a part of *Lao*.

Rivers. Menâm.

creaſed by other rivers, eſpecially on the eaſt ſide, and becomes very large at laſt, as it approaches the capital; from whence upwards, it is embarraſſed with rocks and cataracts: but their *praws* (or large boats) may be taken to pieces, and carried by land till thoſe obſtructions are paſt [q]. This river, deſcending from the city of *Chiamay* (G), and entering *Siam*, paſſes by the following cities: *Me-tak*, the firſt towards the north-north-weſt; then, ſucceſſively, *Tian-tong*, *Kampeng*, or *Kampeng-pet* (H), which ſome pronounce *Kampingue*, *Lakonſevan*, *Chaynat*, *Siam* (or *Siyûthia*), *Talakoan*, *Talaqueow*, and *Bankok* (or *Fon*); ſeven miles below which it falls into the gulf of *Siam* by three mouths, the moſt navigable of which is that towards the eaſt [r].

Bar at the mouth.

AT the mouth, by the *Siameſes* called *Pagnam Tauſia* [s], it is a league wide; higher up it diminiſhes to one fourth of that breadth; and every-where above, as far as the capital city, it is 200 paces over. Its chanel all that way is deep, and pretty equal (I), carrying up veſſels of 3 or 400 tons; and was it not for the bank or bar at its mouth, which has but eleven or twelve feet water in the higheſt floods, great ſhips might ſail up it; but, on account of that obſtruction, they are obliged to remain in the road, which is very ſafe. Its courſe from the city downwards is very winding, making ſeveral agreeable iſles: the water is very clear, light, and good. It is full of fiſh, but has not ſuch variety as the rivers of *France*. The chief of them is called by the *Europeans kaboche*, about a foot and half long, and ten or twelve thick, with a kind of flat and ſquare head: there are two ſorts; one aſh-coloured, the other black; this laſt is beſt for keeping. They dry them in the ſun, and have a great trade for them with the neighbouring countries. The fiſh of this river are not like thoſe of *France*, but then they are rather more delicious. One often meets with crocodiles of a monſtrous ſize; and a little venomous fiſh, which, on being provoked, ſwells like a toad. It is delightful ſailing on this river, whoſe banks are green and very populous, but one is ſadly tormented with gnats: in a word, its waters annually ſwell and overflow [t]. This happens in *March*, at which

Full of fiſh.

Overflows yearly.

[q] KÆMPFER ubi ſupra, p. 26.
[r] LOUBERE ubi ſupra, p. 3.
[s] KÆMPF. p. 13.
[t] GERVAISE ubi ſupra, p. 7, & ſeqq.

(G) Doubtleſs *Jamahay*, capital of *Jangoma*.

(H) Probably the *Kapiuper* of *Mend. z Pinto*.

(I) *Kæmpfer*, p. 43, ſays it is very deep, rapid, full, and broader than the *Elb*.

time

time the country is drowned for above 120 miles in circuit. To this periodical event, the kingdom not only owes its yearly fertility, but has sometimes been obliged for its preservation: as it happened in 1587, when the vast army of *Pegu*, which besieged the capital city, was of a sudden surprised by the inundation, and the greater part of it destroyed [u]. *Rivers. Tenasserim.*

THE map published by Mr. *Loubere* exhibits another river called also *Menâm*, which rising in the mountains on the western borders of *Lahos* or *Laos*, runs southward, almost parallel with the former; and passing through *Menang Fang*, *Pichay*, *Porselouk*, and *Pichit*, falls into the great river at *Lakon sevan*. The journal of the *Chinese* merchants, often quoted before, mentions two rivers of this country which have their sources in the kingdom of *Laos*; one called the river of *Siam*, which rises in the mountain *Kyang Daw*, the other *Kyang-hay*, or *Kyang-lay*, which falls into the great river [x]: but which of these, or whether either of them, is the river passing by *Muang Fang*, we cannot pretend to determine. *Other rivers*

THERE are two other rivers of note which fall into the *great Menâm*, near its mouth, one on the west side, which rises near the city of *Kambori*, to the south-west of *Lakon sevan*; and from thence descending towards *Papri*, divides into two branches; the most northern, called *Mahapram*, joins the *great Menâm*, a little to the north of the capital *Siam*; the other falls into the sea, near *Pipeli*, towards the western mouth of the same river. *Falling into it.*

THE river on the east side has its source a little above the city of *Karazema*, on the frontiers of the *Laos*: and, having passed by *Kanayot* and *Perion*, enters the sea at *Banplasoy*, near the eastern branch of the *Menân*.

BESIDES the above-mentioned rivers, we meet with two other considerable ones, which are, at present, within the bounds of this kingdom. The first is that of *Tenassarim*, which comes from the mountains of *Ava*, and is of great length; but the navigation is rendered difficult, by rocks and branches of trees, with which its chanel is full. It is likewise so rapid, that one cannot ascend it above three or four leagues a day: it passes almost due south to the city of *Tenassarim*; and then turning suddenly to the north-west, about thirteen leagues from thence, falls into the bay of *Bengal*, at the port of *Merghey*. *That of Tenasserim.*

[u] See PIMENTA apud Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.
[x] DU HALDE's descr. of China, vol. i. p. 62.

Soil, Produce.

River of Chantebon.

THE other river is that of *Chantebon*, which, though not ſo large as ſome of thoſe before-mentioned, carries large veſſels with greater eaſe than any of them; and notwithſtanding there is a great bank of mud at the entrance, yet you have always fourteen or fifteen feet water [y].

Soil and produce.

THE country of *Siam* may be divided into cultivated and uncultivated lands; of which latter it for the moſt part conſiſts; being covered with woods of *bambú*, and other trees. The moſt profitable trees to the *Siameſes* are thoſe which produce cotton, oil, and varniſh. Theſe oils, mixed with plaiſters, render the walls of their houſes as white, hard, and well poliſhed, as marble. Their varniſh is very good, but they know not how to make uſe of it. The foreſts afford timber for building ſhips and houſes, for wainſcotting and carving. There is both light and heavy wood; ſome eaſy to cleave, others which will not cleave at all: this is called *wood Mary*, and is better than any other for the ribs of ſhips. Here is alſo the *iron wood*, very heavy and tough, of which anchors are made. It is ſaid to have the quality of corroding iron in time. There is a wood as light as fir, and of the ſame colour, but more fit for carving, as it never ſplints under the chiſſel.

Uſiful timber.

ABOVE all, the *Siameſes* have trees ſo tall and ſtrait, that one alone is ſufficient to make a boat, or *balon*, ſixteen or twenty fathom long. They have alſo the cinnamon-tree, the beſt next to that of *Seylan*; *Sapan*, and other woods proper for dying; the *aquila*, or aloes wood, better than what other countries produce, though not ſo good as the *Kalamba* of *Kochin-china*. This wood is found only in pieces; being nothing but rotten parts of certain trees. All trees of the kind have it not; nor is it always to be met with in the ſame part of thoſe which have it: ſo that it requires a tedious ſearch in the woods [z].

Mines.

No country has a greater reputation for being rich in mines than *Siam*: this appears from the multitude of ſtatues, and other caſt works; great numbers of which are of gold. The wainſcot alſo, and roofs of their temples, are gilded. However, they have of late ſought in vain for mines, either of gold or ſilver. The king had made a metal called *tambuk*, by mixing a little gold with copper. Mr. *Vincent*, a *French* phyſician, diſcovered a mine of very good ſteel, and another of chryſtal; alſo of antimony, emeril, and other minerals: beſides a quarry of white marble, and a rich gold mine; but

Tambuk *metal.*

[y] GERVAASE, ubi ſupr. p. 11, & ſeqq.

[z] LOUBERE, ubi ſupr. p. 11, & ſeqq.

concealed

concealed it from the *Siameſes*, whom yet he inſtructed in many things, relating to the ſmelting and extracting metals from the ore. They have plenty of lead and tin, called *kalin*, which is ſold throughout *India*. It is ſoft, and not well purified; but, to render it whiter and harder, they mix it with *Kadmia*, a mineral eaſily reduced to powder; and it is this white tin which is called *toutinague*. The *kadmia*, melted with copper, makes it yellow: but both metals become more brittle by the mixture. *Mines, Seaſons.* Kalin *and* toutinague.

THERE is a mountain of loadſtone near the city of *Louvo*; and another near the city of *Jonſalam*, on the bay of *Bengal*: but the latter (and perhaps the former) loſes its virtue in three or four months. The mountains afford very curious agate; and Mr. *Vincent* ſaw ſome pieces of ſapphires and diamonds, with the *Talapoys*, who buſy themſelves much in ſuch kinds of ſearches. They have mines of iron, which they know how to ſmelt, but are bad forgemen. They uſe wooden anchors to their gallies; and have neither chiſſels, ſaws, nor nails, nor even pins nor needles: for in building they uſe only pins made of *bambû*. They have ſome iron and copper padlocks, the firſt good, the latter very naught; but both ſorts brought from *Japan*, for they make none themſelves[a]. *Loadſtone.*

THE land of *Siam* ſeems to be formed by the mud deſcending from the mountains; to which mud, and the overflowings of the river, the ſoil owes its fertility: for in the higher places, and parts not reached by the inundation, all is dried up and burnt with the ſun, ſoon after the rains are over. Thoſe parts are likewiſe ſubject to contagious diſtempers, and the annoyance of inſects, which the overflowings deſtroy. However, the ants, to avoid them, make their neſts in trees; and, for the ſame reaſon, partridges and pidgeons, which do not perch in other countries, inſtructed by nature, do all perch in this. Among the inſects are the white ants, the *marin-gowins*, a kind of gnats; the *millipede*, or *palmer-worm*, which carries a ſting both in its head and tail. Laſtly, little ſhining flies, with four wings: they have ſome light in their eyes; but their greateſt ſplendor proceeds from under their wings when they fly. *Overflowings advantage.* *Inſects.*

THE *Siameſes* reckon only three ſeaſons in the year, winter, little ſummer, and great ſummer. The firſt, which laſts but two months, anſwers to thoſe of our *December* and *January*. The ſecond ſeaſon is compoſed of the three following months: and the other ſeven form the great ſummer. Thus their winter happens nearly at the ſame time with ours; *Three ſeaſons.*

[a] LOUBERE, p. 13, & ſeqq.

becauſe,

Mines, Seaſons. Winter.

becauſe, like us, they inhabit to the north of the line; but then it is as hot as our warmeſt ſummer: ſo that they always cover their garden plants againſt the heat of the ſun, as we do againſt the cold in winter-nights: and yet the diminution appears to them not a little incommodious. The little ſummer is their ſpring; but they have no autumn. And as for their great ſummer, they might well make two of it, in imitation of the antient authors, who ſpeak of the *Indies*; ſince they have the ſun directly over their heads twice during that hot ſeaſon [b].

THEIR winter is dry, and their ſummer rainy. Was it not that the ſun draws clouds and rain, and that the wind blows from one pole, when the ſun is declined towards the other, the torrid zone would doubtleſs be uninhabitable. Thus in *Siam*, that great luminary being to the ſouth of the line during winter, the north winds blow continually, and cool the air. On the contrary, in the ſummer, while he is to the north of the line, and vertical to the *Siameſes*, the ſouth winds reign in their turn; and thus either cauſe inceſſant rains, or diſpoſe the weather to be rainy. It is this conſtant law of the winds which the *Portugueſes* call *Monçaos* (K), and other nations after them *Monſoons*. From hence alſo it is that ſhips can hardly get to the bar of *Siam*, during the ſix months of north winds: or depart from it for the other ſix months, in which the ſouth winds command.

Monſoons.

Account of time.

THE *Siameſes* have no word to expreſs week; but, like us, they call the ſeven days after the planets (L), and their *Monday* correſponds with ours; but the day begins ſix hours ſooner there than here. They begin their year on the firſt day of the moon in *November* or *December*, according to certain rules; and make uſe of a cycle of ſixty years, like moſt of the other eaſtern nations, which is compoſed of a leſſer cycle of twelve years, to each of which they give a name (M), five times repeated. Their months are twelve, conſiſting each of thirty days; neither of which are expreſſed by names, but by numbers [c].

[b] LOUBERE, p. 15, & ſeqq.

[c] Ibid. p. 18, & ſeq.

(K) From the *Latin motiones aeris*, according to *Oſſorius* and *Maffi*.

(L) *Van Albit*, *Sunday*; *Van Chan*, *Monday*; *Van Angkaan*, the day of *Mars*, or *Tueſday*; *Van Pout*, the day of *Mercury*, or *Wedneſday*; *Van Prahaat*, the day of *Jupiter*, or *Thurſday*; *Van Souk*, the day of *Venus*, or *Friday*; *Van Saow*, the day of *Saturn*, or *Saturday*. *Van* ſignifies day.

(M) The names are thoſe of animals, like the *Oygûr*, or *Tartar* cycle; as the *little mare*, *great mare*, *ape*, *crow*, &c.

RICE, called *Kaow*, is the principal harveſt, and chief food, of the *Siameſes*: this is the produce of the low-lands; but wheat grows in thoſe which eſcape the inundation. Theſe lands they water with watering pots, or by overflowing them with rain water, kept in ciſterns, raiſed on higher grounds. But whether it coſts more to rear it, or is not ſo well liked as rice, the king only uſes it; and that perhaps more out of curioſity, than for any other reaſon. What our author ate of the king's bread was ſo dry, that he preferred the rice boiled in water: however, ſome *Europeans* aſſured him, that the wheaten bread of *Siam* is good; and that its dryneſs might proceed from rice-flower being mixed with it. *Grain, Flowers. Their grain.*

THE *Siameſes*, in their agriculture, employ both buffaloes and oxen; which they guide by means of a cord, run through the griſtle of their noſe, with a knot on each ſide, that it may not ſlip in drawing. It alſo paſſes through a hole or ring, at the end of the draught-tree of the plough. Nothing is more ſimple than this machine, which conſiſts of three pieces of wood: one is a long beam, which ſerves for the draught-tree or pole; another is crooked, ſerving for the handle; the third is a ſhorter and ſtronger piece, which is faſtened underneath, at the end of the handle. It is this which bears the ſhare; and theſe four pieces are tied together with leathern thongs.

ONE meets with *Turkey* wheat in *Siam*, but it is reared only in gardens. Their way is to boil or parch the whole ear, and then eat the inſide. They have peaſe and other legumes, but different from ours. Mr. *Loubere* ſaw excellent potatoes of the ſize and ſhape of parſnips; which, roaſted under aſhes, eat like a cheſnut. He likewiſe met with *ſiboules*; but neither onions, garlick, cucumbers, ſitruls, water-melons, parſley, baum, nor ſorrel. They have no true melons, ſtrawberries, raſberries, nor artichoaks; although they have plenty of aſparagus, which yet they do not eat. They have no ſellery, cauliflowers, coleworts, turnips, parſnips, carrots, leeks, lettuce: in ſhort, moſt of the herbs, whereof we compoſe our ſallads, are unkown to them. However, the ſoil of *Siam* may be proper for them, ſince they thrive about *Batavia*. *Pulſe.*

TUBEROSES and gillyflowers, amaranthus's and tricolors, are common in *Siam*; but roſes and jeſſamines are very ſcarce. Excepting theſe, moſt of our flowers and plants are ſtrangers there: nor have they ſo full a ſcent as thoſe of *Europe*; the exceſſive heat diſſipating the fragrant ſmell, as well as the rank taſte, of vegetables. And hence no good grapes can be produced *Flowers.*

Provinces, Cities. produced in this country[y]. This is all which we think neceſſary to relate concerning the natural hiſtory of *Siam*. As to animals, ſuch as elephants, rhinoceros's, and tigers, ſcorpions, and ſerpents, which laſt are of a monſtrous ſize, we ſhall paſs them over, as common to other countries; and ſhall only take notice of certain birds, called by the *Siameſes Noktho*, which are larger than oſtriches, and whoſe bill is three feet long. *Tachard* ſaw one of a middling ſize, whoſe length, from the end of its bill to its feet, was four feet ten inches; and its wings, when extended, ſpread ſeven feet and a half. The colour of its feathers, on the neck and belly, was white; thoſe on the back, partly inclining to grey, partly to red. The wings a mixture of grey and white, but the great feathers at the end of them were black[z].

Animals and birds.

SECT. II.

Provinces and Cities.

Upper Siam. THE kingdom of *Siam* is divided into the upper and lower. The upper, which lies to the north, contains ſeven provinces; denominated, from their chief cities, *Porſelouk*, *Sanquelouk*, *Lakontay*, *Kampeng-pet*, *Kokonrepina*, *Peſhebon*, and *Pichay*. Each of theſe provinces is ſubdivided into ſeveral other juriſdictions or diſtricts; *Porſelouk* contains ten; *Sanquelouk*, eight; *Lakontay*, ſeven; *Kampeng-pet*, ten; *Kokonrepina*, five; *Peſhebon*, two; and *Pichay*, ſeven. Beſides theſe, there are in the upper *Siam* twenty-one other juriſdictions, which are ſo many leſſer provinces or diſtricts.

Lower Siam. IN the lower, or ſouthern *Siam*, they reckon the provinces of *Jor*, *Patana*, *Ligor*, *Tenaſſerim*, *Chantebon*, *Petelong*, or *Bordelong*, and *Chiay*. *Jor*, is ſubdivided into ſeven leſſer provinces or diſtricts; *Patâna*, into eight; *Ligor* contains twenty; *Tenaſſerim*, twelve; *Chantebon*, ſeven; *Petelong*, eight; and *Chiay*, two. The lower *Siam* has, beſides the above-mentioned, thirteen other ſmall provinces or diſtricts: and the city of *Siam* has a province peculiar to itſelf, ſituated in the heart of the realm, between the upper and lower *Siam*[a]. *Choiſy* reckons in the whole kingdom no more than the following provinces; *Siuteya*, *Bankok*, *Porſelonk*, *Pitpri*, *Pichay*, *Kampeng*, *Rapri*, *Tenaſſerim*, *Ligor*, *Kamburi*, *Konraſema*, and *Loukonſevan*[b]. Conformably to this account *Kæmpfer* ſays, *Siam* contains twelve large provinces; and that the late

Provinces in each.

[y] LOUBERE, p. 17, & ſeq. [z] TACHARD voy. de Siam, tom ii. p. 260. [a] LOUBERE, p. 82. [b] CHOISY, p. 523.

king

king had added a thirteenth (doubtless *Jangoma*), taken from the *Laos*; but that a few years after it was re-conquered from him [c]. *Provinces, Cities.*

If you will believe the *Siamese*, their country is full of splendid cities: but, for all their boasts, *Gervaise* informs us, that there are not more than nine in the whole kingdom which deserve the name of cities; the rest being no better than country towns and hamlets, nothing equal to those in *France*, for either size or handsomeness [d]. *Choisy* reckons up eight principal cities besides the capital; namely *Tannasserim*, *Jonselang*, *Ligor*, *Pitpri*, *Bankok*, *Pourselonk*, *Kamburi*, and *Konrasema* [e]. *Loubere* mentions about twenty. But these fall far short of the number reported by *De Faria y Sousa*, who, from *Mendez Pinto*, or some such romancing author, affirms, that *Siam* contains no fewer than 13,000 cities and towns, besides villages, all walled [f]. *Number of cities.*

The first city of this kingdom towards the north is *Metak*, seated on the great *Menám*. It is subject to an hereditary lord, called by some *Paya-Tak*, or *prince of Tak*; who, they say, is a vassal to the king of *Siam*. Me-tak city.

The next city which occurs in the same river is called *Tian-tong*, which signifies *true gold:* but lay in ruins in 1688; supposed by our author to have been reduced to that condition by the wars of *Pegu*.

KAMPENG, or *Kampeng-pet*, which signifies *walls of diamond*, although they are but of stone (for the *Siamese* affect to give splendid names to their most indifferent towns), is by some pronounced *Kampingue*. It is famous for mines of excellent steel [g]. This city, which stands on the *Menám*, is very ancient; and not inferior, for largeness, to the capital of *Siam*. It is between 50 and 60 leagues distant from *Porselouk*, and ten days journey from the kingdom of *Laos*. It is fortified in the best manner after the *Siamese* method; and might hold out a long siege against the *Asiatics*, though not able to defend itself half a day against the *French* [h]. This is possibly the chief city of the country of *Kasimper*, mentioned by *Pinto*; who speaks of it as having no fewer than seventeen kings belonging to it [i]. Kampeng.

At *Lakonsevan*, that is, *the mountain of heaven*, the *Menám* receives another river from the north-east, as hath been said before. This city stands about mid-way between the capital Lakonsevan.

[c] Kæmpfer, p. 26. [d] Gervaise, p. 41. [e] Choisy, p. 5. ubi supr. [f] De Faria Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 364. [g] Loubere, p. 4. [h] Gervaise, p. 48. [i] Pinto voy. p. 279.

of

Provinces, Cities. of *Siam* and *Pitſanoulouk*, corruptly called by the *Portugueſes* *Porſelouk:* a diſtance computed to be twenty-five days journey, for thoſe who aſcend the river in a boat; but it may be performed in twelve days with a great many rowers. Theſe cities, like all the reſt in the kingdom, are only a great number of cabbins, frequently fenced with an incloſure of wood, and ſometimes with a brick or ſtone wall; but very rarely the latter [k].

Pitſanoulouk. *PITSANOULOUK* (A) is ſituated on the leſſer *Menan*; this is the ſecond city in the kingdom, and its name ſignifies *pearl*, or *diamond enchaſed*. It is about 100 leagues more to the north than *Yuthia*, in a more temperate climate and fruitful ſoil. It was built by *Chaw, Meuang Hing*, who reigned about 250 years before *Chaw Thong*, founder of the capital, and gained many victories over the *Laos*. This city was formerly the uſual reſidence of the kings of *Siam*, and one of their ancient palaces is ſtill remaining. It is about one league in circuit; and the brick wall, which incloſeth it, is one of the beſt in the kingdom. It is divided in two by the river which waſhes it [l].

Meuang Fang. SOME days journey to the north of it, on the ſame river, and frontiers of the kingdom, ſtands *Meuang Fang*, which ſome interpret, *the city of the wood Fang*, called by the *Portugueſes Sapan:* but becauſe a tooth is kept there, pretended to be a relick of their lawgiver *Sommona Kodom*, ſome give it the name of *Meuang Fan*, that is, *the city of the tooth* [m].

BETWEEN *Meuang Fang* and *Pitſanoulouk*, at the diſtance of about forty-five leagues, but more to the eaſt, on a river which falls into the leſſer *Menâm*, is *Lokontay*, or *Lokontaya*. It is the laſt city of the *Siameſes* towards the kingdom of *Laos*, although no leſs than fifteen days journey diſtant: for the road lies through inacceſſible foreſts and vaſt deſarts, where ſcarce a hut is to be met with [n].

[k] LOUBERE, ubi ſupr. [l] GERVAISE, p. 47. [m] LOUBERE, p. 4, & ſeq. [n] GERVAISE, p. 58.

(A) *Loubere* places it in more than 19 degrees of latitude; but, according to our computation, it muſt be under 17 degrees. *Choiſy*, who calls it *Pourſelouk*, ſays it abounds with elephants, rice, ſulphur, rhinoceros horns, ſkins of buffaloes, tigers, ſtags, *&c.* alſo with red gum, of which *Spaniſh* wax is made, ſugar-canes, onions, tobacco, wax, honey, pitch-torches, and oil; timber for ſhips, cotton, *Sapan* wood, *&c.* *Choiſy*, p. 525.

ON

Provinces, Cities.

Korazema.

Kambori.

Siam, *or* Siyuthia,

ON the borders of the ſame country, but many days journey more to the ſouth, ſtands *Korazema*, which ſome call *Kariſſima*, a place of conſiderable note [o]. *Choiſy* names it *Konraſema*, and ſays it abounds with elephants, rhinoceros's, eagle-wood, and other valuable commodities [p].

ON the frontiers of *Pegu*, towards *Martabán*, is ſituated the city of *Kambori*, or *Kamburi*, which has the ſame produce with *Porſelouk*, excepting ſugar-canes and onions. Likewiſe in the lands which lie between the rivers above the city of *Lakon-ſevan*, and on the chanels which paſs from one river to the other, there are two conſiderable cities more; one called *Sokotay*, almoſt in the ſame latitude with *Pichit*; the other *Sanquelouk*, lying more to the north. It muſt be noted, that almoſt all the cities, towns, and other habitations, of the *Siameſes*, are built on the banks of rivers, or the canals of communication; the country being ſo hot, that it is inhabitable no-where elſe [q].

THE capital of *Siam*, to which the *Portugueſes* give the ſame name with the country, is, by the natives, called *Si-yo-thi-ya* (B), the *o* in *yo*, being cloſer than the *French* diphthong *ou*. Of this foreigners have made *Judia*, *Juthia*, and *Odiaa*. It is ſituated in an iſland, amidſt ſeveral others, made by canals cut by the natives; which iſland is, at preſent, all incloſed within its walls. So that, unleſs ſome great alteration has been made ſince the time of *Mendez Pinto*, we muſt place his account of it to the number of his falſities: for he ſays, the elephants of the king of *Pegu*, who beſieged the city in 1548, approached the walls ſo nearly, as with their trunks to beat down the paliſadoes, raiſed by the *Siameſes* to cover themſelves. It has almoſt the ſhape of a purſe, the mouth of which is to the eaſt, and the bottom to the weſt. The river meets it at the north by ſeveral chanels, which run into that which encircles it; and leaves it on the ſouth, by dividing again into ſeveral ſtreams. The king's palace ſtands to the north, on the canal which incloſes the city: and, at the eaſt end, there is a cauſey, by which alone, as by an iſthmus, people may go in and out, without croſſing the water.

[o] LOUBERE, p. 6. [p] CHOISY, p. 526. [q] LOUBERE, p. 6. & CHOISY, ubi ſupra.

(B) *Choiſy* writes *Sciajuthaïa*; *Gervaiſe*, *Meuang Siyûthia*; which ſignifies the city of *Siyûthia*.

SIA

Provinces, Cities. *Large, but not populous.*

SIYUTHIA is ſpacious, conſidering the compaſs of the walls (C), but ſcarce a ſixth part is inhabited, and that to the ſouth-eaſt only: the reſt lies deſart; where nothing is to be ſeen excepting temples, which are erected in ſeveral places. However, ſome amends is made by the ſuburbs, which are inhabited by ſtrangers. The ſtreets are large and ſtrait; in ſome places planted with trees, and paved with bricks, laid edgewiſe Moſt of them are watered with ſtrait canals, which have cauſed this city to be compared to *Venice*; but they are covered with a great many ugly little bridges, made of hurdles, and ſome of brick. The houſes are low, and built with wood; at leaſt thoſe belonging to the natives; who, for thoſe reaſons, are expoſed to all the inconveniences of the exceſſive heats.

Its longitude and latitude.

THE city was founded, according to the *Siameſes*, in the 1894 year of their æra, which anſwers to that of *Chriſt* 1351 (D). The latitude of it was found, by *Thomas* the Jeſuit, to be fourteen degrees eighteen minutes; and the longitude ninety-eight degrees thirty minutes from the meridian of *Paris*, or one hundred and eighteen degrees thirty minutes from that of *Ferro*. This is an obſervation of great importance, as it ſerves to fix the ſituation of the whole farther peninſula of *India*; and is of uſe in ſettling that of the adjacent iſlands [r].

The king's palace.

THE king of *Siam*'s palace, called *Praſſat*, as well in this city as thoſe elſewhere, has three incloſures, ſo diſtant one from the other, that the ſpaces between look like vaſt courts. The innermoſt, called *Vang*, contains that monarch's apartments, with ſome court and ſome garden. The *Siameſes* never enter or go out of the *Vang* without proſtrating themſelves; neither do they ever paſs before the *Praſſat*: and if the current happens to carry them athwart it, they are ſure to be pelted with peaſe, which the king's ſervants ſhoot at them from trunks. The *French* ambaſſadors landed at the firſt entrance of the palace, and left their umbrellas there. The gates are always ſhut; and, behind each, ſtands a porter, who, if any body knocks, informs the officer who commands in the firſt incloſure. For, without his permiſſion, no perſon either goes in or out; and he examines their breath, to ſee

[r] LOUBERE, p. 7. GERVAISE, p. 41.

(C) *Gervaiſe* ſays, p. 41, that the city is not above two leagues in circuit, excluſive of the palace.

(D) According to this computation, it was 338 years ſtanding in 1689, when *Loubere* wrote; *Gervaiſe* therefore is miſtaken, who ſays it was built only about 200 years before.

if

if they have drank *arak*; as much care being taken to keep out drunken people, as thoſe who bear arms. *Provinces, Cities.*

BETWEEN the two firſt incloſures, and under a penthouſe, there is poſted a ſmall number of ſoldiers, but unarmed and ſtooping. Theſe, named *Kenhay*, or painted-arms, are both the prince's executioners and his guards. They alſo row his balon, when he goes on the water. There may be about 600 in the palace, but many more through the kingdom. In the firſt incloſure are the ſtables of the beſt elephants and horſes, to which the king gives names. In the *Vang* are ſome of thoſe ſingle halls, where the officers meet, either to diſcharge their functions, or to make their court to his majeſty; who ſhews himſelf from a window, belonging to a higher chamber than that of audience. At the two corners of the hall, on the ſame ſide, and of equal height with the window, which is nine feet above the floor, are two doors, and two pair of narrow ſtairs to aſcend. For the furniture, there are only three umbrellas, one before the window, with nine rounds, and two with ſeven rounds, on both ſides of the window: the umbrella being, in this country, a mark of ſtate, as the canopy is in *Europe*. In this hall the officers receive their orders, by the intervention of forty pages (E) divided into four bands, conſiſting of eleven each: two bands proſtrate themſelves in the hall, at the king's right hand; the other two on his left [s]. *Its ſeveral courts.* *Hall of audience.*

THIS palace, which is built of brick, is about a mile and half in circuit. It is divided by ſeveral courts: in the two firſt are lodged the officers of the king's houſhold; and in the others, there are ſtill to be ſeen ſome old apartments of the ancient kings, eſteemed as ſacred places, with rows of trees before them, which render their habitation very delightful. There are likewiſe ſome old temples, which make an handſome figure. The king's apartment, which is in the innermoſt court, was but newly built, when the *French* ambaſſadors were at *Siâm*: the gold, which glitters in a thouſand places, diſtinguiſhes it from the other buildings. Its figure is that of a croſs; in the middle whereof there riſes above the roof a pyramid of ſeveral ſtories, which is the mark of royal houſes. It is all covered with tin: nor can any thing be better done than the carved work, with which it is adorned on every ſide. The apartment of the princeſs, his daugh- *The king's apartment.*

[s] LOUBERE, p. 96, & ſeqq.

(E) The ſame form is obſerved in the other countries of this peninſula.

Provinces, Cities.

ter, who, after the death of her mother, was created a queen, was near the king's, and appeared very magnificent. Both looked into great gardens, well planted; whose walks were divided by little canals.

His pleasure barges.

WITHOUT the palace, on the river, to the left hand, are the great magazines, where the king's balons or pleasure-boats are lodged: they are 150 in number, all very magnificent. On the right lies a large park, where formerly the wild elephants were brought to be tamed; a diversion which the royal family took much delight in [t].

Siam *often besieged.*

THE city of *Siyuthia*, or *Siâm*, hath undergone several sieges by foreign forces, since the *Europeans* first went to *India* by sea. In 1548 it was besieged by the first *Barma* king who conquered *Pegu*, with an army of 800,000 men: but, after he had lain before it four months, in which time several furious assaults were given to the place, and 150,000 of his men slain, he hastily raised the siege, and returned to suppress a rebellion, which had broken out in his absence [u]. *Odiaa*, or *Siyuthia*, was attacked with better success by the second *Barma* king, who, in 1567, invested it with 1,400,000 men. But for all this power, we are told, he would not have taken it, if it had not been betrayed into his hands [x].

SIAM revolting on the death of that king, his son and successor, in the year 1585, besieged the capital with 300,000 men, 5000 elephants, and 30,000 guards. But the king of *Siâm* spinning out the time, under pretence of submitting on conditions, till the season of the inundation, the river overflowed and destroyed most part of the *Barma* army [y]. Notwithstanding this, the king of *Pegu* made several expeditions against *Siyuthia*, both in person and by his generals, but with no better success: and at length having, about the year 1590, sent his eldest son *Maupa Râjah* upon the same errand, with a very great army; that prince was slain in single combat by *Api Rajah*, called by the *Portugueses* the black king of *Siam*.

City of Louvo.

FOURTEEN leagues from the capital, if you go by the great river, and only nine or ten by the canals, stands *Louvo*, commonly called *Nokshebourî*, which is to *Siyuthia* what *Versailles* is to *Paris*, or *Hampton-Court* to *London*. The ancient kings had here a pleasure-house; but it had been abandoned above 100 years, when the king, who reigned in 1687, ordered it to be rebuilt. This city stands in a plain, of the higher grounds, where the inundation never reaches; and may be

[t] GERVASE, p. 43, & seqq. [u] PINTO's voy. p. 279.
[x] CÆS. FREDER. ap. Purch. pilg. vol. ii. p. 1710, [y] FITCH & PIMENTA ap. Purch. ubi supr. p. 1738. 1746. See also before, p. 103.

about

about a mile and a half in length. Its figure is almoſt ſquare, and it is incloſed with a wall of earth, ſtrengthened with brick towers at certain diſtances. During the overflow it is almoſt intirely ſurrounded with water: at other times it is only waſhed on one ſide by a ſmall branch of the great river, which is not deep enough for large boats. Its ſituation is ſo charming, and the air ſo good, that the king ſpends the greater part of the year there. The gardens and walks are extremely pleaſant. It has only two inconveniences; one, that as it is very populous, proviſions are dearer there than in any other part of the kingdom; the other is the want of water for four or five months, when the river is low and foul; at which time they uſe well-water, or that which is ſaved in ciſterns after the inundation. The palace lately built by the king on the bank of the river, is the greateſt ornament of *Louvo*; and, if it be not ſo magnificent as that in the capital, yet it makes a more gay appearance [z]. Its latitude, as obſerved by the Jeſuits, is 14° 42′ 30″. *Provinces, Cities.* *Charming ſituation.*

FIVE or ſix leagues eaſt-north-eaſt of *Louvo*, is *Prabat*, remarkable for a piece of ſuperſtition, from whence the place takes its name: for *bat*, in the *Balli* (or *Palli*) language, ſignifies a *foot*, and *pra*, *any thing worthy of veneration and reſpect*. This relick is the print of a man's foot, ill cut upon a rock, thirteen or fourteen inches deep, and five or ſix times longer than the natural. The *Siameſes* not only adore it themſelves, but believe that the elephants, rhinoceros's, and other wild beaſts, do likewiſe repair thither to worſhip it, when no perſon is preſent. The king goes once a year with great pomp, to pay his devoirs to it. The impreſſion is covered with a plate of gold, within a chapel for the purpoſe. The *Talapoy* pretend it was made by *Sommona Kodom*, who, at the ſame time, had one foot here, while the other reſted on a mountain in *Lanka*, or *Seylân*, although the whole gulf of *Bengâl* lies between. They report alſo, that, by the preſſure of his foot, he made the mountain flat and level, which before roſe to a great height. But as the tradition of this miracle was not above ninety years old, when *Loubere* was at *Siam*, he concludes the whole was an impoſture of one of the prieſts of that age. Prabat. *Place of Pilgrimage.*

ABOUT eighteen leagues to the ſouth of *Siyuthia*, and twelve from the ſea, ſtands the city of *Fon*, commonly called *Bankok*: but whence this laſt name is derived, our author could not diſcover; although the word *ban*, which ſignifies Fon, *or* Bankok.

[z] GERVASE, ubi ſupr. p. 49, & ſeqq.

Cities, Ports.

village, enters into the compoſition of many local names in the kingdom of *Siam*. From the territory of this city, as far as *Talakoan*, four leagues higher, the capital is ſupplied with a great quantity of fruits [x]. *Bankok* is certainly the moſt important place in the whole country; for there is no other place on all the coaſt which is able to make any reſiſtance. It is not above a mile and a half long; but its breadth is far ſhort of that extent. It is incloſed with walls only on the eaſt and ſouth ſides, which are waſhed by the great river. At the point, where that river divides in two branches (which fall by different mouths into the gulf), it is only defended by a half-moon battery, mounted with twenty-five great pieces of braſs cannon, which are very well made. Oppoſite to it, on the other ſide of the *Menâm*, there is another little fort, which ſeems to be of no great defence, although mounted with more than thirty great guns. Theſe two forts, if ſuch they may be termed, are guarded by 100 *Meſtizo Portugueſes*, creatures without any courage. The Chevalier *De Chaumont*, the *French* ambaſſador, left an engineer with the king to fortify *Bankok* [y]: but the fort which he raiſed on the eaſt ſide of the river was, in the ſucceeding troubles, demoliſhed [z].

Strength and ſituation.

SECT. III.

Maritime Cities, and Tributary Countries.

Maritime cities.

BANKOK properly ought to be conſidered among the maritime cities or ports of *Siam*, which we come next to treat of. Theſe are ſituated in the peninſula of *Malakka*. Some on the eaſt ſide, in the gulf of *Siam*. The firſt conſiderable port is that of *Ligor*, or *Lugor*. This city was conquered by *Râjah Âpi*, called the black king of *Siam*, about the year 1603 [a]. It is an ancient city, but not very conſiderable. The *Dutch* have a factory here [b]; its commodities being *kalin*, or tin, rice, fruits, and, in ſome years, much pepper [c]. *Ligor* ſtands in about the eighth degree of latitude; and, about one degree lower, lies *Sonkourat*, *Sangor* or *Singor*, which is large and beautiful, but otherwiſe not very conſiderable. About the year 1673 this city rebelled againſt the king of *Siam*; who having reduced it by his forces,

Ligor.

Singor.

[x] LOUBERE, p. 4, & ſeq. [y] GERVASE, p. 57. & ſeq. [z] KÆMPFER, p. 11. 42. [a] FLORIS ap. nov. collect. voy. p. 439. [b] GERVASE, p. 16, & 61. [c] CHOISY, p. 524.

ordered

ordered it to be demolished [d]. It is the first town to the south belonging to *Siam*. *Cities, Ports.*

Patâna.

NOT far off is *Patâna*, or *Patâni*, a considerable city, formerly capital of a kingdom, governed by queens. But it was at length conquered by the black king, about the same time with *Ligor* [e]. However, it still remains in possession of the king of *Johor*, or *Joar*, who pays homage or tribute to the king of *Siam* [f].

Mergui.

THE principal ports belonging to *Siam*, on the west side of the peninsula of *Malakka*, are *Mergui* and *Jonsalam*. The first has its name from a little island, which the *Siameses* call *Migri*, and *Europeans Mergui*. This is one of the best and most secure ports in all the *Indies* [g]. It lies on the north-west point of the island, which is very populous; and in the mouth of an excellent river, called *Tannasserim*; from a city of that name, seated on its bank, about seventeen leagues from the sea. This river descends from the north; and having passed through the kingdoms of *Ava* and *Pegu*, enters *Siam*, and falls by three mouths into the bay of *Bengâl*. The port lies between the isle of *Mergui*, and another which is to the west of it [h]; and is defended by a fort built by the king of *Siam* [i]. Formerly a good number of *English* free merchants were settled at *Merji* or *Mergui*, and drove a considerable trade; but the old *East-India* company, envying their happiness, ordered them to repair to *Fort St. George*; and, in 1687, sent captain *Weldon*, in the *Curtany*, to *Merji*, to threaten the king of *Siam* with a war by sea, if he did not either deliver these merchants up, or force them out of his country. *Weldon* behaved very insolently to the governor; and having, without any just cause, killed some of the natives, they one night designed to be revenged on him: but the aggressor escaping on board, they vented their rage on all the *English* they could find. Thus, through the villainy of one man, seventy-six others were massacred; so that scarce twenty escaped to the ship. Before this, the *English* were in great esteem at the court of *Siam*: one Mr. *White* was made *Shâh Bânder*, or *head of the customs*, at *Merji* and *Tannasserim*; and captain *Williams* admiral of the king's navy. But, after this tragical scene, they all removed to other places, where the company had factories [k]. English *destroyed.*

[d] GERVASE, p. 16, & 61, & seq. [e] FLORIS voy. ap. nov. collect. trav. vol. i. p. 439. [f] HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 157. [g] GERVASE, p. 14. [h] LOUBERE, p. 8. [i] CHOISY, p. 524. [k] HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 63, & seq.

Cities, Ports.

Tanaſſerim.

THE city of *Tanaſſerim*, or *Tenaſſeri*, is a city of note; but not ſo conſiderable as it was formerly: the trade being, for the moſt part, removed to *Mergui*, about ſeven leagues diſtant; which often goes under its name, as the port of *Siam* for the inhabitants of the gulf of *Bengâl*. This city is famous for *Nipa*, or *Niper* wine; which is a ſpirituous liquor diſtilled from cocoa-nut water, the beſt in the *Indies* [l]. It was taken from *Siam* in 1568, by the ſecond *Barma* king of *Pegu*, under which it continued till about 1603, when it was recovered by the black king of *Siam* [m]. In 1614 it was beſieged by the king of *Ava*: but he was fruſtrated in his deſign by the reſiſtance of the *Portugueſes*, who were in the place [n].

Andemân *iſlands.*

OPPOSITE to the coaſt of *Tenaſſerim* are the iſlands of *Andemân*, about eighty leagues diſtant, ſurrounded by dangerous banks and rocks. They are all inhabited by *canibals*, who are ſo fearleſs, that they will ſwim off to a boat, if ſhe approach near the ſhore: and attack her with their wooden ſwords, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of numbers, and the advantage of fire-arms, as well as miſſive weapons. It is cuſtomary with them, in their *Praws*, to make a yearly deſcent on the *Nikubâr* iſlands, and kill or take priſoners as many as they can overcome. They have no notion of a Deity, according to the report of one of them, who turned *Mohammedan*, and often went from *Achîn* to fetch quickſilver, with which thoſe iſlands abound [o].

Jonſalam.

THE next place of any commerce on this coaſt is the iſland of *Jonſalam* (A); although there are ſeveral good harbours between it and *Merji* (or *Mergui*): but the coaſt is very thin of inhabitants, on account of freebooters, called *Salleiters*, who poſſeſs the neighbouring iſles; from whence they make deſcents on ſhore, and carring off the people, ſell them at *Achîn* in *Sumatra*. The north end of *Jonſalam* lies within a mile of the continent, but the ſouth end is above three leagues diſtant. Between the iſland and the main is a good harbour for ſhipping, in the ſouth-weſt monſoons; and on the weſt ſide of the iſle is *Puton* bay, no leſs ſafe in the north-eaſt winds.

[l] LINSCHOT. p. 30. CÆS. FREDERIC apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1712. [m] FLORIS, ubi ſupra, p. 439. [n] DE FARIA, Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 197. [o] HAMILT. ubi ſupra, p. 64, & ſeqq.

(A) *Mendez Pinto* calls it *Jonſala*; *Fitch*, *Junſalaon*; *Linſchoten*, *Gunſalun*; *Gervaſe*, *Jonſalam*; *Choiſy*, *Joncelang*; and *Hamilton*, *Jonkceloan*.

THE

THE island affords good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin: but few people dig it, for fear of the above-mentioned outlaws; and the governors, who are commonly *Chinese*, so oppress the inhabitants, that riches would be but a plague to them. Yet the villages on the continent drive a small retail trade with vessels which come from the coast of *Choromandel* [p]. The port is very good, and a secure retreat for ships going to the hither peninsula, in the stormy months of *July* and *August*. Its only fault is want of depth for large vessels; but that defect is supplied by a fair road near it. In short, *Jonsalam* is of great consequence for the trade of *Pegu*, *Bengal*, and other neighbouring parts [q]. *Choisy* says it abounds with *kalin* (or tin) and ambergrise [r]. *Cities, Ports. Ports and trade.*

THE islands off this part of the coast are the *Nikubârs*, at the distance of about ninety leagues. The northermost cluster is low, and called the *Kar Nikubârs*; which lying near the *Andamâns*, are but thinly inhabited. The middle cluster is fine champain ground, and, all but one, well inhabited. They are called the *Somerera* islands by the *Portugueses*, from a hill on the south-end of the largest, which resembles the top of an *umbrella*, as that word signifies. This island seems to be well peopled, from the number of villages which appear at sea; and the natives bring the product of their soil aboard of ships, to exchange for tobacco, which they are very fond of, also old hatchets, sword-blades, and pieces of iron hoops, to make defensive arms of, against the *Andamaners*. They speak a little broken *Portuguese*; and are exceeding courteous. The man's cloathing is about a foot and half of cloth, six inches broad, tucked before and behind within a string, which goes round their middle. Their hair is left on the upper part of the head, and below the crown; but cut so short, that it hardly touches their ears. The women, on the contrary, have their heads close shaved; and wear a kind of short petticoat, reaching from the navel to the knee. Nikubâr islands.

ABOUT six leagues to the southward of the said *Somerera* island, lies *Tallang-jang*, an uninhabited isle, where an *English* ship was lost in 1708: but the men were saved, and relieved by the inhabitants of *Ning* and *Gouri*; two fine islands about four leagues to the west of *Tallang-jang*, and eight to the southward of the greatest *Somerera*. They, in a very humane manner, carried them, with the little things they had saved, to their islands, and treated them hospitably: Tallang-jang.

[p] HAMILTON, p. 67, & seq. [q] GERVASE, p. 15.
[r] CHOISY, p. 524.

Cities, Ports.

Ingratitude puniſhed.

but this compaſſion was ſoon turned to hatred, by the ingratitude and inſolence of the captain, named *Owen*. This man, having laid a broken knife careleſsly by, one of the natives made bold to take it, yet did not offer to hide it. *Owen* ſeeing it in the poor *Indian*'s hand, not content to get it from him, beſtowed ſome kicks and blows by way of puniſhment. This was taken very ill by the people in general, who diſcovered their diſſatisfaction, and reproved thoſe who brought the *Engliſh* to their iſlands. In effect, next day, as the captain was ſitting under a tree at dinner, about a dozen of the natives advancing, diſcharged a ſhower of darts, and killed him in an inſtant. The reſt, being ſixteen, eſcaped by the care of their benefactors, who kept guard about their houſe till next morning: and then providing them with two canoes and victuals, made ſigns to them to be gone. One of the canoes, with half of the men, were drowned by the way. The other got ſafe to *Jonſalam*, where our author received them aboard.

South cluſter.

THE ſouthern cluſter of the *Nikubârs* is mountainous; and the inhabitants partake of their unpoliſhed nature; being more uncivil and ſurly than thoſe of the northern. As to the reſt, their iſlands produce the ſame ſorts of neceſſaries as the others do; that is, hogs, fowl, cocks; fiſh, freſh, ſalted, and dried; excellent yams, potatoes, parrots, and monkeys [s].

Quedah kingdom.

THE next place of note to *Jonſalam*, ſouthward, is *Quedah*, which is honoured with the title of a kingdom, although both ſmall and poor. The town, which bears the ſame name, ſtands on the banks of a ſmall navigable river, deep but narrow, about fifty miles from the ſea. There the king reſides, who ſhews no marks of grandeur beſides arbitrary ſway. The people are deceitful, covetous, and cruel: their religion is *Mohammedan*, much mixed with *Paganiſm*. The produce of the country is tin, pepper, elephants, and their teeth, canes, and *damar*, a gum uſed in making pitch and tar for ſhipping. The king, who is proud and beggarly, never fails to viſit merchants at their coming to his port; and then muſt have a preſent: the ſtranger muſt make him another when he returns the viſit, or has any buſineſs with him. His majeſty, in requital, honours him with a ſeat near his ſacred perſon; and having chewed a little *betel*, ſends it freſh from his royal mouth, on a ſmall gold ſaucer, by the hands of a page, to the merchant; who muſt receive the morſel with all the ſigns of ſatisfaction, as well as humility, and chew it after him.

[s] HAMILT. ubi ſupra, p. 68, & ſeqq.

This

This petty king was, for many years, tributary to *Siam* (B), but is at present independent [t]. *Cities, Ports.*

THE remaining part of the peninsula of *Mâlakka* properly belongs to the kingdom of *Johor*, or *Joar*, which begins at *Perah*, the next country to *Quedah* southwards. It produces more tin than any other in the *Indies*: but the inhabitants, who are untractable and rebellious, are likewise treacherous and bloody; so that no *European* nation can keep factories there with safety. The *Dutch*, having had theirs cut off the first year they settled in the place, fixed another on *Pulo Ding-ding*, an island at the mouth of the river *Perah*: but, about the year 1690, that factory was also cut off; since when, no attempt has been made to settle there. Several other places along the *Malaya* coast produce tin, of which *Salangor* and *Parsalor* are the most noted; yet but little frequented by *Europeans*, because not much more to be trusted than *Perah* [u]. *Kingdom of* Johor.

MALAKKA is the next place which occurs on this coast. Before the *Portugueses* arrived in the *Indies*, it had been the residence of the kings of *Johor*: but those new-comers, being denied commerce in the country, resolved to obtain it by force. Accordingly, in *May* 1510, the famous viceroy *Alphonso de Albuquerque*, set out from *Kochin* with nineteen sail of ships, and 1400 fighting men, 800 of them *Portugueses*, and the rest *Malabars*. The city, at that time, stretched along the shore about three miles, in the same manner as *Lisbon*; and was divided by a river in two parts, which were joined by a bridge. The palace and mosk were of stone; the other buildings of wood. It afforded a pleasant prospect to the sea, and was well secured with fortifications. As it was the great mart of all those parts, the viceroy found the port filled with ships [x]. The city was founded 230 years before the *Portugueses* arrived in the *Indies*, by *Paramisera*, a *Javan* prince: who having murdered his nephews, and usurped the throne, was expelled by the natives, and fled to *Sinkapura*; where, at that time, reigned *Sangasinga*, son-in-law and vassal to the king of *Siam*. *Sangasinga* gave a kind reception to the fugitive; who, in return, soon after mur- Malakka, *its ancient state, and situation.*

[t] HAMILT. p. 71. [u] Ibid. p. 73. [x] DE FARIA, ubi supra, vol. i. p. 175, 177.

(B) It was tributary in 1686, according to *Choisy*, p. 523. but possibly, the kings of *Siam* always reckon as their tributaries, those states which have at any time been so. The city of *Quedah* was destroyed by the *Portugueses* under *James de Mendez Furtado*, in 1614. *De Faria*, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 197.

Cities, Ports.

dered him; and, by means of his *Javans*, and 2000 *Sellati*, who live by fiſhing and robbing, ſeized the kingdom: but being driven out ſoon after by the king of *Siam*, he went and ſettled on a hill called *Bitân*, near the river *Muar*, and gave it the name of *Malakka*, which ſignifies a *baniſhed perſon*, in the *Malayan* language, and from that time took its riſe.

Taken by Albuquerque.

THE adjacent country was ſubject to inundations, and full of thick woods, infeſted with tigers, and other dangerous animals. The men were courageous, the women wanton: but the trade of the eaſt rendered the city rich and populous. The appearance of the *Portugueſe* fleet ſtruck the inhabitants with fear; and king *Mahamet* pretended much kindneſs, the better to ſurpriſe *Albuquerque* by treachery: but the viceroy demanded leave to build a fort, and to have the charge of his expedition defrayed, as that king's faithleſs dealings had brought him thither. On *Mahamet*'s refuſal, the *Portugueſes* attacked *Malakka* by the bridge; and the ſecond day took the city, with vaſt ſlaughter of the enemy, tho' there were employed in the enterpriſe no more than 800 *Portugueſes*, and 200 *Malabars*. All the *Mohammedans* being killed or driven out, it was repeopled by ſtrangers, and ſome *Malays*. The king retired to the iſland of *Bintâm*, leaving behind 3000 pieces of cannon, out of 8000, which he had to defend the place; but was ſoon obliged to quit that poſt. *Albuquerque* immediately built the fort at *Malakka*, which he called *Famoſa*, for its beauty [y]. The victors incloſed a little hill with a ſtone wall, about a mile round; and this they made their new city. The king was glad, however, to make peace with them, allowing them their fort, and as much ground round it as their cannon could fling a ſhot.

Attacked by the Dutch.

Thus *Malakka*, by its advantageous ſituation, as lying in the center of trade, became famous all over the known world. But the inſolence of the *Portugueſes* increaſing with their power and riches, they became odious to their neighbours, whom they inſulted and oppreſſed [z]. Mean time the *Dutch*, having found their way into the *Indies*, began to diſturb them in their poſſeſſions. In 1605 *Cornelius Matalief* appeared, with eleven ſhips and 13,000 ſoldiers, before that city; where, having firſt ſeized four ſhips in the road, he ſet fire to the ſuburbs, and battered the walls for two or three months. At length a conſiderable fleet arrived from *Goa*, conſiſting of ſixteen galliots, fourteen galleaſſes, and fourteen ſmaller veſſels, with 3000 men on board them, which *Ma-*

[y] NIEUHOFF, apud Church. collect. voy. vol. ii. p. 178, & ſeqq. [z] DE FARIA, ubi ſupr.

talief ruined. and then departed. Next year the king of *Johor* brought an army againſt *Malakka*, of 60,000 ſoldiers, but with no better ſucceſs than the *Dutch*. However, theſe latter, in 1640, made themſelves maſters of it, after a ſiege of ſix months; and, beſides a vaſt booty, found a great cannon, which carried a ſixty-four pounder. *Cities, Ports.*

THE harbour of *Malakka* is one of the fineſt in the *Indies*; and ſhips may ſafely ride in at all ſeaſons; an advantage which ſcarce any other in thoſe parts enjoys. When the *Portugueſes* poſſeſſed it, it was the richeſt city in the eaſt, next to *Goa* and *Ormuz*; being the key of the *China* and *Japan*, the *Molukkos* and *Sunda* trade. What greatly contributes to this is, that all ſhips, paſſing from the north to the weſt, or from the weſt to the north, are under a neceſſity of ſailing through the ſtraits of *Malakka* and *Sinkapura*. Hence the *Portugueſes* exacted ten *per cent.* of all veſſels paſſing this way, which produced a vaſt revenue: but the *Dutch* have aboliſhed this cuſtom, as a very unreaſonable impoſition. The natives of *Malakka*, and the adjacent country, called *Malayans*, are tawny complexioned, with long black hair, flat noſes, and great eyes; which are quite different from thoſe of the *Javans*, from whom they derive their origin. They go naked, all but a piece of cloth wrapped about their waiſt. They wear gold bracelets on their arms, and jewels in their ears. The women wear ſilks, embroidered with gold and precious ſtones, which alſo adorn their hair, twiſted in very long locks. They are extremely proud, and expect more ceremony than any other females of the *Indies*. There is another peculiar ſpecies of men in *Malakka*, who can ſee only in the night, and therefore ſleep all day till ſun-ſet, when they get up to work. They, in ſhape as well as complexion, reſemble the *Europeans*, having grey eyes, and yelloviſh hair, which reaches to the women's hips; only their feet turn inwards. People of the ſame kind are found in ſome other places of the *Indies*, and alſo in *Africa* [a]. *Fine harbour.* *The Malayans.*

THE fort of *Malakka* is both large and ſtrong, the ſea waſhing one third of its walls; and a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the weſt ſide. The reſt is defended by a broad and deep ditch. The governor's houſe is both beautiful and convenient. There are ſeveral other good buildings, as well in the fort as in the town: but as the ſhallowneſs of the ſea obliges veſſels to lie above a league off, the caſtle is at too great a diſtance from the road to protect the ſhipping. The country produces nothing for a foreign market but a little *The fort.*

[a] NIEUHOFF, ubi ſupra, p. 178, & ſeqq.

tin

Cities, Ports. tin and elephants teeth; yet ſtrangers meet with ſeveral refreſhments, as ſwine's fleſh, poultry, roots, and excellent fruits; ſuch as limons, oranges, *mangos*, pine-apples, *manguſtans*, *romboſtans*, *durions*, cocoa-nuts, and the like.

Monakabos *people.* AT *Malakka* the ſtraits are not above four leagues in breadth, and always ſmooth as a mill-pond, except when ruffled with wind. From a very high mountain, north-eaſtwards of the city, deſcend ſeveral rivers, and, among the reſt, that of *Malakka*, which all afford ſmall quantities of gold-duſt, found in their chanels. The inland people, called *Monakabos*, are of a ſavage kind; and delight ſo much in miſchief, that if the *Malayan* peaſants ſow grain in any ground but what is well fenced, they come and burn it. They are whiter than thoſe who dwell in the low-lands; but ſo untractable, that the king of *Johor*, whoſe ſubjects they are, could never civilize them [b].

Malay *language.* THE *Malaya* tongue is formed out of the languages of the different nations which reſort thither, by ſelecting the choiceſt words in each. Hence it is reckoned the moſt agreeable and elegant in all the *Indies*; which quality, joined to its uſe in trade, cauſes it to be learned by the remoteſt eaſtern people.

Jor, *or* Johor, *kingdom.* IN the ſtraits of *Malakka* ſtands the city of *Jor*, *Joar*, or *Johor*, giving name to the kingdom, which formerly included that of *Malakka*; but at preſent lies to the ſouth of it, and of *Pahân* or *Pân*. The ancient city was very large, and magnificently built; but having been deſtroyed by the *Portugueſes* in 1603, the king, in 1609, cauſed another to be built, ſomewhat higher up the river, which he called *Batuſabar*, whither moſt of the chief inhabitants of *Johor* retired. The country is very fertile, abounding in fruits, pepper, cinnamon, and game. The inhabitants are naturally brave, but very laſcivious, liars, great diſſemblers, and proud beyond meaſure. Their complexion is inclinable to a light blue, with broad faces, hooked noſes, and very black teeth; an ornament acquired by chewing *betel*. The common people have only a cloth to cover their members, which hangs down to their toes. The better ſort wear callico frocks, of any colour, ſhaped like our ſhirts, with wide ſleeves, and open before, reaching only to their knees. To complete their dreſs, they have two ſilken ſtrings, of the ſame colour with their frock, one for a girdle, the other for a head-band. They paint their nails yellow; and, by the length of them, diſtinguiſh their quality.

[b] HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 79, & ſeqq.

THE

THE king of *Johor* has many petty kings, his vaſſals, under his juriſdiction. Formerly they were princes of conſiderable power; and, even ſince the *Portugueſes* were ſettled at *Malakka*, extended their authority over that city, as happened in 1609, in the reign of *John de Paratuan*[c]. *Cities, Ports.*

JOHOR Lami, before-mentioned, which is ſometimes the reſidence of the king, has the benefit of a fine deep river, which admits of two entrances into it: the ſmaller, which is from the weſtward, is called by *Europeans* the ſtreights of *Sinkapura*; but, by the natives, *Salletadebrew*. It runs along the north ſide of the iſland of *Sinkapura* (between it and the main), for five or ſix leagues together; and ends at the great river of *Johor*. *The capital city.*

THE territories of *Johor* reach from *Perâh* to point *Romar* or *Romano*, which is the moſt ſouthern promontory of all *Aſia*, it lying but one degree to the north of the equator, about three leagues from *Johor* river. This country is in length about one hundred leagues, and in breadth eighty.

THE inhabitants are lazy, perfidious, and cruel. The land very woody, being daily refreſhed with ſhowers and breezes. It abounds in tin, gold, elephants teeth, pepper, *agala* wood, and canes: but very little rice or other grain is ſown by the natives. The inland people ſubſiſt moſtly on *ſagow*, the pith of a ſmall twig, ſplit and dried in the ſun: they alſo rear poultry; and feed on their roots and fruits, which grow all ſeaſons of the year. On the ſea-coaſt their food is chiefly fiſh and rice, brought from abroad. The only people of induſtry are the *Chineſes*, of whom about 1000 families are ſettled amongſt them, beſides thoſe who drive a foreign trade. Their religion is a corrupt *Mohammediſm*; and they have their prieſts from *Surât*. *The inhabitants.*

THE king of *Johor*, who reigned in 1695, was about twenty years of age, and very viciouſly inclined. Our author having preſented him with a pair of piſtols and a little powder; he tried, on a poor fellow in the ſtreet, how far they would carry a ball into his fleſh, and ſhot him through the ſhoulder. He was a great ſodomite, and had taken many ſons of his *Orankayas*, or nobles, into his palace, for that execrable purpoſe. One day a *Mooriſh* merchant fled on board captain *Hamilton*'s ſhip, to ſecure his ſon from that diſgrace. Preſently a guard came in a boat to demand him: but uſing threatening language, our author obliged him to leap into the river; and bad the interpreter tell the king, that if he offered the leaſt violence to any who belonged to him, he would fire his palace about his ears. His *Johor* majeſty, unuſed to meet *The king tyrannical.*

[c] NIEUHOFF, ubi ſupra, p. 180, & ſeq.

with

Cities, Ports.

with contradiction, much more with threats, ſent for his *Orankayas*, to know if the captain was a king or not; and, by their perſuaſion, removed to a village twenty miles diſtant, till the ſhip's departure. A year or two after, his mother, to break him of that unnatural vice, ſent a beautiful young woman to viſit him, when a-bed; but he was ſo far from being pleaſed with her converſation, that he ordered his black guard to break both her arms, for offering to embrace his royal perſon: and next morning ſent for her father's head. Not finding ſo much ſubmiſſion as he expected, he went himſelf in a great rage to fetch it: but, as he was entering the door, the *Orankaya* paſſed a lance through his heart, and ſo made an end of the beaſt [d].

He is ſlain.

His ſucceſſor's indolence.

THE kingdom remained in confuſion without a king for three years: after which, in 1700, they choſe another, named *Soltân Abd'ollah Jalib*, who was couſin-german of the former, a prince of great moderation and juſtice: ſo that he was beloved by his people, and trade flouriſhed for nine years; till, leaving the government to *Rajah Moudah*, a younger brother, of a covetous tyrannical diſpoſition, all things fell into diſorder. In 1703 captain *Hamilton* calling at *Johor*, the king made him an offer of the iſland of *Sinkapura*, which he refuſed, as of no uſe to a private perſon; though every way fit for a company to ſettle on, as lying in the center of trade. In 1708 *Rajah Moudah* perſuaded him to leave *Johor*, and reſide at *Rhio*, in the iſland of *Bintang*, about three leagues off *Johor* river, where he engroſſed the trade with more ſecurity into his own hands, buying and ſelling at his own prices, and puniſhing thoſe who oppoſed his meaſures.

The people rebel.

AT length, in 1712, the people, no longer able to endure his oppreſſion, broke into rebellion; on which the prince, without taking leave of the king his brother, fled in a galley, with his wives and children, to *Johor Lami*. But finding a ſmall army of *Monakabos*, called-in by the people, were encamped there, he fled with his family to the woods; leaving his galley, and in it a tun-weight of gold, a prey to them. As he knew there could be no long ſafety in the foreſts, and deſpairing of mercy from the injured people, he reſolved to put an end to all their miſeries at once: but when he had killed his wives and children, he began to heſitate about killing himſelf. A page, who was but twelve years old, ſurpriſed at his cowardice, aſked him, "If he choſe rather to "be butchered by a ſlave, than die like a prince; adding, "that he who was innocent, and might expect mercy, would

[d] HAMILT. ubi ſupra, p. 92, & ſeqq.

"yet

" yet shew him the way to die." At the same time laying hold of a *Krîs*, or poniard, he ran himself through the body. The tyrant, shamed into courage, by the bravery of a boy, followed his example, and immediately expired. But the *Monakabos*, who came up soon after, found the boy alive, and carried him to *Johor*, where he recovered of his wound. *Cities, Ports.*

THE king, on the news of what had happened, came out of his palace, and offered to restore the state to its former tranquility: but the people told him he was too religious to make a good king; adding, " that he might retire either to " *Pahâng* or *Trangano*; but that as for *Johor*, and the islands " between it and *Sumâtra*, they would consider what to do " with them." The discarded king departed with his family; and such as chose to follow his fortune in vessels, which his former subjects furnished him with: but, in his way to *Trangano*, where he proposed to fix his seat, was received by the inhabitants of the islands *Pulo Aura*, *Tinji*, *Pissâng*, and *Timân*, as their lawful sovereign. He put his eldest son, a youth about twelve years old, ashore at *Pahâng*, to keep that country from revolting, and went to the place designed for his new residence, where afterwards our author had the honour to see him [e]. *He is expelled.*

THE city of *Pahân*, *Pahâng*, or *Pân*, by the *Portugueses* called *Paon*, and by others, after the *Arabs*, *Fân*, is situated about a league from the sea, and inhabited only by the nobility, the people dwelling in the suburbs. This place, which is not very large, is inclosed with a wall made of the trunk of trees, joined close together, and about twenty-four feet in height, strengthened at each angle with a bastion, but not filled with earth. The streets are fenced on both sides with hedges of reeds, and planted with cocoa and other trees: so that *Pahân* looks more like an assemblage of gardens, belonging to a suburbs, than a regular city. The houses likewise are generally built with reeds and straw, only the king's palace is of wood: for *Pahân* was formerly the capital of a kingdom, which lay between *Johor* and *Patâney*; but, at present, it makes a part of *Johor*. The river is very broad; but not navigable for gallies, except at high water. The adjacent country is very low, but fruitful enough; producing pepper, eagle and *kalambak* woods, coarse gold, nutmegs, mace, *sapan* wood, diamonds, and hog stones, reckoned more efficacious than the bezoar stones. Deeper in the country elephants are very numerous [f]. *Kingdom of* Pahan.

[e] HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 96, & seqq.

[f] NIEUHOFF, ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 181, & seqq.

THUS

Manners, Cuſtoms.

THUS we have given our reader an account, not only of the dominions actually ſubject and tributary to the king of *Siâm*, but alſo of thoſe which were formerly ſubject or tributary to him, in the peninſula of *Malakka*. We ſhall only add farther, with regard to the numerous iſlands which lie upon the coaſts, and have excellent ports, freſh water, and woods, fit for colonies to ſettle on them, that the king affects to be ſtiled lord of them; although never inhabited by his ſubjects on the continent, who are but thin; and he has not ſtrength enough at ſea, to hinder ſtrangers from entering them [g].

SECT. IV.

Inhabitants of Siâm, *their Manners and Cuſtoms.*

Inhabitants not numerous:

SIAM, conſidering its extent, is but indifferently peopled; nor are the cities, even the capital, very populous: for it is at preſent inhabited chiefly along the rivers; the country being, as yet, almoſt intirely overgrown with woods [a]; which, in all likelihood, would not be the caſe, were the inhabitants as numerous as they are in ſome of the neighbouring countries. Notwithſtanding this ſcarcity of people, the *Siamites* hardly make one third part of the whole: for, of the three ſorts of people by whom the country is occupied, *Siameſes*, *Lahos*, and *Peguers*, the latter are almoſt equal to the other two. Theſe *Peguers* are the deſcendants of ſuch as, in the diſtractions which for a long time formerly afflicted their country, fled hither for refuge; or who had been taken priſoners in the frequent wars which ſubſiſted between the two nations. Beſides, the king gives great encouragement to the *Peguers* to ſettle in *Siâm*, becauſe they are more active, and better ſoldiers, than his natural ſubjects [b].

half of them Peguers.

Siameſes *their origin.*

As to the origin of the *Siâmeſes*, they ſay their laws and kings at leaſt came from the *Lahos*, who, on the other hand, will have it that their laws are derived from *Siâm* [c]. *Choiſy* obſerves, that the *Laos* are half *Chineſes*; and *Methold* declares, that all the inhabitants of *Pegu* and *Arrakan*, as well as *Siâm*, ſeem to be deſcended from the ſame fountain, their features and cuſtoms being ſo nearly alike [d].

Several conditions.

AT *Siâm* all perſons are freemen, or ſlaves; and may either be born or become ſuch. One may become a ſlave either for

[g] LOUBERE relat. of Siam, p. 7. [a] Ibid. p. 11. KÆMPFER, p. 25. [b] CHOISY journ. p. 536. [c] LOUBERE, p. 9. [d] METHOLD apud Purch. pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005.

debt,

debt, by being taken in war, or by way of punishment. They sometimes sell themselvs and children for victuals, and even for sake of eating a delicious fruit called *durion*. Their slavery is very gentle, as in cultivating of lands, tending gardens; or some other domestic services; or rather they permit them to work for themselves, paying a tribute to their masters, from about three shillings and six-pence, to seven shillings a year. A slave for debt has his liberty again, on making satisfaction; but the children born during this slavery continue slaves. A person is born a slave, when the mother is a slave. If she converses with the father, without her master's consent, all the children are his; if with his consent, they are divided, as in case of divorce. The first, and every odd number, belong to the mother's master; the rest, or even numbers, to the father, if he be free, or to his master, if he is a slave. The difference between the king of *Siam*'s slaves and his subjects, is, that he maintains his slaves, who are continually employed: whereas his free subjects owe him only six months service in the year, but at their own expence; nor is there any service due to him from the slaves of these latter. *Manners, Customs.*

Among the freemen there are not properly two ranks or conditions of people; since nobility is nothing but the actual possession of places: and although families, who enjoy them for a considerable time, do become more illustrious and powerful than others, yet this is rare, and lasts no longer than they are in office; which being deprived of, they have nothing to distinguish them from the common people. So that often the grandson of a great lord, and sometimes his son, is seen rowing a boat. As the freemen are all soldiers, they are carefully registered, that none may avoid doing his duty. This militia is divided into men on the right hand, and men on the left; each of which great divisions is subdivided into bands, with every one its *Nay*, or *chief*: who does not always lead his band to the war, no more than to the six months service; he is obliged only to furnish out of his band so many men as may be required for those particular occasions. There are seven degrees of these *Nay*, one superior to the other, according to the number of people contained in the respective bands: as *Pa-ya*, *Ok-pa*, *Ok-pra*, *Ok-lou-ang*, *Ok-kown*, *Ok-meuing*, and *Ok-pan*. These are so many dignities or titles by which all officers or placemen are distinguished. But how many men belong to these bands our author could not discover; only as *Ok-pan*, which is now disused, signifies *the head of a thousand men*, and *Ok-meuing*, *the head of ten thousand men*, he judges that every other title de- *Freemen their privileges.* *Titles of honour:*

Manners, Cuſtoms.

notes the number of men contained in the band ſubordinate to its chief. There is another title without function, *viz. Ok-meuang*, which ſignifies *chief of a city*; and with which a perſon muſt be qualified before he can be made a governor, whom they call *Chaw-meuang*, that is, *lord of a city*. On this occaſion it muſt be noted, with reference to the ſix dignities aforeſaid, now in uſe, that there are in *Siam* ſix orders of cities, which anciently were determined according to the rolls of the inhabitants. Thus the moſt populous had *Pa-yas* for governors; the next ſort *Ok-yas*; and ſo the reſt, in proportion to the inhabitants which they contained.

THESE titles are given to all officers in the kingdom, as well as governors, becauſe they are all *Nay*: but as the ſame perſon may have two titles, in conſequence of being poſſeſſed of two different offices, and the offices themſelves may change their titles, which are not inſeparably annexed to any of them; this diſtinction, for want of being obſerved by travellers, has ſometimes bred confuſion in their relations [c].

Siameſes *their character.*

THE *Siameſes* may be pronounced good men: vices are deteſtable with them. They are ſo far from getting drunk, that every man, who is above the dregs of the people, accounts it a ſhame to drink *arak*. They pay great reſpect to age; the younger, though higher in office, yielding precedency to his elder. Children are exceeding dutiful to their parents. Begging is reckoned very ſhameful, and therefore the poor are maintained by their relations: but robbing is held much more ignominious than begging; and therefore they take little care to ſecure their doors, either in the day or night. However, it muſt not be ſuppoſed that the *Siameſes* never ſteal; and the outlaws, who withdraw into the woods for ſhelter, frequently rob paſſengers: but then they never murder them, as they often do in *Europe*. On the other hand, their fidelity is inviolable in all ſorts of traffick: but uſury, not being reſtrained by laws, is practiſed without bounds; for avarice is their eſſential vice. Yet, what is ſtrange, they gather riches not to uſe, but bury them. They have very few civil ſuits; but many criminal cauſes, which ariſe from hatred or revenge. The *Siamites* have naturally an averſion to blood; ſo very rarely commit murder: but generally their quarrels end in abuſive language, or a few blows at moſt. They are courteous, polite, timorous, and careleſs. They have no curioſity, and never admire anything. Inſolent to the humble, and humble to the inſolent.

[c] LOUBERE, p. 77, & ſeqq.

They

They have more moderation than *Europeans*; being born philosophers: but are withal given to diſſimulation [f]. *Manners, Cuſtoms.*

ADULTERY is very rare in *Siam*: which is owing, not to the huſband's power over his wife, whom he may ſell or kill for ſuch an offence; but becauſe the women are not corrupted, either by idleneſs (for they maintain the men by their labour), or luxury. They neither game, nor receive viſits from men. Plays alſo are very rare at *Siam*; nor is there any public theatre for the purpoſe. Cuſtom has made reſtraint very eaſy to them. They look upon a greater liberty as ſcandalous; and would think themſelves deſpiſed by the huſbands who ſhould allow it them. The women of *Aſia* have generally a high ſenſe of modeſty; and, in time of war, would rather their huſbands ſhould kill them, than let them fall into the hands of the enemy. Not but there are women here who give a looſe to their paſſions, as well as in other places; though not ſo many. The *Siameſe* lords are no leſs watchful over their daughters than their wives; and if any of them commits a fault, they ſell her to a certain man, who has a privilege to proſtitute them for money, in conſideration of a duty which he pays the king. It was ſaid, when our author was in *Siam*, that he had in his cuſtody 600 young creatures, all daughters of conſiderable officers. He likewiſe purchaſes wives, when convicted of being unfaithful to their huſbands [g]. *The women virtuous.*

THE *Siameſes* are rather ſmall than large, but ſtrait, and well-proportioned; owing, doubtleſs, to their not ſwadling their infants, or forcing nature as we do. Their faces are rather of a lozenge ſhape than oval. The cheek-bones are broad; from whence the forehead ſuddenly contracts, and terminates in a point, as much as their chin. Their eyes are ſlit a little upwards, and ſmall; not very briſk, and the white inclining to yellow. Their jaws are hollow, as their cheek-bones are too high. Their mouths large; lips thick and pale; their teeth black, and complexion brown, mixed with red, to which the ſun contributes not a little. The great men are ſaid to affect making their legs blue, perhaps with gunpowder (A): but the women neither paint nor patch. The noſes of the *Siameſes* are ſhort, and round at the end: *Their perſons.*

[f] LOUBERE, p. 73—76.

[g] Ibid. p. 73, & ſeqq.

(A) *Loubere* ſaw one of them marked in this manner: for it is not common; perhaps only coming into faſhion; or that lord might have been a *Labos*, or a *Barma*, who both uſe that cuſtom.

Manners, Cuſtoms.

their ears naturally larger than ours; and the larger the more handſome. Their hair is black, thick, and lank. Both ſexes wear it cut ſhort, even with the top of their ears; under this they are cloſe ſhaven. The women generally raiſe it on their forehead; and ſome let it grow behind, in order to braid it. The young unmarried clip their hair very cloſe to the crown of the head, where plucking it up in a ſmall circle, about a quarter of an inch broad, let the reſt grow down almoſt to their ſhoulders. There is only one defect in the women, that they have hanging breaſts, which often reach to their navel [h].

Dreſs of the men.

THE *Siameſes* go all naked, from head to foot, only girding their reins and thighs, down to their knees, with a piece of callico or ſilk, about two ells and a half long, which the *Portugueſes* call *pagne*, from *pannus, cloth*. The officers or placemen wear, beſides, a muſlin ſhirt, as a kind of veſt: it has no neck-band, and is open before: the ſleeves are two feet wide, without plaits, and reach almoſt to their wriſts: but the body thereof is ſo tight, that, not being wide enough to ſlip down over the *pagne*, it ſits in wrinkles. In winter ſome put over their ſhoulders a breadth of ſtuff, or painted linen, like a mantle or ſcarf, the ends of which are neatly wound about the arms. The king, in this ſeaſon, under his ſhirt wears a brocaded ſattin waiſtcoat, adorned with lace, whoſe ſleeves are very tight. None muſt wear ſuch a veſt, excepting ſuch conſiderable officers as he gives it to. He ſometimes alſo beſtows on them a ſcarlet veſt, to be worn only in war or hunting, which reaches to the knees, and buttons before, with wide ſleeves, but ſo ſhort, that they do not touch the elbows. On thoſe two occaſions, the king and his retinue appear in red; the ſoldiers having muſlin ſhirts given to them, dyed of that colour. They likewiſe wear a cap of ceremony, which is white, and high, pointed like a ſugar-loaf. The king's is adorned with a circle, or crown, of precious ſtones; and thoſe of his officers have ſeveral circles of gold or ſilver, to diſtinguiſh their dignities. They wear them only before the king, in their tribunals, or on ſome ſolemn occaſion. They faſten them with a ſtay under the chin; and never pull them off to ſalute any perſon.

THE *Mohammedans* have introduced the uſe of *papuſhes*, or ſlippers, a kind of pointed ſhoes, without either quarter or heel; which they leave at the doors of the houſes they enter, to avoid dirtying the rooms. They approve of hats for travelling; but very few of the people cover their heads

[h] LOUBERE, p. 27, & ſeqq.

from

from the ſun, excepting on the river, where the reflexion moſt incommodes; and then they do it only with a piece of linen. *Manners, Cuſtoms.*

THE men, after wrapping the *pagne* about their waiſt, put one end back between their thighs, and tuck it in behind; ſo that it reſembles breeches. The other end hangs before; and, as they have no pockets, ſerves to tie up their purſe for *betel*. The women wrap their *pagne* about their middle, and let it fall down broad-ways half-way the leg, like a kind of cloſe coat. All the reſt of their body is naked; only the rich wear a ſcarf, putting the middle part ſingle over the boſom, and letting the two ends hang down behind, over the ſhoulders; though ſometimes they wrap them about their arms. *Womens dreſs.*

FOR all the *Siameſes* go ſo naked, yet no people in the world are ſo ſcrupulous of ſhewing the parts of the body which are covered. They have affixed infamy to nakedneſs; and hence modeſty renders the cuſtom of bathing in rivers almoſt inſupportable among the women; and but few among them can reſolve to practiſe it. They never pull off the *pagne* to lie down; and children go without it till they are four or five years of age. Their ears are no leſs ſecured againſt immodeſty than their eyes: for, by the laws of *Siam*, obſcene *China* figures and paintings are equally prohibited with lewd ſongs. For ornaments, the people of *Siam* croud the three laſt fingers of each hand with rings; and wear pendants of gold, ſilver, or vermilion gilt. The boys and girls of condition wear bracelets on their arms and legs, till ſix or ſeven years of age; but no longer [i]. *Their modeſty.* *Ornaments.*

THE *Siameſes* are very clean and neat. They bathe three or four times a day, or oftener, if viſits require it. This they do, either by going into the water, or having it poured over their body with ladles, which they ſometimes continue for an hour together. They, after this, perfume themſelves, and put pomatum on their lips. They waſh their hair with water and ſweet oils; comb themſelves; and keep their black teeth clean. They pluck their beard, of which they have but little: but they let their nails grow without cutting: and the dancers ſometimes put on very long copper nails; for what makes them look like harpies, they eſteem a beauty [k]. *Cleanly and neat.*

[i] LOUBERE, p. 25, & ſeqq. [k] Ibid. p. 26.

SECT. V.

Their Houſes, Diet, Diſeaſes, Diverſions, Carriages.

Way of Living.

Their houſes

THESE people are no leſs plain in their houſes, their furniture, and diet, than in their dreſs. Their houſes are raiſed on four or ſix *bambû* poſts, thirteen feet high, and as thick as a man's leg, to avoid the inundation: acroſs theſe they lay other *bambû* poſts for a foundation: hurdles of ſplit *bambû*, often not cloſely compacted, do make the floors, walls, and roofs: the ſtairs are likewiſe a *bambû* ladder, which hangs without, like that of a windmill. And as their ſtables are built in the air, as well as their houſes, they have climbers made of hurdles for the cattle to aſcend. The houſes, which are ſmall, and only of one ſtory, for more privacy, ſtand ſingle, ſurrounded with pretty large grounds, which ſerve for courts and gardens, incloſed with a *bambû* wall. The great officers have timber houſes, in which each lives, with his principal wife, and their children: every one of the other wives, with her children, and ſlave with his family, has a ſeparate apartment, yet within the ſame incloſure. The palaces of *Siyuthia* and *Louvo*, as well as ſeveral temples, are alſo of brick; which way of building ſeems to have been taken from the *Europeans*, *Chineſes*, or *Moors*, who build here with the ſame kind of materials.

As their houſes are built of ſuch ſlight materials, ſo they are ſoon finiſhed. Three hundred, which were burnt in our author's time in the capital, were rebuilt in three days; and three others were removed, with all their furniture, in leſs than an hour. The furniture of the *Siameſe* houſes is very plain, and conſiſts in but a few moveables[a]. Their bedſtead is a wooden frame, matted, but without either head or poſts: it has ſometimes ſix feet, ſometimes none at all: but the generality have no other bed but a mat of bulruſhes, laid on the floor. The bedſtead is very narrow; becauſe the man and wife have ſeparate beds, except among the vulgar. The better ſort uſe a mattreſs, but no upper ſheet; the coverlid, which is a ſingle cotton cloth, ſerving for it. A long pillow ſerves for bolſter; and a curtain before the bed completes the ſleeping-place. Thoſe who can afford it have cabinets, with drawers, both for uſe and ornament. Their table is like a drum-head, with the edges raiſed, like tea-boards, but no feet. They have no chairs or ſeats, but

and furniture.

[a] LOUBERE, p. 29.

bulruſh

bulruſh mats: no carpets, but what the king beſtows on them. The rich, indeed, have cuſhions; but they are uſed only to lean on, never to ſit on. *Way of Living.*

THEIR veſſels are either of china or earthen ware; with ſome few of copper: wood, plain or varniſhed, *cocoa*, and *bambû*, afford them all the reſt. Scarce any have gold or ſilver plate, excepting ſome officers of the court, from whence it comes, and that very little. The king's furniture is almoſt the ſame with that of particular perſons, only more rich and ſumptuous. In all the entertainments at the palace, the ambaſſadors ſaw great ſtore of ſilver plate, eſpecially huge baſons, round and deep, in which were large round boxes, about eighteen inches diameter: theſe, containing the rice which was ſerved at table, were covered, and had each a foot to ſtand on. The fruit was ſerved in gold plates: but china is more common at his table than either metal; which is a general cuſtom in all the courts of *Aſia* [b]. *Their utenſils.*

IN ſome houſes, built on purpoſe for the ambaſſadors, (wherein hurdles laid on piles, and covered with bulruſh mats, made not only the floors, but the area of the courts), the hall and chambers were hung with painted cloths, and the cielings with white muſlin, the extremities of which hung ſlopeing. In the chambers where the ambaſſadors lay, tapeſtry carpets were laid over the mats. Neatneſs appeared everywhere, but no magnificence. Their hearth or chimney is nothing but a baſket full of earth, ſupported with three ſticks for feet; and they make their fires, not in the houſes, but the courts. *Fires and chimnies.*

THEIR palaces are too low to make a figure, being but one ſtory; and the temples not high enough in proportion to their bigneſs: nor have neither any exterior ornament, excepting the roofs, which they cover with tin or tiles, varniſhed with yellow. It is not in the ornaments of architecture, which the *Siameſes* know nothing of, that the real dignity of their buildings conſiſts, but in ſome being higher than others. Thus in the palace, the king's apartment is more elevated than the reſt, which are gradually lower, in proportion as they are farther from it; ſo that there are always a few ſteps to aſcend from one to another, for they all join, and ſtand in a row. It is this which cauſes the inequality in the roofs, which are all high ridged, and ſeem to bear one on another. But the principal ornament of temples conſiſts in ſeveral pyramids of brick; the talleſt are as high as our ſteeples, and the loweſt not exceeding two fathom: they are all round, and *King's palace.*

[b] LOUBERE, p. 34, & 165.

Way of Living. gradually diminiſh as they riſe; ſo that each terminates like a dome. When the pyramids happen to be very low, there proceeds from the top a tin ſpire, very ſmall, and ſharp pointed, but proportioned to the reſt[c].

Their diet. THE uſual diet of the *Siameſes* is rice and fiſh, in which they are more abſtemious than *Europeans*. The ſea affords admirable fiſh, of ſorts unknown to us; lobſters of all ſizes, excellent little turtles, and delicate ſmall oyſters. Their rivers alſo yield plenty of good fiſh, eſpecially eels: but they are not fond of freſh fiſh; rather chooſing that which is ill-ſeaſoned and dry: nor are they diſpleaſed with ſtinking fiſh, any more than rotten eggs. They eat even lizards, locuſts, rats, and moſt inſects, which nature doubtleſs inclines them to, as being of eaſy digeſtion; and which, perhaps, are not ſo diſguſtful as we imagine. A pound of rice, which coſts but one farthing, and a little ſalt-fiſh, of no greater value, ſerves a *Siameſe* for one day's food. Their ſauce is only a little water, reliſhed with ſome ſpices, garlick, or other herb: but that which they eſteem moſt, is called *Kapi*: it is liquid, like muſtard, and made of crayfiſh corrupted (A), becauſe ill ſalted; for meats hardly take ſalt in very hot countries: yet the pots of it which they gave to a *French* officer had no bad ſmell. Inſtead of ſaffron they uſe *Crocus Indicus*: but as they have neither nuts nor olives, they have no oil but what comes from the cocoa; which, though a little bitter, is very good when freſh; but it preſently becomes very ſtrong. They uſe buffalo's milk, which yields more cream than that of our cows: but make no cheeſe, nor ſcarce any butter, which hardly takes any conſiſtence for the heat.

Proviſions plenty. THEY diſguiſe dried fiſh many ways, without varying the the preparation: but of more than thirty diſhes, wherewith the ambaſſadors were ſerved, our author, tho' far from being ſqueamiſh, could not eat of one. The *Siameſes* rarely eat fleſh; and, when they do, they chooſe the guts and inteſtines, which, to *Europeans*, are moſt loathſome. Indeed all animal food there is tough, and juiceleſs. Nor do they take care of their poultry. As for wild-fowl, they never eat or kill them: and are ſo far from deſtroying crows and vultures, that they feed them, even with the fleſh of children, who die before they are three or four years old. Pigs fleſh is the beſt of all in *Siam*: but ſo fat, that it is diſtaſteful. A ſheep is worth four crowns in the metropolis, a goat two or three,

[c] LOUBERE, p. 30, & ſeqq.

(A) The ſame kind of ſauce is uſed in *Arrakan* and *Pegu*.

and

and a cow not above one; but in the country it will ſell for ten pence. A pig, in the capital, may be had for ſeven pence, becauſe the *Mohammedans* do not eat any: hens ſell for twenty pence a dozen: and ſo many ducks for a crown [d]. *Way of Living.*

FOR all this temperance in the *Siameſes*, yet, to the diſcredit of ſobriety, ſaith our author, they do not live longer than *Europeans*, nor are freer from diſeaſes. Thoſe which are moſt dangerous and common among them are fluxes and dyſenteries; which yet *Europeans* are more ſubject to on their arrival, becauſe they cannot live ſober enough. They are ſometimes attacked with calentures; but other fevers and inflammations are rare, and kill nobody. Coughs, ſquinceys, defluxions, and rheumatiſms, are as frequent at *Siam*, where it rains ſo much, as elſewhere. But the gout, falling-ſickneſs, apoplexy, phthyſic, and all ſorts of cholic, eſpecially the ſtone, are there very rare. On the other hand, cancers, abſceſſes, and fiſtulas, are very common. So are the *freſipeli*, to ſuch a degree, that nineteen in twenty are infected with it. There is no ſcurvy nor dropſy to be met with; but one hears of many of thoſe extraordinary diſtempers, which people are apt to impute to witchcraft. In a word, there are ſome contagious diſeaſes; and, among the reſt, the venereal. But the real plague of this country is the ſmall-pox, which often makes dreadful ravages: and then they bury the bodies, for three years at leaſt, before they burn them: for, they ſay, if they are taken up ſooner, the contagion breaks out afreſh [e]. *Their diſeaſes.*

WHILE the men are employed for ſix months by the king in all kinds of work, the wives maintain the family at home. They plough the land; they ſell and buy in the city: ſo that when the huſband returns he has nothing to do. He neither works, walks abroad, nor hunts. He does ſcarce any thing, but continue ſitting, or lolling, eating, playing, ſmoking, and ſleeping. His wife wakes him at ſeven, and ſerves him with rice and fiſh: after this he falls to ſleep again: at noon he eats another meal, and ſups towards night. What buſineſs he has to do, he does between the two laſt meals; and ſpends the remainder in converſation or play [f]. *Lazy life.*

As the *Siameſes* have but little to do, they ſpend much of their time in diverſions, of which they have many, which are common in *Europe*; as puppet-ſhews, tumbling, rope and ladder dancing, in which they far excel our artiſts. They have wreſtling and boxing; races of oxen inſtead of horſes; *Diverſions.*

[d] LOUBERE, p. 35, & ſeqq. [e] Ibid. p. 38, & ſeq.
[f] Ibid. p. 50.

and

Way of Living.

and rowing of boats; at which wagers are laid. Cock-fighting and kite-flying are in great eſteem, and deemed amuſements for the monarchs of *Aſia*. They are very fond of plays and fire-works, which are well performed by them; and which, with their annual feaſt of lanthorns, as well as other cuſtoms, ſeem to have come to them from the *Chineſes*. Like theſe alſo they are exceſſively given to gaming, ſo as often to make themſelves and children ſlaves. Their uſual games are cheſs and *tick-tack*, which läſt they call *ſaka*. Smoking tobacco is one of their greateſt pleaſures; to which the women are chiefly addicted.

Elephant hunting

THE king frequently recreates himſelf with moſt of the above-mentioned diverſions: but the paſtime in which he takes greateſt delight, is the catching and fighting of elephants. The taking of theſe animals is much after the ſame manner as in other countries. They decoy them, by means of the tame females, into a narrow paſſage, between two high banks of earth, lined on each ſide with trunks of trees, ſo large, and cloſe ſet, that the elephant can neither pull them up, or get between them: ſo that men, placed between the banks and the trees, may with ſafety lay ropes to catch their hind legs in running knots; and then, entering into the narrow paſſage, provoke them forwards to a little incloſure, alſo of trees, to which they tie them. When they ſet elephants to fight, they do not give them liberty to cloſe, as in the great mogol's court, but keep them at a diſtance, with ropes tied to their hinder feet, and faſtened to great poſts: ſo that they can hardly croſs each other's trunk in the combat, much leſs reach the men who are mounted on their backs to animate them. Neither do they let them fight long, for, after five or ſix attacks, the females are brought in to part them. At *Siam* they neither expoſe the life of men nor beaſts by way of ſport [g].

and fighting.

Their carriages.

BESIDES the ox and buffalo, on which the *Siameſes* commonly ride, the elephant is their ſole domeſtic animal; and their hunting to catch them is free for every body. For ordinary ſervices they uſe only the females, reſerving the males for war. The elephant is the carriage for every perſon who can take in hunting, or purchaſe, one. The king has a white elephant, but never mounts him; becauſe they ſay the white elephant is as great a lord as himſelf, as having a king's ſoul. Horſes are ſcarce, and good for little here, the country not being proper for breeding them. The king keeps about 2000, which he has moſtly from abroad, but ſeldom rides them; as the elephant looks more grand, and is better for

[g] LOUBERE, p. 44.

defence.

defence. They have neither aſſes nor mules in *Siam*, but there are ſome camels brought by the *Mohammedans*. *Way of Living.*

THEIR chairs or ſedans are ſquare, flat ſeats, more or leſs high, which are placed on biers, carried on the ſhoulders of four or eight men, according to the quality of the perſon. Sometimes theſe ſeats have a back and arms; ſometimes only encompaſſed on three ſides with a ſmall balliſter about ſix inches high. Some are open at top, others covered with an imperial or canopy: but, at preſent, only two or three lords have permiſſion to uſe thoſe chairs; and the palankin is allowed to ſick perſons, or diſeaſed old men. Neither are any ſuffered to uſe umbrellas (B), but whom the king pleaſes; and yet all theſe prohibited things are allowed to *Europeans*. The umbrella granted to officers is ſingle, or has but one round upon a ſtaff or handle: the king's only has more rounds, one above another. The *Sarkrats*, or ſuperiors of the *Talapoys*, are indulged with an umbrella of one round, with two or three painted cloths hanging down from it; and the *Talapoys* themſelves have umbrellas, in form of ſkreens, which they carry in their hand, made of palmito leaves, cut round and folded. Theſe they call *talapat*, from whence, it is likely, comes the name *Talapoy*. *Chairs.*

BUT to return to the conveniencies for carriage: the annual inundation of the river renders the boat or balon the moſt univerſal voiture. It is made out of a ſingle tree, and very narrow, though from ſixteen to twenty feet in length; ſome of the king's balons, and thoſe of conſiderable officers, have 100 or 120 rowers each, who ſit croſs-legged, ranged two and two on benches: thoſe of inferior officers have only ſixteen or twenty *pagayes*, or oars, according to their different ſizes. This *pagaye* is a ſhort oar, which the *pagayer*, or rower, holds with both hands; one in the middle, the other at the upper end. This he plunges directly downwards, with a motion of the arms and ſhoulders, which is vigorous, but eaſy and graceful; and although the oars can only ſweep the water, yet as it is done with force, and by ſo many hands, the balon flies with exceeding ſwiftneſs. They ſtrike all at once, drawing the oar towards them, ſo that they look towards the place they are going to. A very long *pagaye* ſerves for a rudder; which is not fixed to the balon, but held perpendicularly by the ſteerſman: who only moves it ſometimes to one ſide of the veſſel, ſometimes to the other, *Balons, or boats.*

(B) This is the caſe thro' all the farther peninſula, particularly in *Ava*, whoſe king ſtiles himſelf lord of the twenty-four umbrellas. See before, p. 130.

accord-

Marriage, Education.

according as he would direct its course. The balons of the ladies are rowed by women slaves. The ordinary balons have a cabin in the middle, made of *bambû*; but in the balons of ceremony or state, there is only a single seat, which is higher or lower, and covered with an umbrella or canopy, according to the degree of the officer to whom it belongs. These canopies are all over gilded, as well as the *pagayes*: they are supported by pillars, and adorned with carved works in pyramids. It cannot be imagined how delightful it is to see a great number of such balons rowing together in good order; and our author confesses that he was surprised with the beauty of the shew, on his entering the river of *Siam* [h].

SECT. VI.

Their Marriages, Education, Learning, Arts, Trade.

Their marriages.

THE *Siamese* women have children at twelve, and sometimes sooner, but seldom after forty; they therefore marry young. If the parents of the maid like the match, which is commonly proposed by women in years, they consult the fortune-teller, to know if the party be rich, and the marriage will prove happy. If the answer turns out to their liking, the young man makes three visits; and at the third the relations on both sides meet, when the portion of each party is delivered to the bridegroom; who, without any more ceremony, goes to bed to his wife. The *Talapoy* have no hand in the matter; only, a few days after, they go to the house of the new-married couple to sprinkle holy water, and repeat some prayers. The wedding, as in all other countries of the East, is accompanied with feasting and shews, where hired dancers divert the guests. The greatest portion at *Siam* is a hundred *kati*, which make 15,000 *livres*. A man may have several wives; but the rich only have more than one, and that more out of grandeur than debauchery. There is always one of them who is the chief, and called the great wife, the rest are termed the lesser wives; and, though legitimate, are yet slaves, as being purchased. Marriage is forbidden in the first degree of kindred; yet a man may marry two sisters, one after the death of the other. The king of *Siam*, who reigned in 1687, married his own sister. The succession in private families is in the children of the great wife; and the heir can sell the little wives and their children, who have only

Degrees forbidden.

[h] LOUBERE, p. 39, & seqq.

what

what he pleaſes to give them, or the father, before his death, thought fit to beſtow on them: as to the daughters of the little wives, they are ſold to the beſt bidder, to be little wives themſelves; they may alſo be ſold by the huſband in his life-time: but he can only divorce his principal wife. After this divorce, each party may ſell the children who fall to his or her ſhare, according to the diviſion of the odd and even number before-mentioned. Widows inherit the power of their huſbands, ſo far as relates to the children of the odd number, who belong to them; but they cannot ſell thoſe of the even number, if the father's relations oppoſe it, for the children themſelves dare not. Neither does the power of parents extend ſo far as to kill their children; nor of huſbands to kill their wives. *Marriage.* *Education.*

ALTHOUGH intimacies between freemen and women is not deemed ſcandalous at *Siam*, yet parents carefully watch their daughters; nor are children allowed to diſpoſe of themſelves in marriage without their conſent. The *Siameſes* are too proud eaſily to give themſelves to foreigners; at leaſt to invite them, as do the *Pegu* women[a] living in the country, who have more ſpirit and vivacity than the *Siameſes*. It is an eſtabliſhed opinion in the *Indies*, that the people have more or leſs vigour and ſpirit, according as they are nearer to, or farther from, *Pegu*[b].

THE *Siameſe* children have much docility and ſweetneſs in their diſpoſition. They are educated in extreme modeſty of behaviour; which is ingrafted by the reſpect due to parents, and the ſix months ſervice owing to the prince. Civility is ſo great through the Eaſt, that an *European*, who has lived there long, finds much difficulty to re-accuſtom himſelf to the familiarities common in the Weſt. The *Siameſes* never ſay any thing to diſpleaſe, nor affect to appear more knowing than you, though a ſtranger, even in matters which relate to themſelves. Parents are the more careful in the education of their children, as they are accountable for their offences; and the ſon, though fled, never fails to ſurrender himſelf, when the prince has ſeized his father, mother, or eldeſt relations. *Education of children.*

SLAVES and ſervants before their maſters, and the common people before the lords, keep on their knees, ſitting on their heels; their head a little inclined, and hands joined above their forehead. In paſſing by one another in the ſtreet they go upright, or ſtooping, with their hands raiſed more or leſs, according to the quality of the perſons they ſalute. In viſits, the inferior proſtrates himſelf, and ſits in the ſame manner, *Poſtures of reſpect.*

[a] See before, p. 53. [b] LOUBERE, p. 51, & ſeqq.

ſilent,

Learning, Sciences.

ſilent, till he is firſt ſpoken to. The perſon viſited always offers his place to the viſitant, and treats him with fruit, preſerves, arak, *betel*, and tea. The breach of theſe ceremonious duties being puniſhable by the perſon offended, preſerves reſpect, and prevents indecent behaviour, which in *Europe* produces quarrels. In ſhort, ceremonies are as eſſential, and almoſt as numerous, in *Siam*, as in *China*.

Marks of honour.

AT *Siam* the right hand is more honourable than the left. In ſome things they ſeem to break the rules of decency with us; for they make no ſcruple to belch without reſtraint; and wipe the ſweat off their faces with their fingers: for they uſe no handkerchiefs. Yet they muſt not ſpit on the mats or carpets, but carry with them a ſpitting-box for the purpoſe. In the king's palace they neither ſpit, cough, nor wipe their noſe. The higheſt place is with them the moſt honourable; and they avoid going under the houſes which are built on piles, that none may tread over their heads. It is alſo the higheſt affront to touch any body's head, or his hair: even to handle his bonnet, if laid down any-where, is a great piece of incivility: yet to lay any-thing on one's head, which is given or received, is, in *Siam*, as well as other countries of *Aſia*, a very ſingular mark of reſpect. In a word, ſtanding is a much more honourable poſture than ſitting [1].

Learning.

THE *Siameſes* put their children, when ſeven or eight years old, into a convent, and make them aſſume the habit, which yet they quit at pleaſure. Here they learn to write, and read, and caſt accounts; after which they are taught the principles of their morality, and the fables of *Sommona Kodom*: but neither hiſtory, law, nor any ſcience.

Languages.

THEIR languages are two; the *Siameſe*, or common, and the *Bâlli*, which is their learned or ſacred language. The firſt has thirty-ſeven, the latter thirty-three letters, all conſonants, and both are written from the left to the right. The *Siameſe* reſembles the *Chineſe* in ſeveral reſpects: it conſiſts moſtly in monoſyllables, and has neither declenſions nor conjugations, which are ſupplied by four or five particles, placed either before or after the verb. They have likewiſe a great deal of accent, like the *Chineſes*, and almoſt ſing in ſpeaking. In other reſpects, however, the two languages differ conſiderably: among the reſt the *Siameſes* have the letter *r*, which the *Chineſes* want.

Arithmetic.

ARITHMETIC, after reading and writing, is their principal ſtudy, in which they uſe ten characters, as we do. They are very quick of apprehenſion, and dextrous in caſting ac-

[1] LOUBERE, p. 54, & ſeqq.

counts;

counts; preſently reſolving very difficult queſtions, through the clearneſs of their imagination. They imitate any-thing immediately; and, from the firſt day, are tolerably good workmen: but their indolence, owing to the heat of the climate, hinders all progreſs. They are naturally poets, but no orators; and yet our author praiſes the ſpeech of the *Siameſe* ambaſſador to *Lewis* the fourteenth, at his audience of leave, as an excellent compoſition. *Learning, Sciences.*

THEY are ſtrangers to all parts of philoſophy, except ſome principles of morality: and have no ſort of theology. They ſtudy no laws, but thoſe of their country, and ſuch only as relate to the employment they are advanced to: at which time a copy is delivered to them of the laws which concern it; as is practiſed in *Spain*, though their laws are public.

THE *Siameſes* are quite ignorant of anatomy, and every kind of chirurgery, excepting blood-letting. Their whole practice of phyſic conſiſts in uſing certain receipts, handed down from their anceſtors. Their firſt preſcription is to have the ſick man trampled on by one ſkilled in the buſineſs: and big-bellied women get children to trample on them, to procure an eaſy delivery. They make uſe of purgatives, and highly applaud ſudorifics. Their remedies are generally hot; as they find, to augment the natural heat, is beneficial to them. The ſick are nouriſhed with boiled rice, extremely liquid: but meat broths are mortal at *Siam*, becauſe they too much relax the ſtomach. Pigs fleſh is what is given them when they can eat any-thing ſolid. *Medicine.*

THE *Siameſes* underſtand nothing of chemiſtry, altho' they paſſionately affect it; and ſome boaſt of profound ſecrets, becauſe there are credulous perſons in *Siam*, as well as other countries. The father of the king (who reigned in 1687), ſpent two millions in ſearch of the philoſophers ſtone. They are likewiſe no leſs addicted than the *Chineſes* to the folly of ſeeking out an univerſal remedy (C), which may render them immortal; at leaſt proof againſt any kind of death but a violent one. Upon this principle, impoſtors have forged ſtories of many pretended immortals, who have withdrawn from the ſight of men, to ſecure themſelves from danger; and there are fools enough in *Siam* to believe them [m]. *Chemiſtry.*

[m] LOUBERE, p. 59, & ſeqq.

(C) The ſect of *Tau*, among the *Chineſes*, pretend to be maſters of this ſecret, called the *liquor of immortality*; which ſome of the emperors have been ſo ſilly as to confide in.

THESE

Learning, Sciences. *Aſtronomy.*

THESE people know nothing of geometry and mechanics, becauſe they can do without them; and aſtronomy concerns them no more than as they conceive it may be aſſiſtant to divination. They know only ſome practical part thereof, which they uſe in the horoſcopes of the people, and in the compoſition of their almanack, which is a kind of general horoſcope. It appears that they have twice cauſed their kalendar to be reformed by able aſtronomers; who, to ſupply the aſtronomical tables, have taken two arbitrary epochas, remarkable for ſome rare conjunction of the planets: the firſt refers to the year 545 before *Chriſt*; the ſecond to the 638th after *Chriſt*. Both theſe ſerved as grounds for calculating the account of the places of the planets; and the latter being found moſt commodious, they have left off the former, which they pretend marks the death of *Sommona Kodom*, in aſtronomical calculations, although they ſtill make uſe of it in their dates.

Notion of the world.

THEY know nothing of the ſyſtem of the world, and believe, like all the Eaſt, that eclipſes are cauſed by ſome dragon, who devours the ſun and moon. They hold the earth to be ſquare, on whoſe extremities the arch of the firmament reſts, like a glaſs bell for covering plants. They ſay the earth is divided into four habitable parts, ſeparated by ſeas, like ſo many different worlds, 84,000 *yods*, of 8000 fathom each, aſunder. In the middle of the four worlds they ſuppoſe a ſquare pyramidal mountain, from whoſe top, which touches the ſtars, to the ſurface of the earth, they reckon the ſame number of *yods*; the like number from the mountain to each of the worlds; and from the ſurface of the ſea down to the foot of it. Now the world we inhabit, which they call *chiampion*, lies to the ſouth of this mountain: and the ſun, moon, and ſtars, inceſſantly turning round it, make day and night. At the top of the mountain is a heaven called *intratirâſha*; over which is the heaven of angels.

Muſic.

MUSIC is no better underſtood at *Siam* than aſtronomy: they uſe no notes; and compoſe, as well as ſing, by ear. They uſe violins with three ſtrings, and very ſhrill hautboys; on which they play tolerably well, accompanied with copper baſons, ſtruck with a ſtick. They have, beſides our drums, two ſorts of their own; one beaten with the fiſt, the other founded in a very odd manner by turning a ſtick run through the ſides of it. They are fond of our trumpets; theirs being ſmall and harſh [d].

[d] LOUBERE, p. 64, & ſeq.

THEY

THEY have no companies of trades in *Siam*, nor do arts flouriſh there. No perſon deſires to excel in any buſineſs, becauſe there is no price for ingenuity, and every one is afraid to appear rich. Beſides, ſhould any one diſtinguiſh himſelf as an artiſt, he would run the riſk of being obliged to work *gratis* for life for his prince, who has already ſix months of his labour: they therefore content themſelves with knowing a little of every kind of work, which the king employs them in. Thus they are pretty good joiners, but bad carvers and ſtatuaries. They make excellent morter, and underſtand maſonry; yet their brick buildings do not laſt, becauſe they never lay any foundations. They are excellent gilders, and gold-beaters; making leaves of it as thin as fine paper, on which the king's letters to other princes are written, with a bodkin. With ſuch thin plates of gold or ſilver they ſometimes cover their images, often of a monſtrous ſize; alſo ſword-hilts; but cannot poliſh. They know how to ſmelt metals, and caſt ſome works in molds; but are bad forgemen: hence their horſes are not ſhod. Their ſtirrups are of rope; but the ſaddles deſerve no better. *Arts, Commerce. Arts.*

THEIR manufactures are very few and mean. The art of tanning and dreſſing leather is unknown to them. They make neither ſilks, woollen ſtuffs, nor tapeſtry; and but very little cotton cloth, of a very coarſe kind, and ill painted: but they embroider to pleaſe the fancy. They paint only in water colours, and that badly, after the *Chineſe* manner, varying from nature; to follow which they deem too mechanical. The moſt general profeſſions in *Siam* are fiſhing, for the common people, and merchandize, for thoſe who are able to engage in it: but as the king engroſſes to himſelf the foreign commerce, the home trade is ſo inconſiderable, that it is impoſſible to grow rich by it. In loans they give promiſſory notes of repayment; but neither ſeal nor ſign, excepting with a ſort of croſs for a mark. The integrity of the people is ſo great, that, in the markets, neither the ſeller counts the money, nor the buyer the goods, he receives: and they were much ſcandalized to ſee the *French* buy the leaſt things with more caution. The market hours are from five in the evening to eight or nine. *Manufactures and commerce.*

THEY uſe no meaſures in trade; becauſe muſlins and other linens are ſold by the piece: but in ſerving the poorer ſort, who want ſmaller quantities, they meaſure with their arm. In buildings, and ſurveying land, they uſe the fathom. For grain and liquors they uſe cocoa-ſhells; alſo a kind of buſhel to meaſure corn, and a pitcher for liquor. They are not *Meaſures and weights.*

Funerals. more exact with regard to their weights: but the pieces of their money are better regulated, though frequently counterfeit and light. Their silver coins are all of the same figure and impression, but of different sizes. Their *Tikal*, which weighs no more than half a crown, goes for three shillings and sixpence. Gold is a commodity, and twelve times the value of silver. They use for small money the *Kori* shells, which they call *Bia*, 7 or 800 of which are scarce the value of a penny[o].

Their funerals THE *Siameses* bury their dead bodies in wooden coffins, varnished and gilded on the outside. Sometimes they make use of leaden coffins: these they set on a high place, or bedstead, with feet, and burn perfumes and tapers. Every night the *Talapoys* come to sing hymns on the occasion, in the *Balli* language, for which they are entertained, and receive some money. The place for burning the corpse is in the fields, near some temple, where a square spot is surrounded with a *bambu* inclosure, like that of an arbor. It is adorned with painted or gilded papers, representing houses, moveables, and animals, which are for the use of the deceased in the next world; where they are supposed to become the things they represent. In the midst of this inclosure, the funeral pile is made, of odoriferous wood; and, if the persons are rich, a scaffolding is erected of a considerable height, on which earth is laid, and on that the wood. On the day appointed, in the morning, the body sets out, under the sound of instruments, attended by the family and friends, all in white.

and interments. WHEN they arrive at the place, the body is taken out of the coffin, and laid on the pile: then the *Talapoys* sing for a quarter of an hour, and so retire: after which the shews begin, set-off with fireworks. About noon a servant of the *Talapoys* sets fire to the pile, which burns for two hours, yet only roasts the body, without consuming it. If a prince of the blood, or a favourite lord, dies, the king himself sets the pile on fire, by a rocket sent along a rope, from the palace to the pile. The family entertain the company attending the burial, and, for three days, bestows alms on the *Talapoys*. The remains of the body are again put into the coffin, and deposited under one of the pyramids which encompass some temple. The poor inter their dead bodies without burning them; or expose them in the fields on a scaffold, where the vultures and crows devour them. The *Siameses* never burn the corpse of persons executed, infants still born,

[o] LOUBERE, p. 69, & seqq.

women

women who die in child-bed, thoſe who deſtroy themſelves, or periſh by thunder, or ſuch extraordinary accidents; believing that ſuch misfortunes never happen to the innocent [p]. *Religion, the ſoul.*

SECT. VII.

Religion of the Siameſes.

AS the religion of the *Siameſes* is the ſame, or nearly the ſame, with that of the *Laos*, which we have already circumſtantially deſcribed; we ſhall here only touch upon a few particulars, relating to the *Indian* doctrine of the ſoul, and other matters, which have not yet been brought in view.

ALL ſouls appear, to the eaſtern Pagans, to be of the ſame nature; nor do they believe, like *Chriſtians*, that they are phyſically united to the body, ſo as to make one with it. They are ſo far from thinking that the ſouls have a natural inclination to be in bodies, that they hold the tranſmigration to be a penance, as hath been often mentioned already. On the other hand, it is very difficult to convey to a *Siamite* the idea of a ſpirit, or an immaterial ſubſtance. All believe, indeed, that there remains ſomething of man, after his death, which ſubſiſts ſeparately from his body; but they give form and extenſion to that remains: in ſhort, aſcribe to it all the ſame members, with the ſame ſolid and fluid ſubſtances, whereof human bodies are compoſed. They ſuppoſe only that the ſouls are of a matter ſubtile enough to be free from touch and ſight; yet at the ſame time hold, that if any of them be wounded, the blood which flows from the wound may appear. Such were the *manes* and ſhades of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Chineſes* choſe to ſuffer death rather than ſhave their hair after the manner of the *Tartars*, who conquered them, that they might not appear before their anceſtors in the other world without hair; imagining, that they ſhaved the head of the ſoul, in ſhaving that of the body. After all, they cannot tell why they attribute the human figure, rather than any other, to the ſoul; which they ſuppoſe able to animate all ſorts of bodies, beſides that of man [a]. *All ſouls alike.* *Of human form.*

As the oriental people believe that they may be helpful to the dead, by providing for their neceſſities in the next life, in the way before-mentioned, of burning the paper figures of ſeveral things; ſo they imagine that the dead have the power of tormenting and ſuccouring the living. Hence comes their care about the funerals of the deceaſed: for it is only *Notion of ſpirits.*

[p] LOUBERE hiſt. Siam, p. 122. [a] Ibid. p. 120. 129.

Religion, future ſtate.

in this that they are munificent. Hence alſo it is that they pray to the dead, ſo high as their great great grandfather; ſuppoſing their anceſtors, in the degrees beyond, to be ſo diſperſed by divers tranſmigrations, that they can hear them no more. The orientals are afraid of ſpirits, as well as the *Chriſtians*, but in a more limited manner: for they neither hope nor fear any-thing from the dead out of the precincts of their family, profeſſion, ward, or city, at fartheſt [b].

Paradiſes and hells.

THE moſt common opinion is, that there are nine places of happineſs, and nine unhappy places: the nine firſt over our heads, or above this world; the nine unhappy places under our feet. The higheſt of the firſt nine is the place of moſt bliſs; and the loweſt of the ſecond nine the place of moſt miſery. But however great may be the felicity of the ninth paradiſe, yet that felicity is not eternal, nor exempt from inquietudes; ſince it is a ſtate in which one is not only born, but alſo dies. The true paradiſe of the *Indians* is of another kind. If, after ſeveral tranſmigrations, a ſoul, by the good works done in each new life, arrives at ſo much merit, that there is not, in any of the worlds, any mortal condition which is worthy of it, they ſay it then enjoys the *Nireupan*; that is, it has *diſappeared*, and will return no more to any world, but remains in a ſtate of eternal inactivity, and real impaſſibility [c]. This word *Nireupan* the *Portugueſes* have tranſlated *it is annihilated*, and *it is become a god*; although, in the opinion of the *Siameſes*, this is neither a real annihilation, nor an acquiſition of any divine nature. In like manner, their true hell is not in any of the nine unhappy abodes, in ſome of which they ſuppoſe eternal flames and torments; but conſiſts in the ſoul's never arriving at the *Nireupan*, and being doomed to eternal tranſmigrations.

State of Nireupan.

Its privileges.

BEFORE the ſoul diſappears, or enters into the ſupreme felicity, they believe that, as ſoon as he hath merited the *Nireupan*, he enjoys great privileges in this life: as, that he acquires a prodigious knowlege, particularly of what happened to him in his ſeveral tranſmigrations, and what ſhall happen till the time of his death; that he ſhall be endued with invincible ſtrength, and the power of doing miracles. His death too muſt be of a more noble kind than the common ſort: he *diſappears*, ſay they, *like a ſpark, which is loſt in the air*. And it is to the memory of theſe perfectly beatified men that the *Siameſes* conſecrate their temples.

Enjoyed by ſeveral.

Now although the *Talapoys* pretend that ſeveral have arrived to this ſupreme felicity (to the end, in our author's

[b] LOUBERE, p. 120. 122. [c] Ibid. p. 120.

opinion,

opinion, that several others may hope to arrive thereat), yet they honour only one, whom they deem to have surpassed all the rest in virtue. This is him whom they call *Sommona Kodom*. *Kodom*, they say, was his proper name; and that *Sommona* signifies, in the *Balli* (or *Palli*) language, *a Talapoy of the woods*. *Religion, Scriptures.*

ACCORDING to them, there is no true virtue out of the *Talapoy* profession: and they believe the *Talapoy* of the woods to be much more virtuous than those of the cities.

AND this, our author says, is the whole doctrine of the *Siameses*, in which he finds no traces of a divinity. They have no idea of a being who created all things; nor consequently of any deity: so that their whole religion may be reduced intirely to the worship of the dead [d].

THE sacred books of the *Talapoys*, written in the *Balli* language, on longish leaves of a tree, fastened together at one end, are filled with extravagant stories, grafted on the metempsychosis, and other doctrines of their religion. For instance, their principal book, believed to be written by *Sommona Kodom* (A), relates, that a certain elephant had thirty-three heads, each head seven teeth, each tooth seven pools, each pool seven flowers, every flower seven leaves, every leaf seven towers, every tower seven other things, and so on, still proceeding by the number seven [e]. But let us leave these foolish conceits, to consider the morality of the *Siameses*. Balli *books.*

IT has been already observed, in our account of the religion of the *Lahos*, or *Lanjans*, that the principles of the *Indian* morals are reduced to five negative precepts. We shall here consider in what latitude each of them is understood by the *Talapoys*, particularly those of *Siam*. *Moral precepts.*

THE first precept, *Kill nothing*, is extended to vegetables and seeds, as well as animals: because they believe the seed contains the plant; or is only the plant itself under a cover. He therefore who keeps the precept can live solely on fruit; which they consider only as part of a thing which has life, and which suffers not by having its fruit plucked. But, in eating the fruit, he must avoid eating either the kernel or stone, because they are seeds: nor must unripe fruit be eaten, because that is to render the seed which the fruit contains abortive, by hindering it from coming to maturity. 1. *Not to kill,*

[d] LOUBERE, p. 130. [e] Ibid. p. 135.

(A) This probably is the *Vinak*; a fragment of which text, called *Patimouk*, is given by *Loubere*, p. 157.

Religion, Morality.

The precept goes ſtill farther, even to forbid deſtroying any thing in nature: becauſe they think every thing is animated, or rather has a ſoul; ſo that to deſtroy any thing is to diſpoſſeſs a ſoul. Thus they believe that to break a branch of a tree, is like breaking the arm of an innocent perſon, and offends the ſoul of the tree; but when once the ſoul has been diſlodged from any body, they think no harm can be done in feeding on the latter. The *Talapoys* do not ſcruple to eat of what is dead, but only of killing what they believe to be alive.

nor diſpoſſeſs ſouls.

In ſeveral inſtances they teſtify a greater abhorrence of blood than of murder. They are forbidden to make any inciſion from whence blood may flow; as if the ſoul was the blood, or principally lodged in it. The *Siameſes* ſcruple to go a fiſhing, except on the days when the *Talapoys* ſhave their heads. At thoſe times they fancy that they commit no crime; ſaying, that they only pull them out of the water, and ſhed not their blood; but the ſmalleſt evaſion ſerves to elude the precepts. Thus they imagine killing in war to be no ſin, becauſe they ſhoot not directly at the enemy; although, in reality, they endeavour to kill. For all this, if they are told, that murder in ſome caſes appears laudable, ſince it may deliver a ſoul from a miſerable life, they anſwer; firſt, that forcibly to diſpoſſeſs ſouls is always to injure them: Secondly, that by being diſpoſſeſſed they are relieved; becauſe they re-enter the like bodies, in order to live-out the time appointed them in that ſtate. As to ſelf-murder, the *Siameſes* think it not only lawful, becauſe maſters of themſelves, but alſo meritorious; judging it a ſacrifice which acquires the ſoul a great degree of virtue and perfection. In this perſuaſion they ſometimes hang themſelves out of devotion: but ſome great diſcontent is generally the true motive; as was the caſe of a *Peguer*, who burnt himſelf publicly in a temple at *Siam*, about the year 1680.

Self-murder lawful.

Second. Third.

With regard to the ſecond precept, *Steal nothing*, our author has nothing particular to obſerve: but the third, *Commit not any impurity*, extends, he ſays, not only to adultery and fornication, but alſo to marriage; which (with the *Talapoys*) is a ſtate of ſin, as celibacy is a ſtate of perfection.

Fourth.

The fourth precept, *Lye not*, in *Loubere*'s opinion, merited an explanation; but he was not furniſhed with materials for the purpoſe.

Fifth.

The fifth and laſt, *Drink no intoxicating liquor*, prohibits not only drinking ſtrong liquors till one is overcome with them, but the drinking at all of any inebriating liquor, though ever ſo moderately [f].

As

[f] Loubere, p. 126.

As the *Siameſes* acknowlege no author of the univerſe, ſo they acknowlege no firſt legiſlator. They erect temples to the memory of certain men, concerning whom they believe a thouſand fables, which the ſuperſtition of their anceſtors has invented. And theſe are they whom the *Portugueſes* have called the gods of the *Indies*; imagining that whatever was honoured with public worſhip could be no leſs than a god (A). The *Indians* indeed have allowed theſe men to be called gods; but the reaſon is, that they do not underſtand the true meaning of the word god. The erecting ſtatues to men, and giving them exterior worſhip, is not always a mark of divine honour, ſince the like hath been, and ſtill are, often given to magiſtrates; as ſtatues have even been ſet up in churches, and honoured with incenſe, as well as other exterior forms of worſhip. Therefore the *Indians* are not to be accuſed with idolatry for the like practice; much leſs, as it does not appear that they acknowlege any deity: for this reaſon they ought rather to be termed atheiſts than idolaters. On the other hand, when it is conſidered that they offer vows and ſacrifices to thoſe who are not gods, they cannot well be excuſed from idolatry.

Religion, Toleration. If idolaters,

THE *Indians* are perſuaded, that different people muſt have different religions; and therefore have no notion that one ought to extirpate another. They do not hold, like *Europeans*, that faith is a virtue. They believe, becauſe they know not how to doubt: much leſs are they perſuaded, that there is a faith and worſhip, which ought to be the faith and worſhip of all nations. The prieſts do not preach that a ſoul ſhall be puniſhed for denying their traditions, becauſe they do not find that any do deny them. They are willing to believe all foreign religions, how incomprehenſible ſoever, to be true: but cannot be perſuaded that their own is falſe; or to reject their ſacred books, although they ſometimes acknowlege that there are inconſiſtencies in them. In this they act but like *Europeans*, who do not, on account of ſome falſity, reject every hiſtorian, or book of phyſick. They do not believe their doctrine to have deſcended from heaven, or to have come from the infallible mouth of truth. They hold it to have been born with the man, and written by ſome endowed with extraordinary knowlege; but who never ſinned, or were capable of being deceived, although they were not inſpired [g].

hold all religions good.

[g] LOUBERE, p. 139, & ſeq.

(A) Then they muſt believe their own images to be gods: but it is the iniquitous art of *Romiſh* prieſts of all nations, to accuſe others with idolatry, though free from the charge, in order to cloak their own.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Talapoys, *or Prieſts.*

Religion, Prieſts.

THERE are two ſorts of *Talapoys* in *Siam*, as every-where elſe; ſome dwell in woods, and others in cities. *Gervaiſe* diſtinguiſhes the *Talapoys* into three orders or degrees: *Balwang* (or *Pat Lowang*), *Chaw-kow*, and *Pe-kow*; which may ariſe from ſome difference between the *Sankrats* and *Talapoys*. However, *Loubere* always underſtood *Balwang*, written *Pat-louang*, to be only a title of reſpect; and *Chaw-kow*, which ſignifies *lord*, or *my lord*, to be the name of the *Talapoys* in *Siam*; for they have no other there [a]. However that may be, the *Talapoys*, conſidered as religious, will admit of another diviſion, like the regulars of the *Romiſh* church, namely, into that of monks and nuns; for there are *Talapoyneſſes*, or ſhe *Talapoys*, who have their particular rules, or way of living.

Talapoys, *kinds of.*

Talapoy *of the woods.*

WITH regard to the *Talapoys* of the male ſex, thoſe of the woods are reckoned more holy than thoſe of the cities. They have neither convents nor temples; ſo that, having no places of ſecurity to retire to, the people admire the ſecurity in which they live from wild beaſts: but poſſibly they may, in the night, make fires, and chooſe the cloſeſt thickets to live in. Doubtleſs alſo the woods are not ſo dangerous as they report; ſeeing ſo many families do ſeek ſanctuary there againſt the government. Theſe are our ways of accounting for the matter: but the *Siameſes* have quite other notions of things. They believe that theſe *Talapoy* are expoſed continually to the moſt imminent dangers; and that nothing but their extreme ſanctity could protect them. They imagine, that the tigers, elephants, and rhinoceros's, do reverence them, and lick their hands and feet, when they find any of them aſleep. Should they find the remains of ſome man, who had been devoured by thoſe animals, they would never believe that he was a *Talapoy*, unleſs there appeared ſome evident proof: on which occaſion they would preſume (as, in the like caſe, many as bigotted *Chriſtians* do), that this *Talapoy* had been wicked, without ceaſing to believe that the wild beaſts have a profound reſpect for the good and virtuous [b].

Talapoy *how made.*

As any perſon may be a *Talapoy*, he, who has a mind to enter into the profeſſion, firſt agrees with ſome ſuperior to receive him, and then goes to demand the habit of ſome *Sankrat*; in caſe the ſuperior he is to remain with is not one himſelf. The *Sankrat* appoints ſome afternoon for his admiſſion,

[a] LOUBERE, p. 114 118, 134. [b] Ibid. p. 115, & ſeq.

when

when the party, his relations and friends, come accompanied with muſic and dancers; neither theſe latter, nor the women, enter the temple; where the *Sankrat* waits to receive the new member: for whoever ſhould oppoſe his admiſſion would commit a ſin. When he has been ſhaven, he puts on the habit given him by the *Sankrat*, who, in the mean time, repeats ſeveral words in the *Balli* language. The ceremony being ended, the new *Talapoy* repairs to the convent where he is to reſide, accompanied by his kinsfolks: but from this time he muſt take his leave of muſic and dancing. Some days after, the relations give an entertainment to the convent; and exhibit ſhews before the temple, which the *Talapoys* are prohibited to ſee [c]. *Religion, Prieſts.*

THE *Talapoys* go with bare heads and feet like the people. Round their loins and thighs they wear the *pagne* alſo, but of yellow linen, which is the royal colour (A). They have no muſlin ſhirt or veſt. Their habit conſiſts of four pieces: the firſt is the *angſa*, a kind of ſhoulder belt, of the ſame ſort of linen, five or ſix inches broad: they wear it on their left ſhoulder, and button it with a ſingle button on the right hip, than which it goes no lower. Over this belt they put another great yellow cloth, which they call *pa ſhivon*, or *the cloth of ſeveral pieces*, becauſe it ought to be patched in ſeveral places. The *Portugueſes* call it the *pagne* of the *Talapoys*. It is a kind of ſcapulary, which reaches to the ground both behind and before, and which, covering only the left ſhoulder, returns to the right hip, leaving the two arms, with all the right ſhoulder, free. Over this is the *pa pat*, another cloth four or five inches broad, which they likewiſe put over the left ſhoulder, but like a hood, deſcending to the navel before, and equally low behind. The *Sankrats*, and moſt ancient *Talapoys*, wear it red. To keep the *angſa* and *pa ſhivon*, which muſt always be yellow, in a poſture, they gird their middle with a yellow cloth called *rappakod*: and this completes the four pieces whereof their habit conſiſts. *Their habit.*

THEY ſhave all their beard, head, and eyebrows. The *Siam* razors are of copper. The ſuperior is forced to ſhave himſelf, becauſe no perſon can touch his head without ſhewing him diſreſpect: but when he is very old, another is permitted to do that office. By the ſame rule, a young *Talapoy* dares not ſhave an old one: but the old may ſhave the young; that is, the *nens* or children committed to their education, who know not how to ſhave themſelves. The ſhaving days are *The tonſure.*

[c] LOUBERE, p. 118.

(A) It is the ſame in *China*.

thoſe

Religion, Prieſts. thoſe of the new and full moon, on which they faſt, that is, eat nothing from noon. They uſe a chaplet, or beads, of 108 grains, on which they recite certain *Balli* words [d].

Beads and fan. THE *Talapoyneſſes*, who are called *Nang-chi*, are clad in white, like the *Tapakaw*, or ſervants; nor are they, in a ſtrict ſenſe, eſteemed religious. A ſimple ſuperior ſuffices to give them the name, as well as the habit. They are obliged to continence; yet are not burnt, like the *Talapoys*, in caſe they break the rule. On being convicted of the fact, they are delivered up to their parents, to be baſtonado'd; becauſe neither the *Talapoys*, nor *Talapoyneſſes*, are permitted to ſtrike any perſon [e].

Talapoyneſſes.

Talapoys *without ſin.* THE *Siameſes* do not believe that real virtue is deſigned for any but the *Talapoys*. However, they hold, that what is ſin in itſelf, is ſin in every perſon who commits it; and the *Talapoys* eſteem nothing a ſin in their order, which is not a ſin to all the world: but then they ſay it is the buſineſs of the laity to ſin, and of themſelves not to ſin. They ſay alſo, that it is their office to repent for thoſe who ſin. They likewiſe think that they, who are deſtined to expiate the ſins of others by penance, ought to be more pure than others; and that the puniſhment due to ſin may paſs from the guilty to the innocent, in caſe the innocent will voluntarily ſubmit himſelf to deliver the guilty.

Make the laity ſin. NOTWITHSTANDING this, the *Talapoy* have very groſs conceptions concerning the nature of ſin: for although they abſtain themſelves from actions which they deem wicked, yet they ſcruple not, for lucre ſake, to make the laity commit them. Thus, becauſe rice being a ſeed, they cannot boil it, without ſin, as that would be to kill it: yet they order their ſervants, who are laymen, or elſe the *Talapoy* children whom they educate, to commit this pretended ſin; and then eat the rice which they have cooked. They are likewiſe forbidden to piſs on either the fire, water, or earth; becauſe that would be to extinguiſh the fire, or corrupt the other two elements: but after they have made water in a baſon, they give it to their ſervant, to throw where-ever he pleaſes. Whatever ſins the laity commit, they expiate them by their good works; which principally conſiſt in beſtowing alms on the temples and the *Talapoys*, acording to the ancient cuſtom, prevailing almoſt every-where, and ſo frequently repeated in ſcripture, that *alms-deeds ranſom ſin.*

Their moral maxims. OUR author has publiſhed the moral maxims of the *Siameſe Talapoys*, in which one ſees the great reſpect which they have for the elements, and for all the parts of nature. They

[d] LOUBERE, p. 116. [e] Ibid. p. 119.

are

are forbidden to ſpeak injuriouſly of any natural production: to dig a hole in the earth, and not to fill it up afterwards; to boil the earth, as to boil rice; to kindle a fire, becauſe it is to deſtroy that with which it is kindled; or to extinguiſh it, when it is once kindled. By thoſe maxims it appears that the *Talapoy* pay as much regard to purity and decency, as to real virtue: and that they have ſome ideas of all the virtues, but no juſt notions of any of them; becauſe they ſtrain ſome too far with their ſuperſtitious ſcruples, and do not live up ſtrictly to others. They ſee it is impoſſible for all perſons to keep theſe maxims; ſince it is neceſſary for ſomebody to make a fire: yet think they keep them, by ſhifting the ſin off themſelves upon the laity, and, on that account, pretend to be pure: as if there was no harm in obliging others to do a ſinful action, provided they keep from doing it themſelves. On this falſe purity, purchaſed at the expence of the laity, is grounded all that pride which the *Talapoy* ſhew towards them: for they ſeat themſelves higher than ſecular people; never ſalute them; and affect never to bewail the death of any perſon, even of their parents. They have a kind of confeſſion; for, from time to time, they ſeem in private to render an account of their actions to their ſuperior. But inſtead of confeſſing themſelves ſinners, they declare themſelves free from ſin: *I have not ſtolen*, ſay they; *I have not lied*; and ſo of the reſt.

Religion, Prieſts.

Impoſſible to be kept.

Confeſſion of no ſins.

A *Talapoy* ſins, if, in the ſtreet, he has not his ſenſes compoſed; or if he meddles with ſtate-affairs; if he coughs, to attract the eyes of a woman; if he beholds a woman with complacency, or deſires one; if he uſes perfumes, puts flowers in his ears, or adorns himſelf with too much care. He is to have but one garment, and that not ſhewy: is to keep no victuals from the evening till next day: nor to touch, or even deſire, gold or ſilver. But as they may abandon their profeſſion when they pleaſe, ſo they take care to gather wherewith to live at their eaſe, when they leave the convent [a].

Rules of the order.

THE ſpirit of the inſtitution of the *Talapoys* is to keep themſelves from the ſins of the people, to lead a penitent life for the ſins of thoſe who beſtow alms upon them, and to live on alms. They eat not in common, and are very hoſpitable to the ſeculars of all religions: yet they are forbidden to ſhare among their companions the alms which they receive, at leaſt to do it immediately; every one being ſuppoſed to repent ſufficiently, and not to have occaſion to expiate his ſins, by beſtowing alms. However, they are allowed

[a] LOUBERE, p. 128, & ſeq.

to

Religion, Prieſts.

ed to give things ſometimes to their brethren, and aſſiſt them in real neceſſity. They have two lodgings, one on each ſide of the door, to receive paſſengers who deſire a bed [a]. Their way of begging is like that uſed in *Pegu* and *Laos*.

THE *Talapoys* are obliged ſtrictly to keep celibacy, ſo long as they continue in their profeſſion, on pain of being burnt; and the king never pardons them in this caſe, when convicted [b].

Talapoys *their origin.*

As to the origin of the *Talapoys*, it is like that of the *Brâmmans* and *Bonzas*, ſo obſcure, that it will be difficult ever to diſcover it. They are ignorant of the founder of their order; but ſay, that all thoſe whoſe ſtatues are honoured in their temples, were of it: and the people believe, that both they and their doctrine are as ancient as the world itſelf [c].

Talapoy *privileges.*

THE *Talapoy* have great privileges; among the reſt, that of being exempted from the ſix months ſervice. The king, therefore, to diminiſh the number of theſe privileged perſons, whoſe power he has reaſon to fear, cauſes them, from time to time, to be examined as to their knowlege of the *Balli* language, and its books: if they are not learned enough, he reduces them to a ſecular ſtate; as he did ſeveral thouſands, about the year 1687. They were examined by a lay-officer; but thoſe of the woods refuſed to be examined by any but one of their own ſuperiors [d].

IT is one of the privileges of the *Talapoys* that they cannot be put to death. When the preſent king's father ſeized the crown, he thought it impoſſible ſecurely to make an attempt on one of the princes of the blood, till he had firſt artfully prevailed on him to quit the *Talapoy* habit which he wore. In like manner, when that uſurper died, his ſon turned *Talapoy*, to ſecure himſelf againſt his uncle, who had taken poſſeſſion of the throne [e].

Functions.

THE functions proper to the *Talapoy* are to educate youth, as hath been related; and to explain their doctrine to the people, out of their *Balli* books. They preach the day after every new and full moon, and the people conſtantly frequent the temples. When the river is ſwelled, till the inundation begins to ſink, they preach every day, from ſix in the morning till dinner-time, and from one in the afternoon till five. The *Talapoy* relieve one another in this office, the preacher ſitting croſs-legged, in a high chair of ſtate; and when he has fi-

Preaching.

[a] LOUBERE, p. 114. [b] LA CROZE Chret. des Indes, p. 115. [c] Ibid. p. 134. [d] Ibid. p. 115. [e] Ibid. p. 135.

niſhed

niſhed his ſermon, the people give him alms: ſo that they who preach frequently throughout the year, ſoon become rich. *Religion, Prieſts.*

THIS time may be called the *Lent* of the *Talapoys*. Their faſting is to eat nothing from noon, unleſs they may chew *betel*: but when they do not faſt, they only eat fruit in the afternoon. The *Indians* are ſo ſober, that a faſt of forty, nay of an hundred days, does not appear incredible to them. *Van Twiſt*, a *Dutch* author, affirms, that ſome have faſted the firſt number of days, without taking any-thing but a little liquor, mixed with a little bitter wood reduced to powder: and the *Siameſes* ſpeak of a *Talapoy* who faſted 107 days, but then aſcribed it to magic; ſaying it was eaſy to live on graſs, provided certain words were uttered over it. *Lent faſting.*

AFTER the rice-harveſt, the *Talapoys* go for three weeks to watch in the fields by night, under ſmall huts, ſet round their ſuperiors, made of branches of trees; and in the day return to viſit the temple, and ſleep in their cells. They make no fires on this occaſion, to ſcare away the wild beaſts; ſo that the people look on it as a miracle that they are not devoured. But it muſt be conſidered, that this is a time when the wild beaſts meet with much forage; and the *Talapoy* know how to chooſe the ſafeſt ground, as well as ſecure themſelves by incloſures. However, our author knew not the reaſon either of this watch, or their *Lent* [f]. *Watch in the fields.*

ON the full moon of the fifth month the *Talapoys* waſh the ſtatues with perfumed waters, all but the head, which muſt not be touched, out of reſpect: they afterwards waſh the *Sankrat*. The people likewiſe waſh him, and the other *Talapoys*. In particular families the children waſh their parents, without regard to their ſex; for the ſon and daughter waſh the father and grandfather, as well as the mother and grandmother. *Waſhings.*

THE *Talapoys* being raiſed in the morning by the ſound of their bells (for they have no clock), the firſt thing they do is to waſh themſelves, as ſoon as it is light enough to ſee their way, leſt in walking they ſhould kill any inſect without perceiving it. After this they go with their ſuperior to the temple for two hours; there they ſing, or repeat a paſſage out of their *Balli* books: but the people have no prayer-book. Their poſture, while they ſing, is to ſit croſs-legged, and continually to toſs their *talipat*, or fan, as if fanning themſelves, in meaſure with their words; which they pronounce in equal time, and in the ſame tone. At their entering in, *How they ſpend*

[f] LA CROZE, p. 115, & ſeq.

and

Religion, Prieſts. and going out of the temple, they proſtrate themſelves three times before the ſtatue; and the laity do the ſame.

the day. AFTER prayers, they go into the city for an hour to beg alms. Their method is to ſtand at the gates, without ſaying any thing; and, in a little time, if nothing is given them, paſs on: but it is rare that the people refuſe them a benevolence; and their relations never fail them. At their return to the convent they breakfaſt; ſometimes preſenting to the ſtatue what they eat. Till noon they ſtudy, or divert themſelves, and then dine. After dinner they read a lecture to the little *Talapoys*; and then go to ſleep, or take a walk in the city. In the evening they ſweep the temple, and ſing there, as in the morning, for two hours; after which they lie down. If they eat a ſupper, it is only of fruit.

Servants. BESIDES the ſlaves which the convents may have, each has one or two ſervants, called *Tapakaw*, who are laymen, tho' dreſſed like *Talapoys*, excepting that their habit is white, and not yellow. They receive all the money which is given to their maſters, becauſe theſe latter cannot touch it without ſinning. They have the care of the gardens and lands belonging to the convent; in ſhort, theſe *Tapakaw* do for the *Talapoys* whatever they conceive ought not to be done by themſelves [e].

Superiors. EVEREY convent is under the direction of a ſuperior, called *Chaw Vat*, that is, *lord of the convent:* but all the ſuperiors are not of equal dignity. The moſt honourable are thoſe whom they call *Sankrat*; and he of the palace convent is the moſt reverend of all: yet no ſuperior nor *Sankrat* has authority or juriſdiction over another. This body would be too formidable if it had but one head, and acted always unanimouſly, or according to the ſame maxims.

Sankrats. THE miſſioners have compared the *Sankrats* to biſhops, and the ſimple ſuperiors to pariſh prieſts: they fanſy alſo that *Siám* formerly had ſome Chriſtian biſhops, to whom the *Sankrats* have ſucceeded. But although the *Sankrats* only can make *Talapoys*, as none but biſhops can make prieſts; yet they have not any juriſdiction or authority, either over the people or the *Talapoys*, which are not of their reſpective convents. Every convent, deſigned for a *Sankrat*, is diſtinguiſhed from others by ſtones, bearing ſome diſtant reſemblance to a mitre ſet on a pedeſtal, which are planted round the temple near its walls. The dignity of the *Sankrat* is denoted by the number of theſe ſtones, which are never fewer than two, nor more than eight: it was the figure of

[e] LA CROZE, p. 117, & ſeq.

theſe ſtones which gave riſe to the notion of the miſſioners. The king gives to the principal *Sankrat* a name and an umbrella, with a ſedan, and men to carry it [f]. *Religion, Prieſts.*

THE *Talapoys* never walk out of their convent, or return, without going to ſalute their ſuperior, by touching the ground with their forehead; and becauſe he generally ſits croſs-legged, they take one of his feet with both hands, and put it on their head. *Reſpect paid them.*

WHEN the ſuperior, whether he be a *Sankrat* or not, is dead, the religious elect another; and commonly they chuſe the oldeſt *Talapoy* in the convent, or at leaſt the moſt learned. Perſons who build temples chuſe a ſuperior for the convent, but build no houſes for the *Talapoys*, only as they come and ſettle there [g]. *Their election.*

THE *Talapoys* live in convents, called *Vat*, which are always erected near ſome temple (B), named *Pihan* by the *Siâmeſes*: both together take up a very great ſquare piece of ground, encompaſſed with an incloſure of *bambû*. The temple ſtands in the middle; and the cells are ranged at the corners, and along the incloſure, like the tents of an army, the rows being ſometimes double or triple. Theſe are little huts or ſingle houſes erected on piles; and that of the ſuperior a little larger and higher than the reſt. Each convent has ſome gardens and arable lands, with ſlaves to plough them. All their lands are free from taxes; and the king never touches them, although the real property of them lies in him; unleſs he gives them away by an inſtrument in writeing, which he ſcarce ever does [h]. Talapoy convents. *Lands free.*

THE *Talapoyneſſes* have no convents of their own, but live in thoſe of the *Talapoys*; for being all advanced in years, the *Siameſes* think they may be truſted with the men. In thoſe convents, where any are (for they are not in all), one of the ſides of the outward incloſure is allotted for their cells, without any other ſeparation from the reſt. Talapoyneſſes.

THE *Nens*, or *Talapoy* children, are diſperſed in the cells of the *Talapoys*, and ſerve thoſe under whom they are placed by their parents. No *Talapoy* ever takes more than two or three: theſe are not all young, for ſome grow old in this condition, which is not entirely religious. The oldeſt of the *Nen* is called *Taten*, whoſe buſineſs it is to pluck up the Talapoy children.

[f] LOUBERE hiſt. Siam, p. 114.
[g] Ibid. p. 117, & ſeq.
[h] Ibid. p. 113, & 117.

(B) A late author ſays, there are 50,000 belonging to the temples in and about *Siam*. *Hamilton*'s new acc. of *E. Ind.* vol. ii p. 163.

weeds

Religion, Prieſts. weeds which grow in the ground of the convent, and which the *Talapoys* think they cannot do themſelves without committing ſin.

THE ſchool of the *Nen* is a hall of *bambû*, ſtanding alone; beſides which there is another, where the people carry their alms, on the days when the temple is ſhut, and where the *Talapoys* aſſemble for their ordinary conferences.

Temples and ſteeples. THE temple is ſurrounded with pyramids ſtanding near it; and the ground on which they are ſituated is higher than the reſt. It is likewiſe ſquare, and incloſed with a wall; between which and the cells is an empty ſpace, which ſerves for a court to the convent. Sometimes along the inner incloſure there are covered galleries, like the cloiſters in *Romiſh* monaſteries; and on a counter wall breaſt-high, which runs along theſe galleries, they range images, ſometimes gilded. The ſteeple of the temple is a wooden tower, ſtanding alone, which they call *horakang*, or the belfry. The bell, which has no clapper, is ſounded with a wooden mallet [i].

Feſtival days. THOSE days on which the *Talapoys* ſhave, the people abſtain from fiſhing; ſeemingly, as an employment not wholly innocent: for they do not abſtain from any other ſort of work. They likewiſe carry alms to the convents, which conſiſt of money, fruits, *pagnes*, or cattle: if the cattle be dead, the *Talapoys* eat the fleſh. If not, they let them live and die about the temple, eating them only when they die of themſelves. Near certain temples there is a pond for the living fiſh, which are offered to ſuch temples. Beſides theſe feſtival days, common to all the temples, every temple has a particular day appointed to receive the alms, as if it was the feaſt of its dedication.

THE people voluntarily aſſiſt at theſe feſtivals, and make a ſhew with their new cloaths. One of their principal charities is to give liberty to ſome animals, which they buy of thoſe who take them in the fields.

Offerings. WHAT the people offer to the ſtatue is not done by themſelves, but it is delivered to the *Talapoys*; who preſent it, either by holding it in their hand before the image, or laying it upon the altar: and a while after, they take it away, and convert it to their own uſe. Sometimes the people offer up lighted tapers, which the *Talapoys* faſten to the knees of the ſtatue; and this is the reaſon why one of the knees of a great many images are ungilt [k].

[i] LOUBERE, p. 113, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. p. 116, & ſeq.

SECT.

4

SECT. IX.

Of Sommona Kodom, *the Founder or Reſtorer of the* Siameſe *Religion.*

THE *Chineſes* ſay that a *Siameſe*, named *She-kya*, was the author of this religion and the metempſychoſis; but the *Siameſes* themſelves pretend no ſuch thing (A); imagining that this doctrine is as ancient as the ſouls themſelves. The *Japaners* call the *She-kya* of the *Chineſes Sha-ka*; which words nearly agreeing in ſound, ſeem to be derived from *Chawka* and *Chawkow*, which ſignify *lord*, or *my lord*; the name, as hath been already obſerved, given to the *Talapoys* in *Siam*: ſo that, ſays our author, the *Chineſes* ſeem to have taken the general name of the profeſſion for the proper name of the founder. *Religion, Sommona Kodom.*

THIS conjecture would be very probable, provided we were ſure that the *Chineſes* received the religion of *She-kya*, or *Sha-ka*, from the *Siameſes*: but, according to them, they had it from a country to the weſt of their empire, which ſeems to be *Tibet*; and though it was not known in *China* till ſixty-five years after *Chriſt*, yet they make its founder *She-kya*, or *Fo*, to have lived above 1000 years before the *Chriſtian* æra: whereas the *Siameſes* place the death of their lawgiver almoſt 500 years later. *Religion, origin from She-kya.*

THE *Chineſes* therefore, in making *She-kya* the founder of the *Siameſe* religion, honour it with greater antiquity, and, in effect, are right, ſince it is the ſame with that broached by *She-kya*, ſeveral ages before *Sommona Kodom*, the lawgiver of the *Siameſes*; who, to avoid confeſſing that he was beholden for it to another, pretend that their religion is as old as the world. But we know, from authentic hiſtory, that it was profeſſed by the *Sammans*, or *Shammans*, in the hither *India*, and had for its author *Budda* [a], who was either the ſame with *She-kya*, or another propagator of the ſame religion, long before *Sommona Kodom* appeared in *Siam* [b].

SOME *Balli* books do relate, that *Sommona Kodom* was born of a flower, iſſuing from the navel of an infant; who, they ſay, was the leaf of a tree, in form of an infant biting its toe, Sommona Kodom.

[a] See before, Vol. VI. l. 10. c. 8. [b] LOUBERE relat. Siam, p. 134.

(A) Nor indeed do the *Chineſes*, according to the later miſſionaries; though ſome of the early ones, through miſtake perhaps, relate that they do.

Religion, Sommona Kodom.

and ſwimming on the water, which alone ſubſiſted with the deity. This is the very ſame original which is aſcribed to their god *Brâmma*, by the *Indians* of *Palikatta*, on the coaſt of *Choromandel* [c]: and as the *Balli* or *Palli* language ſeems to be the ſame with that ſpoken in the laſt-mentioned country, and particularly at *Palikatta*, as may be preſumed from the word *Pali*, which is found in the name; it is probable that the firſt *Sammâns*, with *Sommona Kodom*, whoſe name ſeems to denote his being one, as hath been already remarked [d], paſſed from *Palikatta* into *Siam*. We are informed by Mr. *Loubere*, that the *Siameſes* ſay *Kodom* was the proper name of that lawgiver of theirs; and that *Sommona* is an appellative, which ſignifies, in the *Balli* or *Palli* language, *a Talapoy of the woods* [e]. Now *Sammân*, or *Sammâna*, ſignifies the ſame thing in the *Malabâr* language; a farther proof that *Kodom* came from the hither *India*. The *Siameſes* give him alſo the name of *Pouti Sat*, that is *lord Pouti* [f], or *Budda*, who was the founder of the *Sammân* ſect: but as the founder of a religion muſt be more ancient than his ſucceſſors, who propagate it, and it is probable *Kodom* left the hither *India* with the *Sammâns* [g], who were expelled by the *Brâmmans*; this laſt is a name beſtowed on him in commemoration of *Pouti*, or *Budda*, the original author of this religion; or becauſe it may have been imagined, that the ſoul of *Budda* was revived in him. However that be, the ſame author tells us, that the *Siameſes* call him alſo *Pra Poute Chaw*, which he ſays literally ſignifies, *the great and excellent lord* [h].

His name, whence.

His parents.

How wonderful ſoever the *Siameſes* pretend the birth of *Sommona Kodom* was, yet they fail not to give him both a father and mother. According to ſome of their *Balli* books, his father (B) was king of *Teve* (C) *Lanka*, that is, of the famous *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*. His mother's name was *Maha* (D) *Maria*, or the *great Mary*. But it is found written *Mania*, as often as *Maria*; which almoſt proves that *Mania* ſhould be

[c] Loubere, p. 136. [d] See before, p. 245. [e] Loubere, p. 130. [f] Ibid. p. 155. [g] See before, Vol. VI. l. 10. c. 8. [h] Loubere, p. 134, & 138.

(B) He is named *Tavſoutout* in the life of *Thevetat*, given by *Loubere*, p. 145.

(C) *Teve* ſeems to be a corruption of *Dive*, or *Div*; by the *Portugueſes* written *Diu*, which ſignifies an iſland: but *Lanka* is by many of the *Indians* reckoned only a part of *Seylan*. Mr. *Gervaiſe* makes *Sommona Kodom* a native of *China*.

(D) *Maha* is *great* in the *Malabâr* language; as *Maha Dew*, *the great God*; *Maha Râjah*, *the great Râjah*.

two distinct words, as *Man-ya;* because the *Siameſes* found the *n* with the *r*, only at the end of words, or else of syllables followed by a consonant. However, this circumstance has engaged the attention of the missioners; and perhaps given occasion to the *Siameſes* to believe, that *Jesus*, the son of *Mary*, was brother to *Sommona Kodom*; namely, the wicked *Thevetat* (E), whom they report to be tormented in hell, with a punishment which participates somewhat of the cross. *Religion, Sommona Kodom.*

As the *Balli* books are without either dates or the author's name, they can be of no more authority than any tradition, whose origin is unknown [i]. Neither does it appear from Mr. *Loubere*, that they mention the time when *Sommona Kodom* lived. All we gather touching this matter, is from one of the *Siameſe* epochas, which commences from the death of that saint [k] (as they say) in the year 544 before the *Christian* æra. But this puts the migration of *Kodom* into *Siam* many centuries earlier than the expulsion of the *Shammâns* or *Sammâns* out of the hither peninsula of the *Indies*. *His death.*

But let us quit these uncertainties, to see what the *Siameſes* reported concerning *Sommona Kodom*, out of their *Balli* books, to our author; for he could not procure a translation of one. It is said that his charity, not being satisfied with bestowing all his estate in alms, he not only plucked out his eyes, but slew his wife and children, to give the *Talapoys* to eat [l]. To induce the people more strongly to bestow alms on the priests, the contrivers of this story make the founder of their law act against one of the chief precepts of it, as well as all the ties of nature. However that be, *Sommona Kodom* being freed by those alms-deeds from all the bands of life, devoted himself to fasting, prayer, and the other exercises belonging to the perfect state. But as the performance of such duties are possible only to the *Talapoys*, he therefore embraced the profession: and having filled up the measure of his good works, immediately acquired all the privileges consequent thereto. *His history.*

For instance, he found himself endowed with so great strength, that, in a duel, he vanquished *Pra Swane*, another man of consummate virtue; who doubting the perfection to which *Sommona Kodom* was arrived, challenged him to fight. *Miraculous power.*

[i] Loubere, p. 136. [k] Ibid. p. 8, & 64. [l] Ibid. p. 136.

(E) *Loubere*, in his relation of *Siam*, p. 145. has inserted the life of *Thevetat*; which is full of fictions, no less idle than incredible.

Religion. Sommona Kodom.

He had likewiſe the power of doing all ſorts of miracles; could make himſelf as big as he pleaſed, or ſo little, as neither to be ſeen nor felt by any perſon, though ſtanding on his head: could enjoy the *Nireupan*, or *diſappear*, by placing another man in his ſtead: he, of a ſudden, and perfectly, underſtood all things in the world; had a knowlege equally of things paſt and to come; with a ſurpriſing agility of tranſporting himſelf from one place to another, in order to preach virtue to all nations.

His diſciples.

SOMMONA Kodom had two principal diſciples, who on altars are both placed behind him, cloſe together; *Pra Mogla* on his right hand, and *Pra Skaribout* on his left. Behind them are placed the officers within *Kodom*'s palace; thoſe without his palace are ranged along the galleries or cloiſters of temples. They ſay *Pra Mogla*, at the requeſt of the damned, overturned the earth, and took hell-fire in his hand, in order to quench it: but as he could not effect his deſign, becauſe the fire dried up the rivers, and conſumed everything it came near, he beſeeched *Pra Pouti Chaw*, or *Sommona Kodom*, to extinguiſh it. This *Pra Pouti* could eaſily have done, yet would not; ſaying, *men would grow too wicked, ſhould he deſtroy the fear of this puniſhment* [m].

Kills a Man,

FOR all this great perfection to which *Sommona Kodom* was arrived, yet he happened to kill one of the *Man* (F), his enemies; as a puniſhment for which fault, his life exceeded not eight years, at which time he died, by diſappearing on a ſudden, like a ſpark which is loſt in the air: for one day, as he ate pig's fleſh, he was ſeized with a cholic-fit, which killed him: and it was neceſſary that he ſhould die by a pig, becauſe the ſoul of the perſon whom he had ſlain was then in the body of a pig.

and diſappears.

SOMMONA Kodom having ordered ſome temples and ſtatues to be conſecrated to him, at his death entered into that ſtate of repoſe which the *Siameſes* expreſs by the word *Nireupan*, as hath been already mentioned. This is not a place, but a ſtate, of being (G): for, to ſpeak truly, they

[m] LOUBERE, p. 137, & ſeq.

(F) The *Siameſes* write *Mar* and *Man*, but always pronounce *Man*; they call theſe people *Paya Man*: and becauſe they ſuppoſe this people were enemies to ſo holy a perſon, they repreſent them as a kind of monſters with very large faces, teeth horrible for their ſize, and ſerpents on their heads inſtead of hair. Perhaps theſe *Mân* may be the *Mons* of *Mendez Pinto*.

(G) Elſewhere, the *Nireupan* ſeems to be explained *the poſſeſſion of the univerſe*.

ſay

ſay that he is no-where, and enjoys not any felicity: that he is without power, and in no condition to do either good or evil to mankind. At the ſame time they reckon him happy; offer prayers to, and demand of, him whatever they want. Whether their doctrine in this point be inconſiſtent with itſelf, or that the *Siameſes* extend their worſhip beyond their doctrine, it is certain; that, in whatever ſenſe they aſcribe power to *Sommona Kodom*, they believe that he has it only over themſelves, and that he concerns himſelf not with other nations, who adore men beſides him [n]. *Religion, Sommona Kodom.*

As the *Siameſes* report nothing but fables of their *Sommona Kodom*, and reſpect him not as the author of their laws, but as the perſon who re-eſtabliſhed them among mankind; in ſhort, as they have no authentic memoirs concerning him, *Loubere* is of opinion, that there never was ſuch a man; but that he is a fictitious perſon, ſet up by the *Talapoy* as a pattern of virtue; and that, in the ſame manner, they have in *Thevetat* (whom they make to be his enemy as well as brother), feigned a wicked character, to deter men from vice. They repreſent both as *Talapoys*; and ſuppoſe that *Kodom*, in the ſeveral tranſmigrations of his ſoul, has paſſed through all things, and been always excellent, whether a pig, an ape, or a king [o]. *Sommona Kodom fictitious.*

THE *Siameſes* ſpeak of ſeveral other perfect men, who were contemporary with *Sommona Kodom*, as *Pra Swane* before-mentioned, and *Pra Ariaſeria*, of whom they report, that he was forty fathoms high; that his eyes were three and a half broad, and two and a half round; that is, leſs in circumference than diameter, if, ſays our author, there was not ſome miſtake in the original [p]. The *Siameſes* likewiſe expect another *Sommona Kodom*, that is, another miraculous man like him, whom they have already named *Pra Narotte*. They ſay that this perſon was foretold by *Kodom*; that he ſhall kill his two children for the *Talapoys* to eat; and that, by this pious charity, he will conſummate his virtue. This expectation of a new perfect man, makes them watchful and credulous (as the *Jews* are with relation to the *Meſſiah*): ſo that they are apt to believe *Pra Narotte* is come, whenever they hear of any extraordinary perſon, eſpecially if he happens to be intirely ſtupid; becauſe that ſort of condition nearly reſembles the inactivity of the *Nireupan*. An inſtance of this kind happened but a few years ago, on occaſion of a boy who was born dumb. This child, having been found ſo ſtupid that he ſeemed to have nothing human about him but *Other perfect men.* *Another Kodom expected.*

[n] LOUBERE, p. 137. [o] Ibid. p. 138. [p] Ibid. p. 137.

Government.

the ſhape, a report preſently ſpread throughout *Siam*, that he was one of the firſt men who inhabited the country, and would one day become a perfect man. The people, prepoſſeſſed with the ſuperſtitious expectation of *Pra Narotte*, immediately flocked from all parts of the kingdom, to adore and make him preſents; till the king, fearing the conſequences of this folly, put a timely ſtop to it, by puniſhing ſome of the infatuated multitude [q].

TACHARD hath related many other matters relative to both the religion of the *Siameſes*, and their god *Sommona Kodom*; but as his account is full of extravagances, of which enough have been related from *Loubere* to give our readers a ſample, not to ſay a ſurfeit, we ſhall content ourſelves to refer them to that author [r], without expatiating further on theſe ſubjects.

CHAP. IX.

The Government of Siam.

SECT. I.

Degrees of Honours, Laws, Puniſhments.

Titles of honour.

THERE are ſeveral degrees of honour and dignity in *Siam*, all ſubordinate to that of *Nay*, which ſignifies *chief*. For as the people, being a militia, are conſequently all *Taban*, or *ſoldiers*, they are divided into bands, each of which has its *Nay*; whence the *Portugueſes* render the word *captain:* although the *Nay* does not lead his men either to war, or ſix months ſervice; it being enough that he furniſh out of his band the number required. The *Nays* are of different power, according to the number of ſoldiers in their reſpective bands: and as the number of ſoldiers in a band is not fixed, neither are all thoſe of the ſame band of the ſame company in the army. The people are not ſlaves to their *Nay*; but may become ſo, by borrowing money of him, and becoming inſolvent.

Degrees of dignity

THERE are ſeven degrees of theſe *Nay*, diſtinguiſhed by the number of their bands, which alone makes offices and employments important in *Siam*. Theſe dignities are *Pa-ya*, *Ok-ya*, *Ok-pra*, *Ok-louang*, *Ok-kounne*, *Ok-meuing*, and *Ok-pan:* but our author could not learn either the ſignification of the words, which are *Balli* terms, or number of men aſſigned to any of theſe dignities, except in the two laſt: for *Ok-pan* (now out of uſe) ſignifies *chief of a thouſand*; *Ok-meuing chief of ten thouſand*. Yet *Ok* is not *Siameſe*; the in-

[q] LOUBERE, p. 136, & ſeq. [r] See TACHARD's firſt voy. book 4. p. 275, & ſeq. Engl. edit.

diginous

diginous term for chief being *Howa*, which properly ſignifies the *head*; ſo the king's ſtandard-bearer is called *Howa-pan*, *chief of a thouſand*. *Pa-ya* is a title often given to princes; whence the *Portugueſes* render it *prince*; but the king confers it alſo on the officers of his court; nor beſtows it always on the princes of the blood. Theſe degrees of the *Nay* in *Siam* are like thoſe in the *Great Mogol*'s court, where the lords are denominated one thouſand, two thouſand, and ſo on to ten thouſand, as who ſhould ſay lords of ſo many thouſand horſes [a]. *Government.*

THERE are in *Siam* ſix orders of cities, which formerly had a governor according to its rank: thus a very populous place had a *Pa-ya* for governor; and ſuch as was leſs populous an *Okya*. The *Portugueſes* have tranſlated thoſe titles, *king*, *viceroy*, *duke*, *marquis*, *earl*, and the like, according to their fancy; and given the title of kingdom to *Metak*, *Tenaſſarim*, *Porſelouk*, *Ligor*, and *Pipeli*; either on account of their having hereditary governors, or becauſe they have been, like *Pipeli*, the reſidence of the kings of *Siam*. The above-mentioned titles are given not only to the governors, but to all the officers of the kingdom, becauſe they are all *Nay*: but the ſame title is not always joined to the ſame office. If a perſon has two offices, he may have two titles. *among the officers.*

WHENEVER the king makes any conſiderable officer, he gives him a new name, a thing common in other countries of the eaſt. The law of the ſtate is, that all offices ſhould be hereditary, as in *Laos*; but few families enjoy that privilege long. The leaſt flaw in the patent, fault of the poſſeſſor, or caprice of the prince, being grounds to deprive them of it. The ſelling of offices is not permitted in *Siam*; nor is there the ſame temptation to buy as in other kingdoms; ſince no officer has any ſalary. The prince, indeed, gives them houſes, with arms, a balon, ſome beaſts, ſlaves, and arable lands: but all return to him, with the office, at the poſſeſſor's death. The principal gain of the offices conſiſts in extortions, becauſe there is no juſtice for the weak: all the officers correſpond in plundering the people: and the corruption is greateſt in thoſe who ſhould remedy the evil. The trade of preſents is public: the leſſer officers give to the greater under the name of reſpect; and a judge is not puniſhed for receiving preſents, provided he be not convicted of doing injuſtice, which is not eaſy to effect. *No ſalaries.*

THE form of the oath of fidelity conſiſts in ſwallowing the water, over which the *Talapoy* pronounce ſome imprecations againſt him who drinks it, in caſe he fails in the fidelity which *Oath of fidelity.*

[a] LOUBERE relat. Siam, p. 78, & ſeq.

Government. he owes to his king: and all perſons, of what nation or religion ſoever, who enter into his majeſty's ſervice, are obliged to take it.

Laws. THE public laws of *Siam* are written in three volumes. The firſt, called *Pra tam Ra*, contains the names, functions, and privileges of all the offices: the ſecond *Pra tam Non*, is a collection of the conſtitutions of the ancient kings: the third, *Pra Rayja Kammanet*, contains the conſtitutions made by the father of him who reigned in our author's time. As an extract of theſe volumes would have given a thorough knowlege of the conſtitution of *Siam*, *Loubere* endeavoured to procure a tranſlation, but could not ſo much as get a copy of them [b].

Judges. THE whole tribunal of judicature, in the ſeveral juriſdictions contained in the provinces, conſiſts properly in a ſingle officer, the chief or preſident, who is the governor of that department, and even commands the garriſons: ſo that the moſt powerful and remote from court may, without difficulty, throw off their obedience; as he of *Jor*, or *Johor*, has done.

Governors, THERE are two ſorts of governors, one hereditary, the other by commiſſion. The firſt, are ſtiled *Chaw-meuang*, that is, *lord of the city*, or *province*. Theſe the kings of *Siam* have ruined and deſtroyed, as much as in their power, and ſubſtituted the ſecond ſort in their ſtead. To the *Chaw-meuang* belong ſeveral legal rights; as equally to ſhare with the king the rents of arable lands; the profits of all confiſcations, and ten *per cent.* on fines; cuſtoms on merchant ſhips in maritime towns; levy taxes on the frontiers; exerciſe commerce by their deputies; and appropriate the beſt fiſh, when ponds are emptied.

kinds of. THE commiſſion governors, called *Pouran*, who are appointed for three years, have the ſame honours and authority as the hereditary ones, but not the ſame profit. The *Chaw-meuang*, or *Pouran*, is preſident of a tribunal of judicature, and has under him ſeveral officers, according to the different matters which lie before them [c].

IN the metropolis there is no other *Chaw-meuang* than the king. The functions of governor and judge are divided into two offices: and the ſubordinate offices, which compoſe a tribunal, are diſtributed among the principal officers of ſtate. This tribunal, to which all appeals in the kingdom are made, is held in the king's palace, except when his majeſty removes from thence, at which time the preſident renders juſtice in a

[b] LOUBERE, p. 80, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. p. 82, & ſeqq.

tower,

tower, without the royal incloſure. To him alone belongs the determinate voice; yet ſtill there lies an appeal from him to the king. In this caſe the indictment is examined by the council of the king, who is preſent only when the neceſſity of paſſing ſentence requires it: but, before he pronounces judgment, he enquires into the whole proceedings, and debates the matter well with his council [d]. *Govern-ment.*

ALL matters in ſuit may be ſaid to be criminal; as ſome puniſhment is inflicted on the party who is caſt, in order to prevent litigation. The proſecution is in writing, by way of the petition, which is delivered by the plaintiff to his *Nay*, who is one of the officers of the tribunal, and he preſents it to the governor, who admits or rejects it, as he ſees reaſon, after hearing the matter debated by the *Nay*, who act as counſel for the parties. Every ſuit ought to end in three days; but ſome laſt ſo many years. They have no attornies; but the parties either ſpeak themſelves, or by ſome relation, not more diſtant than a couſin-german. What each ſays is taken down in writing, by the governor's clerk, who alſo receives the deeds and titles in preſence of the court, who count the lines, to prevent frauds. *Suits, how managed.*

IN accuſations, when the evidence is not ſufficient, they have recourſe to ſeveral ſorts of torture; but chiefly to proofs by water and fire. The way by fire is to fill a ditch with faggots, five fathoms in length, and one in breadth. Over the length of this heap (when burnt to coals), both parties are to walk with naked feet; generally each is attended by two men, who preſs hard, one on each ſhoulder, to hinder him from paſſing over too quickly: but this weight, they ſay, inſtead of helping to burn him, ſtifles the action of the fire; ſo that often they who do not endeavour to go over lightly, and in haſte, eſcape being hurt, which is the ſign of innocence. If this ever happens, it may likewiſe be owing to the hardneſs of the ſoles of the feet, which become callous, like horn, by going continually barefoot [e]. *Proof by fire.*

SOMETIMES the proof by fire is performed with oil, or other boiling matter, into which the parties thruſt their hand. On this occaſion *Loubere* relates an odd ſtory. A *Frenchman*, from whom a *Siameſe* had ſtolen ſome tin, was perſuaded, for want of proof, to put his hand into the boiling metal, and drew it out almoſt quite conſumed: whilſt the *Siameſe* came off without being hurt, and ſo was acquitted. Yet ſix months after was, in another ſuit, convicted of the robbery, *Another method.*

[d] LOUBERE, p. 88. & CHOISY, p. 531. [e] LOUBERE, p. 85, & ſeq.

where-

Government.

wherewith the *Frenchman* had accuſed him. A thouſand inſtances of this kind happen; yet the *Siameſes* will not aboliſh their cuſtom (A).

THE proof by water is to ſee who, of the parties, can ſtay longeſt under it. Sometimes emetic pills are given them by the *Talapoy*, accompanied with imprecations; and he who does not caſt them up is concluded to be innocent. If both parties eſcape in trying one kind of proof, they have recourſe to another. The king ſometimes has them expoſed to tigers. If the beaſt ſpare one, he is held to be innocent: if neither, both are accounted guilty: but if both are ſpared, ſome other proof is tried; or rather they wait till the tigers reſolve to devour one or both of them. The reſolution with which the *Siameſes* are reported to undergo this kind of death is incredible, in perſons who expreſs ſo little courage in war.

Robbery how puniſhed.

THE provinces often appeal from one to the other, and an inferior to a ſuperior tribunal, where all matters are determined; only in capital caſes the power of pronouncing ſentence, and ordering the puniſhment, is reſerved ſolely to the king; who ſometimes delegates it to judges extraordinary, ſent into the provinces for that purpoſe. The uſual puniſhment for robbery is to pay double, and ſometimes treble, the value of the goods ſtolen, by equal portions to the judge and the party (B). What is more ſingular than unjuſt, every perſon who wrongfully keeps poſſeſſion of another's eſtate, is conſidered as a robber; ſo that, when ejected by law, he not only reſtores the inheritance to its right owner, but pays the full value thereof beſides, half to the injured party, and half to the judge. In caſe the judge hath leave granted him to put the robber to death, he can yet, if he pleaſes, commute the puniſhment into a pecuniary mulct [f].

Rebellion and mutiny.

FOR rebellion or mutiny, they are ripped up alive; then their entrails being taken out, their carcaſes are woven up in a twig caſe, and tied to a ſtake, for ravenous fowl or dogs to feed on. Our author ſaw eighteen one morning going to be executed in this manner for mutiny: each was put on a triangular ſeat, with their necks and hands in wooden fetters, and carried by three ſlaves, in chains, through the ſtreets to the place of execution. Some were weeping, others joyful,

[f] LOUBERE, p. 87.

(A) Why, for the ſame cauſe, is not the proof by torture aboliſhed in *Flanders*, and other countries of *Europe*?

(B) According to Capt. *Hamilton*, beheading is the common puniſhment for robbery.

that

that they were near the end of a miſerable life. But they were all very meagre, as if they had been almoſt ſtarved in priſon. *Government.*

FOR treaſon and murder, elephants are the executioners. The condemned perſon being made faſt to a ſtake driven into the ground, the elephant is brought, who views him, and goes twice or thrice round him: then, at the command of his keeper, he twines his trunk round the criminal, and pulling up the ſtake with great violence, toſſes both into the air. In their fall down he receives the man upon his teeth; then ſhaking him off again, claps one of his feet on the carcaſe, and cruſhes it flat. However, there may be a mitigation of puniſhment, according to the degree of the offence, as appears from the caſe of our author, who had like to have experienced it through the villainy of his own countryman. In 1719 captain *Hamilton* being at *Siam*, and talking to *Oya Sennerat*, a man in power, about ſome alteration made in the *Engliſh* treaty of commerce, happened to ſay the king was *impoſed* on by thoſe who adviſed him to it. Now, it ſeems, that to ſay the king is capable of being deceived or impoſed on is treaſon there. For thoſe words, therefore, the captain was a few days after ſummoned to the court of juſtice by that officer: and as *Sennerat*'s ſervants were not admitted to be witneſſes, the only evidence againſt him was one *Colliſon*, reſident for *Collet*, governor of *Fort St. George*, who had procured the ſaid alteration. *Colliſon* affirmed he heard the captain ſpeak the words in the *Hindûſtân* language: but on being aſked by the judge, at the inſtance of *Hamilton*, if he underſtood that language? declared he did not: and by that means the accuſed was cleared, otherwiſe he muſt have been caſt: the conſequence of which would have been, not only the loſs of his life on the ſpot, the executioners being ready, but his ſhip and cargo would have been confiſcated, and the crew become the king's ſlaves. A ſhocking ſtory! *Treaſon, murder.* *Capt. Hamilton tried.*

FROM this trial of captain *Hamilton* we learn two or three circumſtances relating to the laws of *Siam*, which we do not meet with elſewhere; 1. that a ſtranger is not exempt from the penalty annexed to the tranſgreſſion of the laws, on account of his being ignorant of them: 2. that the law admits not of a ſervant's teſtimony, either for or againſt his maſter: 3. that advocates or counſel are allowed the accuſed [g].

SOMETIMES the king expoſes, to an enraged bull, the criminal, who is armed with a hollow ſtick; which, if it does not frighten the beaſt, cannot hurt him. Sometimes he gives *Capital puniſhments.*

[g] HAMILT. E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 80, & ſeqq.

offend-

Government.

offenders only to be toſſed by his elephants, which they do ſo dextrouſly, as to throw them from one to the other, receiving them on their trunks or teeth, without hurting them. But the ordinary chaſtiſements are ſuch as have ſome relation to the crimes. For inſtance, extortion, or embezzlement of the royal treaſure, will be puniſhed by ſwallowing gold or ſilver melted: lying, or revealing a ſecret, by ſowing up the mouth, which they will ſlit to puniſh ſilence, where it is not to be kept. Faults in the execution of orders, are corrected by cutting the head with a ſword, called there pricking the head, as it were to puniſh the memory. The ſword is uſed, not only to cut off the head, but to cut the body in two through the middle. The baſtonado is ſometimes alſo employed as a puniſhment of death, and, at beſt, is often very rigorous.

Princes, how executed.

In putting princes to death, whether a king would rid himſelf of ſome relations, or an uſurper extinguiſh the royal race, they take care not to ſhed the royal blood: but, in ſuch caſe, they either ſtarve the party, ſometimes by diminiſhing his food a little every day, which gives a lingering death, elſe by ſtifling him with rich ſilks; or rather, by laying him at length on a ſcarlet cloth, and thruſting a ſtake of ſanders-wood into his ſtomach.

Leſſer puniſhments.

Beſides the abovementioned puniſhments, there are ſome others leſs dolorous, but more infamous: as that of expoſing a man in ſome public place, loaded with irons; or elſe with his neck put in a kind of pillory, called *La* in *Siam*, and *Kanghe* in *China*. This machine is like a ladder, whoſe two ſides are ſix feet long: but it has only two ſteps or rounds, which are placed in the middle; and between theſe the priſoner's neck is locked. The ends of the ſides are faſtened to a wall, or poſts, by means of cords, ſo as to ſlip up and down at pleaſure: and the party may either ſit down or ſtand, if the ladder be not too weighty for his ſhoulders. But ſometimes the four ends are fixed upon four poſts: in which caſe he is, as it were, hung by the neck, for he ſcarce touches the ground with the tips of his toes. Beſides this engine, they make uſe of ſtocks and manacles. What is moſt ſingular, the moſt infamous puniſhment is reproachful no longer than it laſts: he who ſuffers it one day, is as much reſpected as ever the next, and qualified for the higheſt employs. Nay, the *Siameſes* boaſt of the puniſhments which they receive by their king's order, to whom they pay compliments, and make preſents, after the baſtonado is over. To be degraded from a higher place to a lower is reckoned no diſgrace; although ſome hang themſelves in deſpair, when

Portable pillory.

reduced, by such a fall, to extreme poverty. As a father answers for the offences committed by his son, so an officer is punished for the faults of another officer, who is subject to his orders. Thus *Loubere* saw a *Brâmman*, who three years after was of the king's council of state, exposed in the pillory before-mentioned, with the head of a malefactor hung about his neck; because the man's crime was imputed to his negligence in watching over the conduct of a person who was subject to him. *Government.*

The worst is, that the least appearance of guilt renders an action criminal; and that to be accused is almost enough to make a man culpable. Hence the disgraces of the principal officers are so frequent, that they could not reckon up all the *Barkalons* which the king had in thirty-two years of his reign [h].

SECT. II.

The Nobility, and Officers of State.

The nobility.

Nobility at *Siam* goes not by birth, but by riches, and the favour of the prince, who makes them; giving them, as a badge of their honour, an employment and a new name, with the *Bouffette*, which is a kind of little gold or silver box to hold their *betel*. They are generally the sons of the officers of his household whom he thus honours: though sometimes he confers nobility on the meanest of the people; and even strangers who have served him well in any capacity.

Each of the five degrees (A) of nobility among the *Siamese* has its proper mark of distinction. The *Oyas* (B), who are the first, possess the highest places of trust, and the principal governments in the kingdom. Their *Bouffette* is much better wrought than those of other noblemen: and, when they go in the king's train, the gold circle which surrounds their pointed bonnet, in form of a crown, is decorated with flower-work and roses.

Badges and employments.

The second order, or that of the *Ok-phras*, at present more numerous than the *Oyas*, because these latter having much more power, have given umbrage to the king on certain occasions. From the *Ok-phras* his ambassadors extraordinary are chosen. Their *Bouffette*, though of gold, is not so beauti-

[h] Loubere, p. 104, & seqq.

(A) *Loubere*, as before observed, makes seven degrees.

(B) Called *Ok-yas*, by *Loubere*.

ful

Government.

ful as that of the *Oyas*; and the gold circle on their cap is adorned only with leaves.

OUT of the *Ok-loüans*, who make the third rank of nobles, his majesty appoints his ambassadors in ordinary, and lesser governors. Their *Boussette*, or *Betel* box, is only of silver; but it is enchased with festons and branches. The circle round their cap is no more than two inches broad, and much less wrought than that of the *Ok-pras*.

OUT of the *Ok-kowns* and *Ok-munes*, who compose the fourth and fifth orders, the king appoints intendants of his shipping, keepers of his palaces, lieutenants of his prime officers, judges of country towns; in short, the less considerable places at court are filled with them. Their *Boussette* and circle are of gold or silver, quite plain, without any ornament.

Other distinctions.

THERE are many of these lords, who are peculiarly attached to the service of the king's person. These are called *Kang Nay*, that is, *within the palace*. Others who are employed without, to govern affairs, and preserve good order among the people, are named *Kang Nok*, implying, *without the palace*. The rank of each nobleman, when he appears in public, is distinguished not only by the badges before-mentioned, but also by the richness of his sword, by his *balon*, or pleasure-boat, and number of his slaves. The ladies are distinguished by the same kind of tokens; and are allowed by their husbands, who seldom accompany them in their diversions, a freedom, which they rarely abuse, especially as their lords have power to put them to death, when catched in the fact [a].

Officers of state.

ACCORDING to the Abbe *De Choisy*, there are seven great officers of state in *Siam*: 1. The *Maha Ommarat*, who is next to the king in authority, and sits in his presence. 2. The *Chakri*, who regulates the affairs of war and justice. 3. The *Aahowm*, who is general by land and sea. 4. The *Ok-ya Vang*, who superintends the affairs of the palace. 5. The *Ok-ya Praklang*, called by *Europeans Barkalon*: this officer has the care of foreign affairs, and the king's magazines. 6. The *Ok-ya Pollatep*, who has charge of the revenues. 7. *Ok-ya Jombarat*, who judges all criminal matters. Besides these, is the *Ok-ya Pakdi*, who is great treasurer. These prime officers, with the king's approbation, dispose of all other posts in the realm, and are responsible for the faults committed in them [b]. Let us see what *Loubere* says of some of the great officers.

[a] GERVAISE relat. Siam, p. 121, & seqq. [b] CHOISY, p. 535.

THE

Govern-ment.

THE *Maha Ommarat* (C), otherwiſe called *Maha Obarat*, is chief of the nobility, and firſt officer of the kingdom. He is, as it were, a viceroy, who repreſents the king, and performs the regal functions in his majeſty's abſence, as at war. He is at preſent ſtiled *Chaw Pa-ya Maha Ommarat* [c].

Maka Ommarat.

THE *Chakri* orders all the interior policy of the kingdom. The affairs of all the provinces come before him, as the perſon to whom the ſeveral governors are obliged to render an account, and from whom they receive orders. He is likewiſe preſident of the council of ſtate.

The Chakri.

THE *Kallahom* (named, by *Choiſy*, *Aahowm*), has, by office, the ſole management and command of the war and armies: yet the king may name whom elſe he pleaſes for general. He has the care of the fortifications, arms, and ammunitions. He likewiſe iſſues out all orders which concern military affairs. But, in our author's time, the command of the elephants and horſes, which formely belonged to the *Kallahom*, and in which the chief forces of the king conſiſts, was in the hands of a different officer. Some report the number of his elephants to be 10,000; but there is no believing people who are apt to tell falſhoods for the honour of their country [d].

The Kallahom.

PRAKLANG, or *Barkalong* (D), is compounded of *Pra*, which ſignifies whatever is worthy or reſpectable, and *Klang*, a magazine. This officer ſuperintends commerce, both foreign and domeſtic, and is the miniſter for foreign affairs; becauſe they almoſt all relate to trade. He likewiſe receives the revenues of the cities [e].

Pra Klang, *or* Barkalong.

Their attendance

ALL the officers belonging to the government reſiding in the city, whoſe number generally amounts to 3000, muſt daily attend in the palace, except they have leave to be abſent, under pain of being ſeverely whipped with ſplit rattans, which cut pretty deep in the fleſh. The larger the marks are, the greater is reckoned the honour. Nay, the pretty ladies themſelves are not exempt from this kind of flagella-

[c] LOUBERE, p. 95. [d] Ibid. p. 89. [e] Ibid. p. 93.

(C) This ſeems to be a compound of the *Indian* word *Maha*, *great*, and *Omrah*, or *Omrat*, the plural of the *Arabic Amir*, commander. which is uſed in the court of the *Great Mogol*; and from hence the *Portugueſes* probably have deduced their term *Mandarin*, which they confer on all the officers of princes to the eaſt of *Hindûſtân*.

(D) *Hamilton*, and ſome others, write *Barkalong*, as if the ſame with *Barka longa*; in imitation of which the *Portugueſes* ſeem to have corrupted *Praklang*.

tion,

Government.

tion, for very ſmall faults; and are ſo far from concealing them, that ſome, whom our author ſaw, expoſed their backs to let the whelks be ſeen, ſeeming to glory in being ſo much taken notice of by the greateſt king on earth [f].

and examinations.

THE king of *Siam* examines his officers about the *Pra tam Ra*, which is the book containing their duties; and cauſes thoſe to be baſtonado'd who do not anſwer exactly: like a ſchoolmaſter, who chaſtiſes his boys when they cannot ſay their leſſon.

Ambaſſadors how received,

AN ambaſſador, throughout the Eaſt, is looked on no otherwiſe than as a king's meſſenger; not as repreſenting his perſon: the chief honour is paid to the letters of credence, of which he is the bearer. Thus while the king of *France*'s letter was carried in a *balon*, or boat of the body, his ambaſſador extraordinary made his entrance in one of an inferior rank. The Orientals make no account of ambaſſadors, envoys, or reſidents, all whom they conſider in the ſame light as meſſengers; and every one who carries a letter from his ſovereign is reputed an ambaſſador. An evidence that an ambaſſador is treated like a mere meſſenger, the king of *Siam*, in the audience of leave, gives him a *recepiſſe* of the letter he has received; and if he returns an anſwer, he ſends it by his own ambaſſadors, who are never more nor fewer than three [g].

and treated.

EVERY foreign ambaſſador is lodged and maintained by the king during his ſtay, and may exerciſe merchandize: but cannot treat of any affair till he has delivered his credentials, and communicated his original inſtructions, although this laſt article was diſpenſed with in the *French*. He cannot enter the metropolis, till he goes to audience; nor abide in it, till after the audience of leave; in going from which he departs out of the city, and negotiates nothing more. Therefore, the evening before this laſt audience, the king demands, *whether he hath any-thing farther to propoſe*: and, in the audience, aſks him, *if he is contented*.

Their audiences.

SOLEMN audiences are always given in the capital, and with great magnificence, eſpecially that of reception: out of that city every audience is accounted private, and performed without ceremony. In all audiences, the cuſtom is for the king to ſpeak firſt: in thoſe of ceremony he confines himſelf to a ſet number of queſtions; after which the ambaſſador is ordered to addreſs himſelf to the *Barkalon*, upon all the propoſitions which he has to make. This monarch loves not

[f] HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 178. CHOISY, p. 530. [g] LOUBERE, p. 103.

long

long ſpeeches: he thinks the longer an ambaſſador ſpeaks the firſt time, the leſs he is honoured. When the king has ſpoken to the ambaſſador, he gives him *arek* and *betel*: alſo a veſt, which he puts on immediately; and ſometimes a ſabre, and chain of gold. *The king, his power.*

BUT how lightly ſoever they ſet by ambaſſadors, all the eaſtern princes reckon it a great honour to receive embaſſies, and to ſend the feweſt they can themſelves: becauſe they look on them as a kind of homage; and for this reaſon they detain ambaſſadors at their courts as long as they can [h]. *Embaſſies coveted.*

SECT. III.

Of the King, his Authority, Forces, Revenues, and Commerce.

THE kings of *Siam* are, by their authority, perfectly deſpotic. It is not eaſy to know their name, which is ſuperſtitiouſly concealed, leſt any enchantment ſhould be made on it. Others report, that their kings have no name till after their death; and that it is given by their ſucceſſors [a]. *Choiſy* ſays none dare pronounce the name of the king [b]. *King's name concealed.*

THE king of *Siam*, beſides his kindred to the heavenly luminaries, is a god on earth (A), in whoſe court are to be found juſtice, mercy, and benevolence to mankind; with a train of ſuch-like extravagancies, which conclude in declaring him king of the white elephant: a title, however, which the king of *Pegu*, who is equally fond of ſuch lofty flouriſhes, diſputes with him [c]. *His titles.*

SPEAKING of the king, the *Siameſes* ſtile him *Pra Maha Kraſſat*: *Pra* ſignifies *reſpectable*, or *revereable*; *Maha great*; and *Kraſſat living*: the *Portugueſes*, miſtaking the word *Pra* for *God*, ſay they call him *the great living God*: the words are of the *Balli*, which is the learned language, not always well underſtood by themſelves [d]. As the ſame *Europeans* have given the title of king to the governors of certain places, who held them by hereditary right, as *Tenaſſerim*, *Porſelouk*, *Pipeli*, and the like; ſo they have conferred on the king the title of

[h] LOUBERE, p. 109, & ſeq. [a] Ibid. p. 101. [b] CHOISY, voy. Siam, p. 532. [c] HAMILT. new account of E. Indies, vol. ii. p. 176. [d] LOUBERE, p. 7.

(A) *Pinto* ſays, p. 285 of his voyages, that this king's ſovereign title is *Pra Chaw Salevu*, that is, *a holy member of God*.

The king, his power.

emperor, according to the notion of the *Spaniards*, who think that ſtile due to kings, who have other kings for their vaſſals: and hence ſome kings of *Caſtile* have been termed emperors [e].

THE kings are fond to be thought men of parts and addreſs. When his wives and concubines would flatter him moſt agreeably, they tell him, not that he is an hero, or the greateſt general in the world; but that he is more politic and witty than all the princes he has had to do with [f].

His women.

THE kings of *Siam* marry, at leaſt often, their own ſiſters; ſuch was the wife of the king who reigned in *Loubere*'s time. His other wives, who are in general called *Chaw Vang*, or *ladies of the palace*, pay obedience to her as their ſovereign; who judges and chaſtiſes them when they do amiſs, for there is none elſe to do it. They are continually taking up ladies for the ſervice of the *Vang*, or to be the king's concubines. But as the *Siameſes* are unwilling to part with their daughters, they redeem them with money as long as they can. The officers employed in this buſineſs frequently carry away virgins, with a view only that they may be ranſomed by their parents. If they have many wives in *Siam*, it is more for conveniency than debauchery: and the king who reigned in the time of the *French* embaſſies, through parſimony, had not more than eight or ten.

The queen.

THE queen has her elephants and *balons*, with ſome officers to take care of, and attend, her, when ſhe goes abroad: but is ſeen of none, excepting her women and eunuchs: for, on that occaſion, ſhe goes out in a chair made up with curtains, ſo as to ſee and not be ſeen. The people get out of the way as ſhe paſſes, or turn their back, by proſtrating themſelves. The queen has likewiſe her magazine, her ſhips, and her treaſures. She likewiſe trades as well as the king; and has her ſhare both of the domeſtic and foreign commerce.

The ſucceſſion.

THE eldeſt ſon of the queen ought always to ſucceed by the law: but as the older cannot brook to proſtrate themſelves to the younger, the law is often ſet aſide by force; and ſometimes the king leaves the crown to the ſon of a favourite concubine. As for daughters, they ſucceed not to the throne, being ſcarcely looked upon as free [g].

King's guards.

THE king's guards are of ſeveral ſorts. The firſt are called *painted arms*, of whom there may be about 600 in the palace. Theſe watch the king's perſon; are his executioners; and indeed are all the foot-guard which he hath: but, on days

[e] LOUBERE, p. 80. [f] Ibid. p. 109. [g] Ibid. p. 101.

of

of ceremony, he cauſes his ſlaves to be armed for ſhew. Anciently the king had a *Japaneſe* guard, conſiſting of 600 men: but as theſe few foreigners were able to make the kingdom tremble when they pleaſed, the father of him who reigned when *Loubere* was in *Siam*, after he had made uſe of them to invade the throne, found a way to get rid of them, more by policy than force. *The king, his power.*

THE king's horſe-guard is compoſed of men from *Laos*, and another neighbouring country, whoſe chief city is called *Meen*, who ſerve him by ſix months. Beſides this, he has another foreign horſe-guard, of 130 gentlemen: namely, two companies, each conſiſting of thirty *Moors* of *Hinduſtân*: theſe are of an excellent countenance, but reckoned cowards. One company of twenty *Chineſe Tartars*, and two of *Râjahpouts*, or *Pagan Indians*, each containing twenty-five men. Theſe two nations are famous for their courage. The king, beſides furniſhing theſe with horſes and arms, pays each *Moor* about 540 livres a year, and gives him a red ſtuff veſt. The captain of each company has 840 livres, with a ſcarlet veſt. The *Râjahpouts* are maintained at the ſame rate: but each *Tartar* coſts him no more than 45 livres a year, and their captain 112 [h].

THE true officers of the king's chamber are women; for none elſe have admittance there. They make his bed, and dreſs him; prepare his victuals, and attend him at table: nor ever ſtir out, but with his majeſty, who is ſaid to have only eight or ten eunuchs in his ſervice, both white and black [i]. *Attended by women.*

HIS majeſty beſtows his annual bleſſing on his people in *September*, when he paſſes through the city, with a numerous train of elephants, dreſt in their fineſt trappings, and accompanied with muſical inſtruments. Among them is the white elephant (B), which yet is only of a cream colour; and our *Proceſſion by land.*

[h] LOUBERE, p. 96, & ſeq. CHOISY, p. 527. [i] LOUBERE, p. 100.

(B) The *Siameſes* have a great veneration for elephants, eſpecially white elephants. The king always keeps one in his palace. That which Mr. *De Chaumont* ſaw being dead, it was reported that another was born the 9th of *December* 1697, in the woods, a little before *Loubere*'s departure; ſo that he ſaw none. They are not white, but of a fleſh-colour: whence *Van Uliet* calls it the white and red elephant. The *Siameſes* ſay, that theſe rare animals are found only in the woods of their country; and believe the ſoul of ſome prince is lodged in them.

The king, his power. our author had seen several, at *Bangaria*, a village near *Jonkseylan*, as white as he. All the while this procession lasts, the people lie prostrate, till the king is passed by; after which they may look upon his back-parts or sides.

Another by water. In the month of *November* he also shews himself on the river, in a *balon* or barge, thirty or forty yards long, about two broad, and two feet deep: with a throne placed in the middle, seven feet high, covered with a rich canopy, where he sits; his greatest lords resting underneath. He is rowed or paddled forward by fifty or sixty men, in carnation-coloured vests, with fine caps or turbans on their heads. There are above 1000 other barges to wait on his majesty, besides several thousand common *balons*; so that, for five or six miles, the river is covered with boats, except near the king's barge, which has half a mile of the river left clear for it to move in. About four or five in the evening, he goes in his barge to a temple, about three miles above the city, on the opposite side of the water, where the priests pray for him, and present him with two yards and a half of cotton cloth; which must be both spun and woven the same day that his majesty comes to receive it. After sun-set he embarks again (leaving some royal bounty behind), and returns in state to his palace. His reason for honouring the river and his people at this time of the year, is to forbid the water to rise above such a number of inches in height, or to continue increasing above such a number of days as he appoints: yet sometimes it disobeys his royal commands [k].

Lives in distrust. The distrust in which the king of *Siam* lives appears from the precautions which he takes to prevent secret caballing among the great men; to keep the gates of their palace shut; to permit no armed person to enter; and to disarm their own guards. A gun, fired by accident, or otherwise, near enough to the palace for the king to hear it, is a capital crime [l].

No courtier dare appear before the king, without being sent for: this is a law made for the prince's security. When

[k] Hamilton ubi supra, p. 176, & seq. [l] Loubere, p. 105.

them. *Loubere*, p. 58. *Tachard* saw, a league from *Siam*, a little white elephant, designed for the successor of him who is in the palace, near 300 years old, as they report. This little white elephant is not much bigger than an ox. *First voyage*, p. 197. *Chaumont*, who saw the first, says nothing of its age. It died, before *Loubere*'s arrival, two years after.

they

they meet, they muſt ſpeak loud to be heard, and in preſence of a third perſon; ſo jealous are thoſe monarchs. In ſhort, every man in *Siam* is an informer, and obliged to diſcover whatever he hears ſaid in the leaſt regarding the king, under pain of death. However, the king is not over haſty in giving credit: he commonly requires two witneſſes; and, for better diſcovering the truth, has his ſecret ſpies everywhere. Theſe precautions are a great check to caballing; but if the kings be unactive or negligent, no law ſecures them [l]. By theſe means alſo the king ſeems to be in little danger of being deceived; and indeed to ſay the king may be deceived, or impoſed on, is rank treaſon, as hath been before obſerved. *The king, his power.*

FOR all this, it is eaſy to deceive him; for all informers are diſhoneſt, and the *Indian* princes love to be flattered, nor care to hear what may diſpleaſe them; thus the courtiers ſtudy to conceal their true ſentiments from the king, and he endeavours to conceal his opinion from them. They will not tell him ill news, or that he wants any-thing, but let them come to his knowlege by degrees; they will not tell him that he muſt alter what he has done amiſs, but will perſuade him to do it better ſome other way. By this equivocal way of propoſing things to him, they avoid the danger of giving bad counſel, or, which is conſidered in much the ſame light, advice which is not attended with good ſucceſs [m]. *Yet eaſily deceived.*

THE jealouſy of theſe kings makes them cruel to their own brethren, as in other countries of *Aſia*: they maim them ſeveral ways, deprive them of ſight, or weaken it by fire; lame them by diſlocation of their joints, render them ſtupid by liquors given them to drink, and the like. *Rigour to his brothers.*

AFTER all, the evils of this kind of government extend properly no farther than the nobility, or officers of the crown, and do not reach the people, who enjoy liberty, and other pleaſures of life, which their ſuperiors are ſtrangers to; nor are they ſo liable to be oppreſſed by the great men as in many other countries, ſince the ways of carrying complaints to the throne are all open; ſo that they can ſeldom fail of coming to the king's knowlege, notwithſtanding the combined artifices of the miniſters to prevent them. *The people eaſy.*

HOWEVER, as theſe abſolute monarchs oppreſs the ſubjects with taxes, as well as tyrannize over the nobles, who indeed are all their creatures, they ſeldom have the love of either; ſo that, if attacked by an invader or a rebel, none are zealous in their defence, as they conſider their condition would be no *Their reigns precarious.*

[l] LOUBERE, p. 103. [m] Ibid.

The king, his power. worſe under one than the other. As the whole power is united in the prince, inſtead of being diſtributed among the great officers and magiſtrates, he has none, in caſe of need, who are able to ſupport him. His chief dependence for his authority ſeems to lie in his ſeal and great treaſure; the firſt he intruſts to none: but as both are liable to be ſeized, whoever gets either in his poſſeſſion may eaſily dethrone the reigning prince [n].

The king's forces. THE king of *Siam* has no other troops in pay than his foreign guard. His armies are compoſed out of the militia, who are obliged to ſix months ſervice; and thus his garriſons are ſupplied by people, who ſerve or relieve one another in turn. As they have no horſes, the king not being poſſeſſed of above 2000 at moſt, their armies conſiſt only in elephants and infantry, naked and ill-armed. Their order of battle and encampment is thus. They range themſelves in three lines, each compoſed of three great ſquare battalions: the king, or general, has his poſt in the middle battalion; and every chieftain of a battalion keeps in the middle of that which he commands. If the nine battalions are too big, each of them is divided into nine leſs [o].

His elephants. THE army being thus ranged, every one of the nine battalions has ſixteen male elephants in the rear: theſe are called elephants of war, and each carries his particular ſtandard, and is accompanied with two female elephants; both kinds are mounted, each with three armed men. There are ſome elephants alſo for carrying baggage. They rely much on elephants in battle, although this animal, for want of bit or bridle, cannot be ſecurely governed; and he frequently turns on his own maſter when wounded. He likewiſe dreads fire to ſuch a degree, that, although trained to ſtand it, he is ſcarcely ever brought to perform that ſervice. The battle begins with diſcharging the artillery, of which they have but little; and in caſe thoſe inſtruments of death do not put an end to it, they then advance within reach of their ſmall ſhot and arrows, but never come to a cloſe engagement. Beſides, as their religion inſpires them with horror of blood, they, to avoid killing, do not ſhoot directly at one another, but higher; yet ſo as that the ſhot may fall among the enemy, and oblige them to retreat; which one party fails not long to do, when they perceive it to rain darts or bullets. Indeed, when they find themſelves purſued, they ſhoot lower, in order to ſtop their adverſaries; who, if ſlain, are then thought to be guilty of their own death, by approaching too near: for

Siameſe way of fighting.

[n] LOUBERE, p. 106, & ſeqq. [o] Ibid. p. 91, & ſeq.

the

the order which the king gives his troops is, *Kill not*, that is, unleſs their own ſafety makes it abſolutely neceſſary. As for ſieges, they are wholly incapable of carrying them on, excepting by corruption, or famine; being afraid to attack a place ever ſo little fortified. *The king, his power.*

In ſhort, the armies of *Siam*, and indeed all the neighbouring countries who hold the metempſychoſis, buſy themſelves only in making ſlaves: and the uſual way among them of making war, is to invade each others dominions in different parts at the ſame time, and carry off whole villages into captivity. One *Cyprian*, a *Frenchman* of *Provence*, who ſerved as gunner in an expedition againſt the *Chaw Meuang*, or, if you will, king of *Singor*, on the weſtern coaſt of the gulf of *Siam* (C); having received orders not to ſhoot directly upon the enemy, imagined that the general intended to betray his maſter; and, wearied with ſeeing the two armies ſo long in ſight without coming to blows, reſolved to ſeize the *Chaw Meuang* in his tent. This he effected, by venturing alone one night into the enemy's camp, and ſo put an end to a war, which had ſubſiſted in that manner for twenty years. The king intended to have rewarded this piece of ſervice with a quantity of ſapan-wood: but, by ſome intrigue of the court, the brave *Frenchman* got nothing, and retired to *Surât*; where he put himſelf in the company's ſervice [P]. *Avoiding ſheddi g of blood.* *Bravery of a* French man.

After all, this way of making war is well ſuited to the timorous diſpoſition of the *Siameſes*: for the ſight of a naked ſword is ſufficient to put a hundred of them to flight; and there needs only the reſolute tone of an *European*, who wears a ſword by his ſide, or a cane in his hand, to make them forget the moſt expreſs orders of their ſuperiors (D). In ſhort, theſe people are deſtitute of courage; and indeed the ſame may be ſaid not only of all the *Indians* in general, but of all thoſe born in the *Indies*, though of *European* parents, of which the *Portugueſes* are an inſtance. Hence *Loubere* ſuppoſes, that as they were ſubdued by a ſociety of *Dutch* merchants Siameſes *not fit for war.*

[P] Loubere, p. 90.

(C) Towards *Patana*, ſome leagues to the north of it.

(D) The *Dutch* have, from experience of the *Indians*, thought fit to imitate the *Portugueſes*, in treating them with much haughtineſs and little confidence; becauſe, being bred up in a ſpirit of ſervility, they are humble to thoſe who behave loftily, and inſolent to ſuch as uſe them gently. The king of *Siam* ſays, his ſubjects are of the temper of apes, who tremble ſo long as one holds the end of their chain, but diſown their maſter when the chain is looſed. *Loubere*, p. 110.

The king, his power.

from *Europe*, ſo if other *Europeans* went to ſeek out the *Dutch*, born in their *Indian* ſettlements, they would not be found more valorous. According to that author, exceſſive hot countries are not fit to nouriſh courage, which is the produce of temperate and hardy climates. But beſides the torrid zone, and phlegmatic aliments, the *Siameſe* have a deſpotic government to cow their ſpirits and effeminate them.

No fortified places.

THERE are no places in *Siam* which may properly be ſaid to be fortified; for the caſtles they have, which are ſmall and ugly, would ſcarce ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of *European* ſoldiers. The reaſon they gave our author for not having places well-fortified was, that, in caſe they ſhould loſe them, they ſhould not be able to retake them; nor, if they had a mind to make fortifications, could they tell how to go about them. The king, ſome few years before *Loubere*'s embaſſy, wanting to have a wooden fort built on the frontiers of *Pegu*, could pitch on no better an architect than brother *Rene Charbonneau*, in the ſervice of foreign miſſions, who knew little or nothing of the matter: but his *Siameſe* majeſty would be obeyed; and rewarded his work, ſuch as it was, with the government of *Jonſalam*, which he diſcharged for three or four years with great approbation. The *French* afterwards built forts at *Bankok*.

King's naval power.

As to the king's naval power, he is yet more feeble by ſea than land. He, with much ado, has become maſter of five or ſix very ſmall ſhips, which he employs both in merchandize and at war, as privateers, when occaſion requires: but the officers and ſeamen, in whom he confides, are foreigners. Theſe were *Engliſh* and *Portugueſes*, till of late that he made uſe of ſome *French*. In his naval expeditions he propoſes only to make repriſals on ſuch of his neighbours who injure him in trade; and his corſairs have the ſame orders, not to kill, as his land forces: they are however to do their beſt to take prizes, in which they go to work by artifice and ſurprize. Beſides theſe ſhips of a double character, his majeſty has fifty or ſixty gallies, which are no better than boats for making bridges of. They have wooden anchors, and carry fifty or ſixty men to row and fight, which they do by turns. There is only one to an oar, who is obliged to row ſtanding; the oar being ſo ſhort, for lightneſs ſake, that, if not held perpendicularly, it would not touch the water. Theſe gallies only coaſt it along the gulf of *Siam*[9].

Ships of war and gallies.

His revenues.

THE king of *Siam*'s revenues are of two ſorts; thoſe of the cities, and thoſe of the country: which are all reduced to

[9] LOUBERE, p. 90, & ſeq.

the

the following heads, or duties. 1. On cultivated lands. By the law, whoever ploughed not, paid nothing; but, to promote agriculture, the king who reigned in our author's time, exacted the duty from thoſe who neglected cultivation. From the ſame principle he gave lands and cattle to ſtrangers, who were inclined to ſettle in his dominions. 2. On *balons*, or boats. 3. On all commodities imported or exported; and on ſhips, according to their capacity. 4. On *arak*, or rice brandy, or rather on the ſtill-head; the ſellers likewiſe, both by wholeſale and retale, pay a duty for licence. 5. On fruit-trees, *viz.* the *durion*, *betel*, *arekier*, the *coco*, *orange*, *mango*, *mangouſtanier*, and *pimentier*; but there is no duty laid on pepper, in order to encourage planting it. 6. Confiſcations and fines. 7. The ſix months ſervice, which is often bought off with money or goods. *The king, his power.*

Besides the above-mentioned duties, the king has, in ſeveral parts of his dominions, gardens and lands, which may be conſidered as his demeſne. The produce goes to maintain his ſlaves and cattle which are upon thoſe places, and the ſurplus he ſells. The preſents which this prince receives may be conſidered as a caſual revenue; as well as the legacies which his officers bequeath him at their death, or which he takes from their ſucceſſors. In a word, the extraordinary duties which he exacts from his ſubjects on ſeveral occaſions, as for the maintenance of ambaſſadors, and building of public works, forts, and the like. *His demeſnes.*

The king of *Siam* has undertaken to enlarge his revenue by commerce, which he carries on both with his ſubjects and ſtrangers. He has, in effect, engroſſed trade wholly to himſelf; ſo that he may be called the only merchant in his dominions: nor is he content with ſelling by wholeſale, but has ſhops in the markets for retailing his goods. The chief of theſe is cotton cloth, which he ſends into his provincial magazines. His predeceſſors uſed to ſend them thither only once in ten years; ſo that, when they were ſold off, his ſubjects had liberty to trade for the reſt of the term: but now he continually furniſhes them himſelf; and when his magazines are overſtocked, obliges the people to cloath their children before the accuſtomed age. Before the *Dutch* found the way into *Laos* and the adjacent countries, the king of *Siam* had the linen trade with them in his own hands. The other commodities which he vends are *kalin*, or tin, ivory, ſaltpetre, lead, ſapan-wood, *arek*, and ſkins, which laſt he ſells by treaty, to the *Dutch* only. Powder, ſulphur, and arms, which are prohibited goods, may yet be purchaſed at *Trade of Siam* *engroſſed by him.*

Antient kings.

his magazines. However, many of these things are clandestinely sold by the people to the *Hollanders*.

THE commodities in which his subjects are permitted to trade are rice, fish, salt, brown sugar, sugar-candy, ambergrise, wax, the gum with which varnish is made, mother-of-pearl, edible birds nests, gum-gutte, incense, oil, coco, cotton, cinnamon, nenuphar, somewhat different from the *French*, cassia, dates, and several other produce.

To conclude, it is said that the king's revenue at present amounts to 600,000 crowns; whereas formerly it did not exceed (E) 317,000 [r].

CHAP. X.

The History of Siam.

SECT. I.

Its ancient Kings, and modern State; Wars with Chiamay *and* Pegu; *the King poisoned by his Queen in* 1545.

Siamese *history fabulous,*

THE *Siamese* history is full of fables, and the books thereof very scarce: some report this to be owing to their affecting to conceal their affairs: but our author *Loubere* doubts the truth of this; since they have no more reason to be cautious of publishing their history than the *Chinese*, who do not scruple it. However that be, they who have been able to read their book affirm, that it ascends not very high, with any character of truth. The *Siamese* give a very dry and insipid account of their kings, and the original of their monarchy, as follows.

and very imperfect.

THEIR first king, they say, was named *Pra Poat-honne Sourittep-pennaratui sonanne bopitra*. The chief place where he kept his court was called *Chay Pappe Mahanakon* (A), and he began his reign in the year 1300, according to their epocha, which begins from the death of *Sommona Kodom* (B),

A. D. 750.

[r] LOUBERE, p. 93, & seqq. CHOISY, p. 527.

(E) *Pinto* says, that in his time, about 1546, the settled revenue was twelve millions of gold, besides other accessories, which amounted to as much more. *Pinto*'s voyage, p. 278.

(A) The situation of this place, and the following, was unknown to our author.

(B) In the year 544 before *Christ*.

as

as they pretend; although *Loubere* thinks it has quite another foundation. Ten other kings succeeded; the last of whom, named *Ipoja Sanne Thora Thesma Teperat*, removed his royal seat to *Tasoo Nakora Louang*, a city built by himself. The twelfth king after *Ipoja Sanne*, whose name was *Pra Poa Noome Thele Seri*, obliged all his people, in the year 1731, to follow him to *Lokontay* (C), from whence this prince removed his seat to the city *Pipeli*; which he built towards the western mouth of the *Menâm*. Four kings more succeeded him, the last of whom, *Rhamatilondi*, began to build the city of *Siyuthia*, or *Siam*, in 1894, and there fixed his court. The king, who was on the throne in 1689, was the twenty-fifth from *Rhamatilondi*; so that they then reckoned fifty-two kings in the space of 934 years, but not all of the same blood [a].

15. *King.* *Brief sketch of it.* A. D. 1187. A. D. 1350.

This is all we can yet learn of the *Siamese* history, from those who have visited the country, till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when *Siam* began to be known on account of its wars with *Pegu*, and other neighbouring countries. The first author who speaks of these affairs is *Mendez Pinto*, who, in many things, may be suspected; but, for want of a better, we must follow him. According to this traveller, about the year 1546, the king of *Siam* (whose name is not mentioned) kept his court in the city of *Odiaa*, or *Siyuthia*, that is, *Siam*. There he received intelligence, that the king of *Chiammay*, allied with the *Timokoubos*, *Lahos*, and *Gueos*, all independent and wealthy people, who possessed the parts north-eastward above *Kapimper* and *Passiloko* (D), had besieged the town of *Quiterwam*; where he had slain 30,000 men, and, among the rest, *Oya Kapimper*, governor and lieutenant-general of all that province.

Kingdom of Siam A. D. 1546.

The king of *Siam*, alarmed at this news, immediately crossed the river, and encamping in tents, by proclamation ordered all in the city, who were able to bear arms, to attend him within twelve days, under pain of being buried alive, and other punishments, equally grievous. This order included not only the natives, but foreigners, who were obliged to comply with it, or quit the kingdom in three days.

invaded from Chiammay.

[a] Loubere relat. Siam, p. 8.

(C) A city seated on a river, which descends from the mountains of *Laos*, and falls into the *Menâm* a little above *Pitsanouluk*, or *Porselouk*; from which *Lakontay* is forty or fifty leagues distant.

(D) Possibly *Kampingpet* and *Porselouk*, two cities of *Siam*. See the description of *Siam*.

To

15. *King.* To the *Portugueſes* his majeſty ſent a formal meſſage, deſiring them to accompany him, as the only people he could truſt to guard his perſon, with great promiſes of rewards, and liberty to build churches in his kingdom. This encouragement ſo prevailed on them, that, out of 130, which was their number, 120 agreed to go to the war, among whom was our author. At the end of twelve days the king ſet forward, with an army of 400,000 men, whereof 70,000 were ſtrangers. They embarked all in 300 *ſervos*, *lauleas*, and *jangas*; ſo that, in nine days, they arrived at *Suropiſem*; a frontier town, twelve or thirteen leagues from *Quitervam*; which the enemy had beſieged. There he ſtayed ſeven days, waiting for 4000 elephants, which marched by land. Mean time he was informed that the place was greatly preſſed by the enemy, who had on the river 2000 veſſels, with an army of 300,000 men by land, whereof 40,000 were horſe; but no elephants.

The enemy defeated. THE king, on this advice, began his march from *Suropiſem*, his army being increaſed to 500,000 ſoldiers. At the end of three days, proceeding not above four or five leagues each, they arrived at the valley of *Siputay*, one league and an half from the place where the enemy lay encamped. There the forces, with the elephants, being ranged in line of battle, by the three quarter-maſters, two of whom were *Turks*, and the third a *Portugueſe*, named *Dominigos de Scixas*, they advanced towards *Quitervan*, where they arrived before ſunriſe. The enemy, on their approach, came forward to meet them, and, with their horſe, which was the van-guard, fell furiouſly on the king of *Siam*'s rear, compoſed of 60,000 foot, with ſo much fury, that they defeated them in leſs than fifteen minutes, with the loſs of three princes ſlain on the ſpot. The king perceiving his men routed, changed the order of the fight, which he had before reſolved on, and fell on the enemy with his whole army at once. This was done with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were defeated in leſs than half an hour, by means of the elephants, ſuſtained by the harquibuſiers, and the field-pieces: the horſe, in which their principal ſtrength conſiſted, being thus routed, the reſt of their forces began inſtantly to retreat. The *Siameſes* purſued them to the river-ſide; but there the enemy forming a new body of 100,000 men, ſupported by their ſhips, the king of *Siam* durſt not attack them; and was well pleaſed to find that they took advantage of the night to retire along the river-ſide [b].

[b] PINTO voy. p. 270, & ſeqq.

THE

THE king of *Siam* loſt, in this battle 50,000 men, but of no great account, and the enemy 130,000. After he had fortified the city, and put it in a good poſture of defence, he was perſuaded by his lords to make war on the kingdom of *Quibem*, fifteen leagues to the north, whoſe queen had given paſſage through her country to the forces of *Chiammay*. Purſuant to this advice, he, with an army of 400,000 men, beſieged *Fumbakor*, a town of *Quibem*; and having quickly taken it, put all the inhabitants to the ſword. From thence he continued his voyage to *Guitor*, the capital of the kingdom, where the queen governed as regent, during the minority of her ſon, a youth of but nine years of age. The queen finding herſelf too feeble to hold out long againſt ſo great a power, after a ſhort ſiege ſued for peace, and agreed to pay him annually 5000 *turmes* of ſilver, equal to 60,000 *Portugueſe* ducats, advancing five years tribute in hand. Beſides this, the young prince did him homage as his vaſſal, and was carried by the king to his capital *Siam*.

15. *King.* Quibem *kingdom made tributary.*

THE ſiege being hereupon raiſed, the army marched north eaſtward, to the town of *Tayſiran*; where news was brought, that the king of *Chiammay* was fallen off from the confederates. Mean time the *Siameſe* monarch, who had advanced ſix days march into the enemy's territories, ſacked all the places which came in his way, without ſparing the life of any male inhabitant. At length he arrived at the lake of *Sinjipamor*, commonly called *Chiammay* (E), where he ſtayed twenty-ſix days. During that time he took twelve places of conſequence, ſurrounded with ditches and bulwarks, after the *Portugueſe* faſhion, all of brick and morter: for, in that country, they do not build with lime and ſtone; neither had they any artillery, excepting ſome falconets, and braſs muſkets. But as winter began to approach, and it was very rainy weather, the king, who likewiſe found himſelf much indiſpoſed, returned to *Quitirvan*, where he reſted three-and-twenty days; in which time he made an end of fortifying that city with ſtrong walls, and wide ditches. After this, he embarked his army in the veſſels which brought him thither, and ſo returned to his capital, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy by the people [c].

The king invades Chiammay.

[c] PINTO, p. 271, & ſeq.

(E) Of this lake, *Loubere*, after much enquiry, could find no tidings: and indeed all which is ſaid relating to this expedition to *Chiammay* (the ſame probably with *Jahamay*, the capital of *Jangoma*), is very likely a fiction.

BUT

16. *King.* *Poiſoned by his queen.*

BUT this joy was ſoon changed into ſorrow: for, during the ſix months in which the king of *Siam* had been abſent, the queen had been intimate with an inferior officer of the houſhold; and finding herſelf four months gone with child by him, to prevent a diſcovery, poiſoned her huſband with a meſs of milk, which carried him off in five days. During this ſhort ſpace of time the king made his will, in which he ſettled the moſt important affairs of the ſtate. Among the reſt he acquitted himſelf of the obligation he lay under to the foreigners, who had ſerved him in the war of *Chiammay*; in particular, he ordered that the *Portugueſes*, who had been his guard during that expedition, ſhould receive half a year's tribute of *Guibem*; that their merchandizes ſhould be cuſtom-free for three years; and that their prieſts ſhould be allowed to preach their law through his dominions: beſides other privileges of an inferior nature. His majeſty likewiſe directed, that his eldeſt ſon ſhould be proclaimed king before his death; which was immediately put in execution. After the *Oyas*, *Konchulis*, and *Monteos* (F) the three prime dignities in the kingdom, had taken the oath of allegiance to the young prince, they ſhewed him from a window to all the people; and ſetting a rich crown of gold, in form of a mitre, upon his head, put a ſword in his right hand, and a pair of ſcales in his left; a cuſtom which, ſays our author, they always obſerve on ſuch an occaſion.

His eldeſt ſon ſucceeds.

THEN *Oya Paſſiloko*, who was the greateſt lord in the kingdom, falling on his knees before the new king, made a ſpeech, in which he exhorted him to govern his people juſtly, under pain of being puniſhed by God, in the infernal regions. To which the young monarch weeping anſwered, *Sham Shaimpom*, or *Amen*; and *Maſtinau, I promiſe*; which is a kind of coronation oath. This ſet all the people a weeping. After which came a *Talagrepo*, or prieſt of the firſt dignity, above 100 years old, and, proſtrating himſelf at the prince's feet, tendered him an oath, upon a golden baſon full of rice. This done, they put him into the baſon, after they had created him thus a-new: for time would not allow them to hold him there any longer, in regard his father was at the point of death; and, in effect, he died the next morning, in preſence of the greater part of the grandees [d].

[d] PINTO, p. 272, & ſeq.

(F) Theſe two laſt titles look ſuſpicious, as we find them not in other authors; and ſo indeed does the whole ceremony.

THE

16. *King.*

THE death of this prince caused an universal mourning, for he was said to be endowed with many virtues: he was charitable to the poor and distressed; liberal to those who served him well, or had merit; compassionate, and merciful: but, at the same time, as he was a great lover of justice, he punished wicked men according to their deserts. In short, if what the people said of him in their lamentations was true, there never was a better king on earth. *Pinto* relates two or three instances of his goodness, which fell within his own knowlege. The first is, that *Pedro de Faria*, governor of *Malakka*, having, by order of *John* III. king of *Portugal*, sent an ambassador to *Siam*, in the year 1540, to redeem *Domingos de Seixas* before-mentioned, and sixteen *Portugueses* more, the king not only granted his request, but bestowed on them a thousand *turmes* of silver, amounting to 12,000 ducats; apologizing, at the same time, for the smallness of the present. *Seixas* was, at that time, general of the frontier, and resided at the town of *Goutaleu*, where he had 30,000 foot and 5000 horse under his command; with a pension of 18,000 ducats *per annum*. But the king of *Portugal* having had occasion for his service in *Europe*, the king of *Siam* generously parted with him: for which favour the ambassador, Don *Francisco de Coasto*, made three prostrations before his *Siamite* majesty, with his head bowed to the ground. A custom observed towards this king, who was more absolute than others.

The king's character.

Instances of benevolence.

IN 1545 he ordered a *Portuguese* ship, which had been wrecked in the port of *Charis*, five leagues from *Lugor*, to be restored, with seventy-four men and boys: and the same year did another piece of public justice: for *Siam* having been invaded on the *Passilikon*'s side, by the king of *Tuparahos*, who, having sacked several lesser places, resolved to attack *Shivau* and *Lautor*. Hereupon he sent some of his colonels all over the kingdom, to levy men, with strict orders not to excuse any under threescore years of age, excepting such as were maimed, or otherwise unable to bear arms. One of these officers, named *Quiay Raudiva*, who was appointed to raise recruits at *Blancha* (or, as it is afterwards written, *Bancha*), disregarding his prince's order, took bribes of the rich inhabitants, amounting to 5000 *turmes*, and prest 3000 of the poorer sort to go to the war. The king, on their arrival, being surprised at the wretched figure they made, enquired into the cause; and the whole affair having been discovered to him by the people themselves, he ordered five *turmes* of melted silver to be poured down the colonel's throat, uttering, at the same time, some reproachful expressions, suitable

Of justice.

16. *King.* to the occaſion; then ſending to his houſe for the *turmes* which he had received at *Bancha*, he diſtributed them among the old and impotent recruits, whom he ſent home again. As for thoſe who had paid that ſum, to be excuſed from going to the war, he ordered them to be attired like women, and baniſhed to the iſland of *Pulho* (or *Pulo*) *Katon*: not content with this, he confiſcated their eſtates, and divided them among thoſe who had ſerved well in that expedition. When at *Lautor*, perceiving one of the *Portugueſes* to behave ill, in recovering the principal fort belonging to that place, he ſent him to *Odia* (or *Siam*), and forbade him to aſſume the name of a *Portugueſe*, on pain of being baniſhed in the ſame diſgraceful dreſs. To the reſt of his countrymen he gave treble pay, with other bounties [c].

His funeral celebrated

SOME time after the king's death, all the prieſts of the capital city, to the number of 20,000, in concert with the principal men of the kingdom, having ſettled the ceremonies relating to the funeral, a mighty pile was erected, compoſed of *ſandal*, *kalamba*, *aloes*, and *benjamin*, on which the body of the king was laid, and conſumed by fire. The royal aſhes, incloſed in a ſilver ſhrine, were put on board a *laulea*, richly equipped, which was accompanied by forty *ſeroos* full of *Talagrepos*, beſides a great number of ſmaller veſſels filled with people. Theſe were followed by a hundred ſmall barks, laden with divers images, in the form of adders, toads, lions, elephants, bucks, vultures, geeſe, and other animals, all carved to the life. In another great ſhip was the king of thoſe idols, called *the gluttonous ſerpent of the profound pit of the houſe of ſmoke*. This monſter, in ſhape of an adder, was as thick in circumference as a hogſhead, and twiſted in nine circles; ſo that, extended, it meaſured an hundred ſpans in length. Its neck ſtood erect; and out of its eyes, throat, and breaſt, iſſued flames of artificial fire, dreadful to behold. On a ſtage, three fathoms high, and richly gilt, ſtood a beautiful boy, four or five years old, covered over with pearls, and bracelets of precious ſtones. He had wings, with hair of fine gold; and held in his hand a cutlace, repreſenting an angel ſent from God, to impriſon thoſe demons, that they ſhould not ſteal away the king's ſoul, before it arrived at the manſion of glory, prepared for it above, to reward his good works done in this life.

with great pomp.

ALL the above-mentioned veſſels ſtopt at a temple called *Quiay Poutor*, where the ſilver ſhrine being placed, fire was put to the barks, which, being filled with pitch, and other

[c] PINTO, p. 273, & ſeqq.

combuſtible

combuſtible matter, in an hour's time were all conſumed, with the images in them: during which time there was a horrible din, made by the ſhouts of the people, mixt with the firing of cannon and ſmall arms, beating of drums, ringing of bells, blowing of horns, and the like noiſes. Several other expenſive ceremonies were performed; after which the people returned to their houſes, where they remained, with their doors and windows ſhut, for ten days: ſo that none were ſeen in the ſtreets, excepting ſome poor, who begged alms in the night, with great lamentation. When the ten days were expired, the temples were adorned with ſtandards, banners, and rich hangings; while horſemen, clad in white damaſk, rode through the city, and, at the ſound of muſic, invited the people to come forth, and rejoice in the new king, whom God had ſent them. At this invitation the inhabitants came forth, and went to the temple of *Quiay Tanarel*, that is, *the God of the joyful*; where the better ſort offered perfumes, and the poorer fruits, hens, and rice, for the ſupport of the prieſts. The ſame day the new king ſhewed himſelf, in a progreſs through the city; and, as he was but nine years old, the queen mother was conſtituted regent, during his minority, by the twenty-four *Brakalons* (G) of the government [f]. 16. *King, anonymous.*

THINGS went on peaceably for four months and a half; when the queen, being delivered of a ſon whom ſhe had by the purveyor, gave great ſcandal to the whole kingdom. For all this, ſhe reſolved to marry the father of him, with whom ſhe was much enamoured; and even to deſtroy the king, to make way for the baſtard to inherit the throne. To effect her wicked purpoſe, ſhe deſired of the privy-council a guard for the perſon of the king, under pretence of his greater ſecurity; which having obtained, ſhe, to the 600 *Kauchins* (H) and *Liqueos*, which was the ordinary guard of her houſe, added 2000 foot, and 500 horſe, over whom ſhe placed *Fileubakus*, a kinſman of her gallant. Thus ſtrengthened with forces, ſhe began to take revenge on the grandees, who ſhe knew deſpiſed her. She firſt cauſed to be ſeized two deputies of the government, under pretence that they held a ſecret correſpondence with the king of *Chiammay*, and had promiſed to give him a paſſage through their lands into the kingdom. They *Young king poiſoned.*

[f] PINTO, p. 276, & ſeqq.

(G) By *Brakalons*, doubtleſs, is to be underſtood *Barkalons*: but we do not find that there is ever more than one officer of that denomination.

(H) Doubtleſs *Kochinchineſes*.

17. *King, uſurper.*

Diſtractions in Siam.

were both executed by her order; and their eſtates being confiſcated, one part was given to her favourite purveyor, and the other to a brother-in-law of his, who had been originally a ſmith. But as theſe lords were put to death haſtily, and without any proof, the reſt of the nobility murmured greatly, repreſenting to her majeſty the perſonal merits of the parties, and their royal deſcent. Theſe remonſtrances ſhe was ſo far from giving heed to, that ſoon after, in a full council, on pretence of indiſpoſition, ſhe renounced the regency, and conferred it on *Uquumcheniraa*, who managed affairs at pleaſure, and filled all places of importance with his creatures. The queen had now an opportunity of executing all her deſigns; ſo that, in eight months time, ſhe cauſed moſt of the great men in the kingdom to be put to death; and confiſcating their lands and effects, diſtributed them among ſuch as ſhe daily gained to her party. Nothing now remained, but for her to get rid of the young king; which ſhe did, by giving him poiſon, in the ſame manner as ſhe had done to his father. All obſtacles being now removed, ſhe, to complete the whole, married her favourite paramour, and cauſed him to be crowned in the city of *Odia*, the 11th of *November* A. D. 1545. But theſe uſurpers did not long enjoy the fruits of 1545. their iniquity: for, on the 15th of *January* the next year, being invited by *Oya Paſſiloko*, and the king of *Kambodia*, to a A. D. feaſt, prepared in the temple called *Quiay Figrau* (or *Fri-* 1546. *gau*), that is, *the god of the atoms of the ſun*, whoſe feſtival it was, they were both ſlain by thoſe two princes, with all their party: and thus things became quiet again, though with the deſtruction of moſt of the nobility [g].

SECT. II.

The Reign of Pretiem. Siam *conquered by the* Barma *King of* Pegu. Rajah Api *throws off the Yoke: His Character and Death. The Revolution which followed.*

New king elected.

THE next thing to be conſidered was to chooſe a ſucceſſor; which, with the aſſiſtance of four or five more lords, they effected. The perſon whom they caſt their eye on was a religious man, named *Pretiem*, natural brother of the late king's father. He was a *Talagrepo* of a temple called *Quiay Mitrau*, where he had reſided for thirty years;

[g] PINTO, p. 277, & ſeqq.

but

but being brought from thence by *Oya Paſſiloko*, he was, on the 19th of the ſame month, crowned king, with great magnificence. 18. *King* Pretiem.

THE *Brama* (or *Barma*) king of *Pegu*, who, at that time, reigned in the city of *Anapleu*, being informed of the deplorable ſtate to which the empire of *Sornau* (or *Siam*) was reduced, and that the new monarch was ill beloved of his ſubjects, for his cowardly, as well as tyrannical diſpoſition, reſolved to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, and invade his dominions. Accordingly, on the 7th of *April* 1548, he ſet out from *Martabân*, with an army of 800,000 men, of whom 40,000 were horſe, and 60,000 harquibuſiers. Theſe were accompanied with 5000 elephants, and 1000 pieces of cannon, drawn by a thouſand couple of buffaloes and rhinoceros's. There were likewiſe as many yoke of oxen, for carrying the proviſion; beſides a vaſt quantity of baggage. Among theſe forces there were 1000 *Portugueſes*, commanded by *Diego Suarez de Albergaria*, nick-named the *Gallego*, who had the title of the king's brother, and governor of *Pegu*, with a yearly penſion of 200,000 ducats. The army never ſtopt till they entered the dominions of *Siam*; where, after five days march, they arrived at the caſtle of *Tapurau*, containing about 2000 houſes, which was attacked three times in one day, without ſucceſs. But *Suarez*, who was general of the camp, having cauſed it to be battered with forty pieces of heavy artillery, a breach was made, of twelve fathom width; which being entered by 12,000 foreigners, in half an hour 6000 *Siameſes*, of which the garriſon conſiſted, with their commander, who was a *Mogor* (or *Mogol*), were all cut to pieces. The *Brama* king, not content with this ſlaughter, ordered all the women likewiſe to be put to the ſword, to revenge the death of above 3000 of his men [a]. A. D. 1548. Barma *invaſion.*

AFTER this cruel execution, he marched directly to *Sokotay*, five leagues thence, ſituated on the river *Lebrau*, one of the three ariſing from the lake *Chiammay* (A), on the bank of which he encamped. But being adviſed by his lords not to loſe time and men, by attempting any other place, till he got to the capital of *Siam*; he next day departed, by roads made through the woods, by 60,000 pioneers ſent before for that purpoſe. When he came to *Tilau*, hard by *Junſalan*, on *The capital beſieged.*

[a] PINTO, p. 278, & ſeq.

(A) If there be no ſuch lake, as hath been already ſhewn, the ſource of this river muſt be uncertain; nor do we meet with the name of *Lebrau* in the *French* relations of *Siam*.

18. *King* Pretiem.

the ſouthweſt coaſt, near *Quedah*, he took guides; and, in nine days, arrived in ſight of *Odiaa* (or the city of *Siam*); where he pitched his camp, which he incloſed with ditches, and ſtrong paliſadoes. During the five days that theſe and other preparations were carrying on, the beſieged never offered to ſtir: of which ſeeming contempt of ſo great an army, *Diego Suarez*, the camp-marſhal, was at a loſs to know the cauſe; and therefore determined to give an aſſault to the city, towards the two points on the ſouth ſide, where the wall was weakeſt. He began the attack the 19th of *June*, an hour before day, with two bodies, each conſiſting of 6000 men, who endeavoured to ſcale the walls with 1000 ladders; but the beſieged defended themſelves ſo valiantly, that, in half an hour, 10,000 fell on both ſides. The king of *Barma* then ſounding a retreat, ordered the attack to be renewed with his 5000 elephants of war, divided into twenty troops. Theſe carried, in their caſtles placed on their backs, 20,000 ſelect *Moens* and *Chaleus* (B), who had double pay, and were furniſhed with ſmall cannon, as well as muſkets, beſides a ſort of ſcythes, eight or ten feet long; with which they made ſuch havock, that, in leſs than fifteen minutes, moſt of them were beaten off the walls, from whence the elephants, with their trunks, tore down (C) the target-fences, which ſerved for battlements.

The enemy repulſed:

THE wall being thus cleared, the enemy once more ſet up their ladders, which they had quitted; and mounting to the top, planted their ſtandards, with ſhouts of victory. The *Turks*, deſirous to ſignalize themſelves on this occaſion, deſired leave of the king to enter firſt; which, by advice of *Suarez*, who was always ſo kind as to put them on the moſt dangerous ſervices, deſiring nothing more than to ſee their numbers leſſened, was readily granted. Having thus obtained their deſires, 12,000 of them, among whom were ſome *Abiſſins* and *Janizari's* (D), mounted the wall with great outcries; and ſliding down on the other ſide, deſcended, through a bulwark, into a place below, with intent to open a gate, and give admittance to the king of *Barma*, who had promiſed 1000 *biſſes* of gold, amounting to 500,000 ducats,

(B) An account of theſe people ſee before, hiſt. *Pegu*, p. 69.

(C) *Loubere*, with good reaſon, looks upon this relation to be a fiction: for, as the city takes up the whole iſland in which it is built, the walls, which encompaſs the iſland, leave no room in front for an enemy to approach them; whereas, according to *Pinto*'s account, the city could not have been waſhed by the river on the ſouth ſide.

(D) We cannot conceive how janizari's ſhould come here.

to

to thoſe who ſhould do him that important ſervice. But while they endeavoured, with two battering-rams, to break the gate, they were ſuddenly charged by 3000 reſolute *Jaos* (E), and, in little more than a quarter of an hour, were all cut to pieces. The *Jaos*, flushed with this ſucceſs, immediately mounted the wall, and attacked the enemy whom they found there, ſo furiouſly, that, having ſlain moſt of them, they threw the reſt headlong to the ground [b].

18. *King Pretiem.*

THE *Barma* king, far from being diſcouraged at this diſaſter, ordered the aſſault to be renewed, imagining, that the elephants alone would be able to open his troops a way into the city. At the noiſe of their approach, *Oya Paſſiloko*, captain-general of the forces within, with 15,000 men, moſt of them *Luzons*, *Borneos*, and *Champaas*, with ſome *Menankabos*, ran to the gate through which the enemy propoſed to enter; and ſetting it wide open, ſent the king of *Pegu* word, that having heard his majeſty had promiſed 1000 *biſſes* to the perſon who ſhould open the gate to him, he had now performed that ſervice, and hoped the king would be as good as his word, to ſend him the money. The anſwer which the *Barma* monarch gave to this ſneer, was by a furious attack, which he ordered to be made forthwith upon the place, with ſuch good ſucceſs, that, in three hours ſpace, the gate was twice forced open, and gave the aſſailants admittance into the city. At this alarm, the king of *Siam* perceiving that all was in danger of being loſt, haſted with 30,000 choice ſoldiers, and began a moſt bloody fight. The conflict laſted above half an hour, during which our author knew not what paſſed: only he obſerves that the cries of the combatants, intermixed with the noiſe of martial inſtruments, roaring of cannon, and yelling of elephants, were ſo terrible, that it deprived thoſe who heard them of their ſenſes, as well as courage. Nor was the ſight which appeared at the gate leſs dreadful and ſtupefying to the beholders; for the place which the enemy had been maſters of was all covered with dead bodies, drowned in their blood, which flowed in ſtreams on all ſides.

renew the aſſault:

SUAREZ, ſeeing the *Barma* forces intirely repulſed, and the elephants frighted with the fire, as well as moſt of them hurt, prevailed on the king to ſound a retreat; which he did, though unwillingly, with a reſolution to give a freſh aſſault the next morning: but this was put off, by reaſon of a wound with an arrow, which he did not feel in the heat

are again repulſed:

[b] PINTO, ubi ſupra, p. 280, & ſeq.

(E) Perhaps *Laos*.

18 *King Pretem.*

of the action, and which obliged him to keep his bed twelve days. As soon as he was well again, he attacked the city a second time, with no better success than the first: yet being obstinately bent to take it, if he perished in the attempt, he assaulted it five times more, in the open day. But, although assisted by the ingenious contrivances of a *Greek* engineer, yet he was always forced to retire. The siege had already lasted four months and a half, with the loss of 140,000 of his men; he therefore determined to storm the city in a more effectual manner. For this purpose he ordered twenty-six strong wooden castles to be made: each was sixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, strengthened with double beams of timber, covered with lead, and accommodated with twenty-six iron wheels, to run upon: each of them likewise was filled with wood and pitch, and had long massy chains fastened to the fore-part [c].

and again attack.

THE machines being finished in seventeen days, in a dark and stormy night, attended with a heavy rain, the *Barma* king ordered all the artillery in his camp, as well as other arms, great and small, to be discharged three times. This was answered in like manner from the city; so that the noise made by so many arms, at least 100,000 in all, shot off without intermission, for three hours together, intermixed with that of thunder and lightning, as well as of the tempest, is not to be described; nor the dread it threw upon the whole army to be expressed: yet, in the midst of this horrible storm, the castles, which had been brought close to the walls of the city, were set on fire, and flamed so horribly, that none durst come within a stone's cast of them. At the same time the enemy attempting to scale the walls, a bloody conflict ensued; but as they gained no advantage against the besieged, after four hours attack, the castles being burnt to the ground, they retired to their camp.

The siege raised.

THE king of the *Barmas* called a council of war, to sound the opinion of his lords; and finding that they agreed, in sentiments with himself, to continue the siege, the rather, as they observed the *Siameses* were so weakened with their losses that they were not able to stand another attack, he rewarded his advisers; and then consulted with *Suarez*, and the *Greek* engineer, how to conduct the enterprize. The method they advised for battering down the remaining fortifications, was to raise a mount of earth, higher than the walls, and thereon plant a considerable number of cannon; which counsel was immediately put in execution: 60,000 pioneers being em-

[c] PINTO, p. 282, & seq.

ployed,

ployed, who, in twelve days, finiſhed the fort or platform, whereon were planted forty pieces of artillery. But next day, juſt when the battery was going to be played off, an expreſs arrived in the camp, with news that the *Shemîndoo* had begun a rebellion in *Pegu*, and already ſeized on the principal places in the kingdom. At this news the king was ſo moved, that he immediately raiſed the ſiege, and embarked himſelf on the river *Pakarau*, where he ſtayed only that night, and the day following, which he employed in drawing off his artillery and ammunition: then having ſet fire to his camp, he departed, on the 15th of *October* the ſame year, for *Martabân*, where he arrived after an expeditious voyage of ſeventeen days [d]. 19. *King, anonymous.*

THE *Barma* king of *Pegu*, named *Para Mandara* by ſome authors, intended, as ſoon as the affairs of his kingdom had been ſettled, again to have invaded *Siam*, whoſe conqueſt he was bent upon; but he was ſlain preſently after his return, by another rebel, who ſet up in oppoſition to the former. However, the deſign of annexing *Siam* to the empire of the *Barmas*, did not die with him; for *Chau-migrem*, otherwiſe called *Mandaragri*, his ſucceſſor, after he had ſubdued all the neighbouring countries, and extended his dominions to the frontiers of *China*, turned his arms againſt *Siam*, which he entered with an army of 1,500,000 men (E); and proceeding to *Odia*, the capital, cloſely beſieged it: but for all this prodigious force, authors relate that he could not have taken it, had not one of the gates been opened to him by the treachery of ſome within the city. This happened, according to *Linſchoten*, in the year 1568; and thereupon the whole kingdom ſubmitted to the conqueror. What was the king's name who reigned at this juncture is not mentioned: we only learn farther, that he became tributary, and that the queen, with his two ſons, were carried to *Pegu*. The eldeſt of theſe was named *Rajah Api*, that is, *the fiery king*; but he was, by the *Portugueſes*, called *the black*, and his brother *the white king*. *Conquered by the* Chau-migrem. A. D. 1568.

SOME years after, the king of *Pegu* gave the two princes leave to return to *Siam*, to viſit their father; with whom they continued till the death of the *Barma* monarch, which happened in 1583. His ſucceſſor, *Pranjinoko*, aſcending the throne, the king of *Siam* revolted, refuſing to pay him either homage or tribute, which he ſent to demand. Inſtead *The princes return.*

[d] PINTO, p. 282, & ſeqq.

(E) *Balbi* elſewhere, p. 115. ſays only 800,000 men.

19. *King, anonymous.* of this, while he was at war with his uncle, the king of *Ava*, who had likewiſe ſet up for himſelf, and aſpired to the dominion of *Pegu*; the king of *Siam*'s (F) ſon arrived, under pretence of putting himſelf under the protection of the new *Barma* monarch. He brought with him fifty elephants, and 800 armed men. The great *Barma*, or captain-general, who was left behind, to govern affairs in the king's abſence, directed the prince to conduct his troops towards *Ava*, there to join the *Barma* army: but inſtead of taking that route, he changed his road, and returned to *Siam*.

Siam *revolts.* THE prince having made report to his father of what had paſſed in *Pegu*, and how the great *Barma* had taken upon him to direct his motions, the king laid hold of this opportunity to throw off his dependency; and ſent *Pranjinoko* word, that ſince a ſlave had preſumed to give an anſwer to his ſon, whom he had ſent to join his majeſty in the war, he would no longer pay any regard to him, or acknowlege him for his ſuperior (G). Hereupon the king of *Pegu* ſent the great *Barma*, at the head of a powerful army, into *Siam*: but that general loſt a great number of men before the capital city, which he beſieged, as well by the exceſſive heat of the weather, as bravery of the garriſon. This obliged him to return with his forces. However, the king of *Siam* ſent him of *Pegu* word, that, if he had taken the field himſelf, he would have paid him his compliments; but that he would not deign to ſubmit to a perſon who was his inferior. To this the *Barma* king made anſwer, that it was his will the leaſt of his ſlaves ſhould ſubdue the greateſt prince who was his ſubject [e].

The Peguers *overthrown.* THE king of *Pegu*, reſolving to give his neighbour no reſt, ſent his brother-in-law, with a much greater power than the former, to invade *Siam*: but this ſerved only to make the overthrow more ſignal; for the *Siameſe* army, commanded by the *black prince*, meeting the enemy in the field,

[e] BALBI viag. Ind. Orient. p. 110, 115. PIMENTA ap Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746. FLORIS ap. collect. voy. 4to. vol. i. p. 439. DE FARIA Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 118, & ſeq.

(F) Perhaps this was *Rajah Api*, or the black prince, the king of *Siam*'s eldeſt ſon.

(G) According to *De Faria y Souſa*, the king of *Pegu* ſent to demand the tribute of him of *Siam*, which the black prince refuſed to pay; and this gave occaſion to war; in which he firſt employed his favourite *Banna*. *Portug. Aſia*, vol. iii. p. 119. This *Banna*, perhaps, is the ſame whom *Balbi* names the great *Brama* (or rather *Barma*).

out

cut 200,000 of them to pieces, and gained a complete victory. This new defeat only exaſperated *Pranjinoko*; who, determined if poſſible to reduce his revolted vaſſal, raiſes an army of 1,700,000 men, accompanied with 80,000 horſe, and 1500 elephants. The command of this vaſt power he gives to his eldeſt ſon *Maupa Râjah*; and, as if already ſure of the victory, confers on him the title of the king of *Siam*. At the news of this formidable force all *Siam* trembled, excepting the valiant *black prince*, now king, who marched againſt the enemy, and gave them battle. In the fight the two kings happened to meet, and encountering on their elephants, *Maupa Rajah* was ſtruck dead to the ground. At this ſight his troops immediately fled, and were purſued for a whole month by the *Siameſes*, who deſtroyed the greater part of that vaſt army. 20. *King* Râjah Api. Râjah Api *king*.

THIS remarkable victory happened about the year 1590; after which *Rajah Api* was freed from farther moleſtation on the ſide of *Pegu*, by the dreadful calamities which enſued in that kingdom. At length the neighbouring kings taking advantage of the diſtreſs to which *Pranjinoko* was reduced, about the year 1599 invaded his dominions on all ſides: among the reſt *Rajah Api*, deſirous to revenge the ſeveral devaſtations which that prince had made in his territories, entered *Pegu* with a conſiderable army, and lays ſiege to the city of *Uncha*, or *Pegu*, the capital: but, after lying two months before it, he was obliged to retire, and returned to *Siam*, with the loſs of 100,000 of his forces. On *Pegu*'s ruin, which happened in the year 1600, *Siam* began to recover its former power, under this warlike king; who, in the ſpace of about five years, ſubdued the countries of *Kamboja*, *Lanjang*, *Jagomay* (or *Jangoma*), *Lugor*, *Patane*, *Tanaſſerim*, and ſeveral others.

IN 1605 the black king died, and left his dominions to his brother, called the white king; who was a covetous prince, but yet enjoyed the throne in peace, till 1610, when he likewiſe departed this life. He left ſeveral children behind him, which occaſioned much diſtraction, whereof he himſelf was the firſt and chief occaſion: for, on his death-bed, he cauſed his eldeſt ſon, a young prince of great hope, to be ſlain, at the inſtigation of *Jokkrom-meway*, one of the principal lords of *Siam*; who, having been poſſeſſed of a great number of ſlaves, thought to have made himſelf king. However, he miſſed of his aim: for the white king's ſecond ſon aſcended the throne after his father's deceaſe, being then about twenty-two years of age; and ſoon after diſpatched *Jokkrom-meway*. That traitor had, among other ſlaves, *The white king*.

22. *King* Râjah Api II. *His son succeeds.* A. D. 1612.

280 *Japaneſes*, who thinking to revenge their maſter's death, and atchieve ſome memorable exploit, ran to the palace, and, ſurpriſing it, compelled the new king to deliver into their hands four of the principal nobles, whom they ſlew, as the chief adviſers of their maſter's death. Having, after this, uſed the king for ſome time at their diſcretion, they forced him to ſign, with his own blood, ſuch conditions as they propoſed to him; and to give them ſome of the chief *Talapoys*, or prieſts, for hoſtages. This done, they committed great outrages, and departed with immenſe treaſures, the *Siameſes* not being able to prevent them.

Several kingdoms revolt.

Upon this occaſion, the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Lanjang* revolted; as did alſo one *Banga de Laa*, a *Peguan*. The year before the king of *Lanjang* entered *Siam*, and advanced within three days journey of *Odiya*, the capital city; hoping to find the country ſtill embroiled with the *Japan* ſlaves. But as they were departed before this invaſion, the king of *Siam* ſet out to meet his enemy, who thereupon thought fit to retreat. He was threatened with another invaſion in *April* 1612 following, from the two other revolting princes [f].

But our author did not ſtay long enough in the *Indies* to know the event; nor do we know from others how long this king reigned, or who ſucceeded him, to the middle of the ſame century. All we can do is to fill up the chaſm with ſuch particulars, as are to be met with in authors, during that period. The firſt which occurs is, that, about the year 1615, *Zangomay*, or *Jangomay*, with other provinces, taken from the king of *Pegu* and *Ava*, were again recovered by that monarch [g]. The next year the king of *Siam* ſent ambaſſadors to *Goa*, who acknowleged the favours received from the *Portugueſes*; and, in anſwer to the letter delivered by *James de Mendoza*, his majeſty offered the port of *Martavân* for the king of *Portugal* to build a fort there; likewiſe to maintain the garriſon, and a ſmall fleet of ſhips, to cruize on that ſea againſt the king of *Dika*.

A. D. 1616.

Portugueſe *embaſſy.*

The ambaſſadors were ſplendidly entertained; and *F. Francis*, a *Dominican* frier, ſent to accompany them back with the ſame character, and a coſtly preſent. The ambaſſador, who was received with great marks of ſatisfaction, propoſed to the king, that both nations ſhould join their forces to ſubdue the king of *Ava*; that there ſhould be a free trade between *Siam* and *Malakka*; and that he ſhould not admit the *Hol-*

[f] Floris, ubi ſupra, p. 439, & ſeq. De Faria, ubi ſupra, p. 120. [g] Methold. ap. Purch. vol. v. p. 1006.

landers

landers into his country. The *Siamite* answered, that the *Portugueſe* merchants might freely reſort to his ports, and be exempt from all duties; that his ſubjects ſhould trade to *Malakka*, and that the reaſon they had not done it of late, was the ill uſage they found there, whereof he alleged ſufficient inſtances; that he had admitted the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Malays*, into his ports, on account of the great reſpect they ſhewed him, and the need he had of them; that he had aſſiſted the *Portugueſes* againſt the *Dutch*, and was no way concerned for the harm thoſe of *Malakka* had done the queen of *Patane*, becauſe ſhe was a mad-woman; but that, ſhe being now dead, he had placed one of more ſenſe in her room, and deſired there might be a free trade with her, as well as with *Siam*: that the goods of ſuch *Portugueſes* as died in his dominions, ſhould go to their heirs; and that ſuch of them as committed any crimes, ſhould be tried at his court, to prevent any wrong being done them by the prejudice of magiſtrates. Thus the *Dominican* was diſpatched, and two *Siameſes* ſent back with him by the king, to go his ambaſſadors into *Spain* [h]. 22. *King* Râjah Api II.

DE Faria y Souſa, the *Portugueſe* hiſtorian, ſpeaks of another embaſſy, which was ſent to *Goa* in 1621, by the king of *Siam*, deſiring ſome *Franciſcans* would come to preach in his dominions. *F. Andrew*, of the *Holy Ghoſt*, being ſent, his majeſty built a church for him, at his own expence, and offered him great riches; which, to the great admiration of that prince, ſays our author, he conſtantly refuſed. This monarch *De Faria* calls the *black king*, perhaps miſtaking him for *Rajah Api* before-mentioned, and ſpeaks of him as living in the year 1627, beſtowing on him the following character. This prince, ſays our hiſtorian, was ſmall of ſtature, of an ill preſence, and of a diſpoſition partly very wicked, and partly generous. Though cruel men are generally cowards, yet he was very valiant, as well as cruel; and whereas tyrants are commonly avaritious, he was, on the contrary, exceeding liberal: ſo that, in ſome things, he ſhewed as much goodneſs, as he did barbarity in others. He was not content to put thieves and robbers to death in the ordinary way, but cauſed them to be torn to pieces for his paſtime, by tigers and crocodiles (H). Underſtanding that a king, his vaſſal, intended to rebel, he ſhut him up in a cage; and *The king's character.* *His great cruelty.*

[h] De Faria, ubi ſupra, p. 237, & ſeq.

(H) Perhaps this king firſt brought thoſe cruel deaths in uſe, or inflicted them oftener than his predeceſſors had done.

5 having,

22. *King* Râjah Api II.

having, for ſome time, fed him with morſels of his own fleſh, torn from his body, had him fried in a pan. With his own hand he cut ſeven ladies through the middle, only becauſe, as he ſaid, they walked too faſt; and ordered the legs of three others to be chopped off, becauſe they ſtayed too long when ſent for money to beſtow on the *Portugueſes*. Thus to walk either too faſt or too ſlow, were crimes with this capricious and bloody king.

Even to brutes.

His ſeverity extended even to brute beaſts. He cut off the paw of a favourite monkey, becauſe the ſilly animal happened to put it into a box, wherein were ſome curioſities. A horſe, no leſs prized by him, had his head ſtruck off in the ſtable before the reſt, becauſe he did not ſtop at his majeſty's command. The crows making a noiſe over his palace, he cauſed 500 of them to be catched; ſome of which were killed, others impriſoned in cages, and the reſt turned looſe, with yokes about their necks. In ſhort, a tiger, which did not immediately ſeize a criminal who was caſt to him, was, by his command, beheaded as a coward. Thus much of the wicked part of this prince. Now to ſpeak of his virtues. He kept his word inviolably; was ſtrict in the execution of juſtice; liberal above meaſure; and very merciful to thoſe who, in his opinion, committed pardonable faults. A *Portugueſe* being ſent by him to *Malakka*, to purchaſe commodities, loſt them all at play, and yet had the boldneſs to return to the king, who received him kindly; ſaying, *he valued the confidence repoſed in his generoſity more than all the goods which the man could have brought*. He ſhewed great reſpect to the *Portugueſe* prieſts; and encouraged planting the *Romiſh* religion in his territories. To conclude his eulogy, his courage was unſpeakable [i].

His generoſity.

This prince ſeems, by his character (I), to be the ſame *Rajah Hapi* (or *Api*) mentioned by *Mandelſlo*, who ſays he lived about the year 1616; and, at that time acknowleged the ſovereignty of the king of *Pegu*: but a few years after threw off his dependency. For entering the kingdom of *Pegu* with a powerful army, he laid ſiege to the city of

[i] De Faria, p. 361, & ſeq.

(I) For *Mandelſlo* repreſents him as notorious for his cruelty; of which he relates, as an inſtance, that it was reported of him, that one time, when he was ſick, hearing two of his concubines laugh in an adjoining chamber, he commanded that they ſhould immediately be cut to pieces.

Arra-

Arrakan (K), making a vow not to depart till he had reduced it: but not being able to take the place, he built a houſe near it, where he died. 22. *King* Râjah Api II.

RAJAH Hapi had a favourite named *Oki* (L) *Kronwi*, who aſpiring to the crown, brought 4 or 500 *Japaneſes* into the kingdom, cloathed like merchants, in order to murder the king. This deſign, however, took no effect; for *Rajah Api* died a natural death, as before-mentioned. But after his deceaſe, *Oki Kronwi* ſeized the throne, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. *A revolution.*

HOWEVER, the ſon of *Rajah Hapi*, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, found means to expel the uſurper; but was not fortunate enough to keep the crown in his poſſeſſion: for he was likewiſe ſlain, and was ſucceeded by his younger brother, who continued to reign in 1639, when our author was in the *Indies* [k].

THIS king had taken ſo great an averſion to the *Japaneſes*, on ſuſpicion they had a deſign upon his perſon, that he put ſome to death, and expelled the reſt: yet afterwards permitted them to return and enjoy their antient poſts; but they exceeded not the number of 5 or 600 [l].

WHEN this prince began to reign, or how long he continued on the throne, does not appear from our author *Mandelſlo*; who further informs us, that the laſt war which the kings of *Siam* made on thoſe of *Jangoma* and *Lanjang* (M), was purely out of ambition to ſupport the ſovereignty which they pretended to over thoſe kingdoms. He proceeds: it is not long alſo ſince the king of *Kamboja*, who was tributary to this monarch, revolted; hereupon the king of *Siam* entered his territories with a potent army, but was oppoſed ſo vigorouſly that he was forced to retire. The country, after this, enjoyed a long peace, till the death of the king; who, having cauſed his brother to be murdered, in order to ſettle his ſon on the throne, one of the princes of the blood took occaſion to uſurp the crown. Siam *in diſtraction.*

THIS uſurper made ſhew as if he would eſpouſe the intereſt of the ſtate againſt the kings of *Pegu* and *Ava*, but chiefly him of *Kamboja*; yet this was all pretence, for he did not enter into open hoſtilities with any of them, although he kept an army on foot as if for that purpoſe; his true de- *The uſurper's craft*

[k] MANDELSLO voy. p. 127. [l] Ibid. p. 125.

(K) This ſeems to be a miſtake for the city of *Pegu*.

(L) *Oki*, for *Ok-ya*, perhaps.

(M) In the *Engliſh* tranſlation of *Mandelſlo*, it is miſ-printed *Langegaugh*.

ſign

23. *King* Pasa-thong.

sign being to stand on his guard, and oppose any attempts which, he had reason to apprehend, the heirs of the deceased king would make to recover their right.

A. D. 1624.

He continued the same friendship for the *Hollanders*, which his predecessor had testified for them; whereof he gave a proof in the year 1624. For *Fernando de Silva*, governor of *The Manillas*, having set upon a *Dutch* frigate in the river *Menam*; this king seized on his ship, and forced him to restore the frigate: for which favour the *Dutch* always assisted him against his enemies, and particularly the *Portugueses*; who, after that, took occasion to disturb the trade of the *Siameses* to *China*. *Patany* likewise having revolted some years after (N), they assisted him with six ships to subdue the rebels [m].

Disagreement among authors.

In what has been cited from *Mandelslo*, we find two accounts of the succession of these kings, not reconcileable either with each other, or with what has been related from *De Faria*: they both commit the same error with respect to *Rajah Api*, unless we may suppose there were two princes of this name or title. *De Faria* says, *Rajah Api* was living in 1627; but, according to *Mandelslo*, he must have died before the year 1624, at which time we find an usurper on the throne. In his second account, he speaks of a king murdering his brother, to make way for his son to succeed him, on which an usurper steps in: but there is nothing like this in his first account, nor can we tell what to make of either; in short, they seem to be a jumble of events collected from *Floris*, *De Faria*, and other authors.

SECT. III.

Reign of Chaw Pasa-thong. *He depose the King, and usurps the Throne. His Daughter's Funeral: the cruel Executions which attended it.*

Chaw Pasa-thong

However, the king who reigned in his time must have been the famous *Chaw Pasa-thong* (A), mentioned by later writers; for we are told that he died in 1657, after a reign of thirty years, which carries back the beginning of

[m] Mandels. p. 126.

(N) Our author says lately, speaking with reference to the year 1639, when he was in the *Indies*.

(A) *Chaw Pasa-thong*, according to *Gervaise*, signifies *the king of the golden language*.

it

it to the year 1627. But, in this case, if, as we are assured by succeeding authors, that *Pasa-thong* was an usurper, he could not well be the second son of *Rajah Api*, but must have been the prince who immediately succeeded him: unless we could suppose, that, after the death both of the usurper and his elder brother, he ascended the throne the year last-mentioned, in which *Rajah Api* must have died; for *De Faria* speaks of him as living, at least in the beginning of it. *Van Vliet* (B), who wrote the history of this prince, says he was an usurper, and of the royal blood, though not that he was the brother of the former king. But *Loubere*, who allows him to have been an usurper, charges *Van Vliet* with a mistake, in asserting that he was of the royal race [a]. However that be, his accession to the crown in 1627 is farther confirmed by the age of his son *Chaw Naraya*, who was twenty-four years old at his father's death [b]. This places his birth in the year 33; consequently his father was then on the throne, because his mother, who was daughter to the deposed king, was not married to him till after his usurpation. Now as some time must have passed before she married him, on account of her reluctance, and she likewise had a daughter before she had that son, it is very probable that his reign was as long as *Loubere* makes it.

23. *King* Pasa-thong.

Usurps the throne.

One remarkable circumstance in his usurpation is, that, having entered by force of arms into the palace, he compelled the king to quit it, and fly into a temple: from thence he had the unfortunate prince dragged, and carried back again a prisoner to the palace: where he caused him to be declared unworthy of the crown and government, for having deserted the same, as if he had done it voluntarily [c].

Deposes the king.

This king, before his usurpation, had been *Chakri*, or chancellor; in which post he gained so much credit, and wealth, as opened the way for him to the throne. To establish himself the firmer thereon, though already married, he espoused the daughter of his predecessor. This princess, who had a great deal of spirit, as well as virtue, did all she could to avoid the match, unable to endure the thoughts of wearing a crown, in prejudice to four brothers, whom she tenderly loved. The resistance which she made

Marries the princess.

[a] Loubere relat. Siam, p. 9. [b] Gervaise hist. Siam, p. 244. [c] Loubere, ubi supra, p. 9.

(B) *Jeremy Van Vliet*, who wrote *the revolutions which happened in the kingdom of* Siam. It is printed in *French*, in 4to, after Sir *Thomas Herbert's Travels*, *Paris* 1663. But we have it not immediately before us.

on

23. King Pasa-thong.

Destroys her brothers.

on this occasion, and the affection which she openly expressed for her brothers, made the tyrant resolve to put them all to death: but having had notice of their danger, they, by assistance of some faithful servants of their family, who still were employed at court, escaped out of the palace where they were shut up. Two of them took refuge in the kingdom of *Laos* (or *Lahos*), where they were kindly received: but the other two, hoping to find an asylum at *Pipli*, perished there, by the treachery of those on whom they depended for protection and assistance [d]. This is the account given by *Gervaise*: but, according to *Loubere*, *Chaw Pasa-thong* put to death all the princes of their blood. Two indeed escaped the slaughter longer than the rest: but, in the year 1650, the last of them, who was then twenty years of age, underwent the same fate as the others, with one of his sisters, upon an accusation notoriously false [e]; the particulars whereof are related by *Struys*, who was an eye-witness, on the following occasion.

His daughter's funeral.

THE funeral of the king's only legitimated daughter being to be performed on the 23d of *February* 1650 (C), six months after her decease; the king sent to invite the Sieur *Van Muyden*, consul for the *Dutch* company, to attend the ceremony of burning her corpse. Preparations were made in the middle of the court or parade, before the palace, where were erected five towers of wood, and upon each a pole: that which stood in the midst was thirty fathoms high; the other four, which formed a square, only twenty each. The fabric of these towers was very artificial: round about under the architrave, they were neatly painted with foliage, raised with gold, and depressed with amber and burnt ivory. On the stilobat were carved heads of leopards, tigers, and panthers. Under the projecture there were supporters in antic-work, and emblematical to the occasion. The cornice was adorned with close-leaves, suitable to the frise and architrave, either carved or painted. Within the great tower, which stood in the middle, was a very costly altar, covered with gold, and set with precious stones, about six feet from

[d] GERVAISE, ubi supra, p. 242, & seq. [e] LOUBERE, ubi supra, p. 9.

(C) *Glanius*, in his voyage to the *East Indies*, putting himself in the place of *Struys*, or some other person, pretends he was present at this funeral, and the executions which followed it; although he did not leave *Europe* till 1668; that is eighteen years after.

the ground. On this altar was placed the body of the princeſs, in a coffin of gold, an inch thick. She was ſtanding: her hands joined: her face turned towards heaven: her robe had a long train, and was all beſet with jewels: her crown, her necklace, and her bracelets, likewiſe covered over with diamonds, were of an ineſtimable price. 23. *King* Paſathong.

When thoſe who attended on this occaſion had taken their places, on ſcaffolds made on purpoſe, all the grandees of the kingdom, with their ladies, apparelled only with a white cloth, without any ornament, paſſed along; ſcattering flowers and perfumes round the body and the altar with a ſad countenance. After this the corpſe was carried twenty paces from thence in a chariot, whoſe richneſs equalled that of the altar. The great men and ladies, having paid her the ſame honours as before, wept as bitterly as if they had loſt what they held deareſt in the world. This mournful ſcene having laſted near two hours, the chariot was drawn very ſlowly towards the funeral pile, attended by the ſame lords and ladies, who were ſtill weeping. Before them marched the king's eldeſt ſon, aged about twenty, only brother of the deceaſed princeſs by the ſame mother. He was dreſt in white, as well as the lords who attended him, and mounted on an elephant, whoſe houſing was embroidered, with chains of gold on his neck. On his ſides were his two brothers, by different venters, riding on elephants accoutred like the firſt; each holding a long ſcarf of white ſilk, one end of which was faſtened to the herſe. On the ſides of the herſe walked fourteen more of the king's ſons on foot, cloathed alſo in white, and with branches of palm in their hands; all well inſtructed in the art of weeping. *Ceremonies paid to the corpſe.*

On each ſide of the way, along which the herſe was to paſs, there were ſtages or ſcaffolds, where the lords, of inferior rank than thoſe mentioned before, expected the convoy. When the body was arrived over-againſt them, ſome threw ſeveral kinds of habits among the people, and others oranges full of *fikols* or *maſes*: two pieces of money, the firſt worth about half a crown, the latter but half that ſum. The body being at length come to the funeral pile, the grandees took it with great reſpect, and laid it thereon, ſeveral inſtruments ſounding in the mean time; whoſe mournful notes, accompanied with the lamentations of all the court, were capable of ſoftening the hardeſt hearts. This ſad concert being ended, they covered the body with *ſandal* and *aquila* wood: then having caſt thereon a great quantity of perfumes, the king and nobles returned to the palace; leaving the ladies *Funeral pile.*

23. *King* Pasathhng.

city, up to the chin, and all passengers ordered to spit on them: nor durst any, under pain of death, give them the least relief, or hasten their death, which those miserable creatures most ardently demanded [i]. Among other punishments which, according to *Glanius*, were inflicted upon these unhappy innocents, there was one which is frequently executed on notorious malefactors. The criminal is bound so tightly about the waist with a napkin, that a man may grasp him there with his hands: after this they prick him with engines as sharp as needles; not so much to draw blood out, as force him to hold in his breath. Then watching a proper time, they, of a sudden, cut him through the middle, and clap the upper part of his body upon a burning hot plate of brass; which preventing the effusion of blood, by searing or stopping the vessels, the patient remains a considerable time alive, in far greater torments than can be imagined [k].

Executions renewed.

THESE cruel executions continued four months; during which they took away the lives of an incredible number of persons. One day, in less than four or five hours, our author *Struys* avers, that he saw above fifty put to death, and the like number in a forenoon. During this time it was reckoned that 2900 lost their lives, though some computed 300 more: and it was thought few of the nobility would have escaped, if they had not absented themselves from court on this occasion. All this tyranny was acted, under pretence of their having had a hand in this sham poisoning, or been privy to it: but it was afterwards well known that the king had, of a long time, formed the design to cut off all the chief officers of the state, whom he began to stand in awe of; and the better to effect it, without danger of a rebellion, he had newly raised an army of 250,000, giving out that he intended to declare war against the *Chineses*.

Late king's daughter A. D. 1670.

ON the 28th of *February* 300 persons, who had served the deceased princess, were carried to undergo the fiery trial. But as it was said to have spared those domestics, I know not how, says *Struys*, they were by that means released. And now comes on the last act of this tragedy, though first resolved on, and to which the former executions were only preparatory. This was the death of two of the preceding king's children; of whom, at this time, there remained no more than three, two daughters and a son. They began with the elder princess, and her household, who was one of the youngest of his children, and who was suspected of the pretended

[i] STRUYS ibid. ch. ix. p. 44, & seqq. [k] GLANIUS ibid. p. 140.

poisoning,

poiſoning, becauſe ſhe could ſcarce forbear to laugh when all others wept at the funeral of the deceaſed. She had likewiſe frequently complained that the king ſlighted her, and therefore ſhe was not treated with the reſpect due to the royal blood (D). On the firſt of *March* ſhe was brought forth, with a great number of ladies, who were all led through the fire; but, according to report, none of their feet were bliſtered, excepting thoſe of the princeſs. Hereupon ſhe was caſt into a dungeon, loaded with chains of gold, and none were ſuffered either to ſee or ſpeak to her. Next day ſhe was brought again to the hall of audience in the palace; where, upon being threatened with the torture, whether out of fear, or to acquire glory, ſhe told her judges: that *in caſe the king would promiſe to put her to death, without expoſing her in public, ſhe promiſed, on the honour of a dying princeſs, to diſcover the whole affair, without farther trouble.* 23. *King* Paſathong.

SEVERAL of the old courtiers, who loved her father, were ſo moved with this declaration, that, it was thought they would have interceded for her pardon, if the king's fury had not reſtrained them. However, they reported what ſhe had ſaid, and the king granted her requeſt. On this ſhe declared, that *the fact was committed by her and her nurſe, who had employed certain ſorceries, which occaſioned the piece of fleſh to remain unconſumed.* She added, *that her ignominious death did not trouble her ſo much as the miſcarriage of her good deſign; which, in caſe it had ſucceeded, would have reſtored the ſmall remains of her family to their former ſtate, and freed the nation from the ſlavery of ſo cruel a tyrant.* On farther examination ſhe proteſted, *that the poiſon was not provided for the innocent princeſs who was dead, but for the king himſelf.* When this confeſſion was reported to the uſurper, he ordered the executioner to cut a piece of fleſh out of her body, and force her to eat it. The lady ſuffered her fleſh to be torn away with amazing patience: but when he tendered it to her to eat, ſhe refuſed, crying out, *O wretched tyrant! thou mayeſt tear my body to pieces, but haſt no power over my mind.* She added, *Know that I deſy thy cruelty; and that the effects of thy ſham plot will ſpeedily appear, when the remaining virtue of my royal race ſhall avenge* *put to death.* Her courage.

(D) Theſe are the words of *Glanius*, who ſeems to have taken his account from the ſame ſource: in the *Engliſh Struys*, they are perplexed. It is there ſaid, *ſhe complained, that her daughter (who was alſo the king's daughter) was had in contempt; and his eldeſt daughter, in her life-time, promoted to great honour:* as if the complaint came from the mother of the princeſs, who was the dethroned king's conſort.

23. *King* Pasa thong.

themselves of thee and thy tiger brood. With these, and the like speeches, she continued to revile the king; till, by a second order from the palace, she was hacked in pieces (E), and thrown into the river.

Her brother put to death.

The same day her only brother, aged twenty years, was brought to execution. The *Dutch* were told he had been pardoned, on account of madness, which he had counterfeited during the course of this tragedy. But as soon as he mounted the scaffold, it appeared that he had all his senses about him: for he behaved with such grace and modesty, that some of the courtiers could not forbear shedding tears. He likewise, in a bitter speech, so vilified the king, and vindicated himself, that the populace were almost moved to an insurrection. He concluded his harangue with severe reproaches; and declared himself more concerned for the ill success of his sister's attempt, than his own death. So soon as he saw the executioner approach, he cried out, *Innocent indeed I am, as was my sister: but now, thou inhuman tyrant, since it is thy will it should be so, I scorn, was I sure of obtaining it, to desire thy pardon, that thou mayest not hope for the least pity from the hands of them who shall hereafter revenge my death.* With these and the like words, he seemed to declare his innocency; yet uttered some expressions which contradicted those protestations (F), and were probably spoken, saith our author, only to exasperate the king. Thus was all the race of the former king extirpated, excepting one daughter, who was not capable (G) of doing any-thing against the interest of the reigning prince [l].

His bravery.

This is all we meet with in the authors (H) before us, concerning this prince; who died in the year 1657, after a reign of thirty years [m]. He had by his first wife one daughter and four sons; and by his second one daughter and one

[l] Struys voy. ubi supra.

[m] Loubere, p. 9.

(E) It is not likely that she suffered such an ignominious death as this is reckoned in the East; besides, it is not usual to shed the blood of princes, especially by the hands of an executioner.

(F) His sister did the same. Perhaps they held themselves innocent, as they did not design the death of the princess, but of the king himself.

(G) According to *Glanius*, she was not ten years of age: but this could not be, if the daughter of the preceding prince, who was dethroned in 1627; unless he had been suffered to live several years after, which is not likely.

(H) For we have not *Van Vliet*, who gives the revolution made in *Siam* by this prince.

son:

son. This son, who was twenty-four years old when his father died (his mother having deceased some time before), seemed to be the only prince living intitled to the crown, as all his mother's brothers, who only had a right to dispute it with him, were dead. But all his hopes, as well as the wishes of the people in his favour, were eluded, by the artifices of his father's brother, *Pra Sitama Racha* (I): who, although he had no right to succeed an usurper, yet making a handle of the custom of the country, which authorizes the brothers of the deceased king to succeed him, in exclusion of his own children, took possession of the throne. The young prince, deeply resented this ill usage in his heart; but thought it prudence to smother his disgust (K) till a favourable opportunity of shewing it, which not long after presented itself. For the brutish uncle having resolved to take his sister for a concubine, the young prince opposed it with so much courage, that the tyrant determined to cut him off: but being informed of his design, by the very persons who were to have assassinated him, he took the field, and desired assistance from the foreigners residing in *Siam*.

24. *King* Sitama Racha.

Pra Sitama Racha

THE *Portugueses* were the first who joined him, on his promises to favour their commerce, and reward their services handsomely. He had scarcely gotten together 1000 men, when, not to give his enemy time to stir himself, and assemble his troops, he marched with them directly to the palace; where, having put to the sword all who opposed his passage, he opened himself a way to the king's chamber. The usurper, being in no condition to defend himself, had changed his dress, with an intent to get-off in that disguise, among his domestics, who fled on all sides: but being discovered by a *Portuguese*, the prince fell upon, and killed, him with his own hand (L).

slain by his nephew.

THE heads of the conspiracy were arrested; some of whom he punished for examples, and made friends of others, by his generosity towards them.

THIS event happened, according to *Loubere*, in the year 1657; but *Kæmpfer* places it on the 9th of *October* 1656, three months after *Sitama Rasia*'s usurpation [n].

[n] GERVAISE hist. Siam, p. 245, & seq.

(I) *Kæmpfer* calls him *Rasia*, *Rassa*, or *Racha*, *Sitima Ratia*. *Hist. Japan*, book ii. ch 2. p. 23.

(K) *Loubere* says, that to secure his life, he took sanctuary in a cloister, and cloath'd himself with the inviolable habit of a *Talapoy*.

(L) *Loubere* says, that he was slain with a musquet by a *Portuguese*, as he was flying from the palace on his elephant: but *Kæmpfer* writes, that he was beaten to death with clubs.

25. *King* Naraya.

CHAP. XI.

Reign of Chaw Naraya.

SECT. I.

He attacks and kills his Uncle, who had uſurped the Throne. — Quells ſeveral Revolts. — Biſhops ſent to India. — *Miſſion of* Siam. — *The Jeſuits form a Deſign to convert the King, and all his Subjects. — War with* Kamboja.

Chaw Naraya

AS ſoon as this prince, named *Chaw Naraya* (A), ſaw himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he ſolemnly married his father's daughter by his firſt wife, and had her declared queen, with all the uſual ceremonies. His own ſiſter he gave in wedlock to one of his half-brothers, who was a very honeſt man, and had no hand at all in the conſpiracy, as the four others were ſuſpected to have had, on which account they were diſgraced. Two of them died of grief ſome time after: he who was married ſurvived them ten or twelve years, and then left the world, like them, without iſſue (B). The other two lived till the king's death, and were ſacrificed by the uſurper who ſucceeded him. One of theſe two, that he might take from his brother all occaſion of diſtruſt, became a *Talapoy*, or religious man. He lived in a great temple near the palace, whither the king went often to viſit him, and offered him the chief poſts in the ſtate, which he always refuſed. This gained him the intire confidence of his majeſty, and veneration of the people, who looked on him as a ſaint. The other brother, who was paralytic, led an obſcure and languiſhing life, in a little caſtle belonging to the capital, where he remained ſhut up, without being allowed to go to court. Whenever he appeared, he affected to ſtutter, and talk wildly (C); for fear, perhaps, that

aſcends the throne.

(A) So called by *Gervaiſe* and *Loubere*; but *Kæmpfer* gives his name more at large, *Pra Narees Naraye Pin Chaw*.

(B) According to what we ſhall find afterwards in *Kæmpfer*, he had at leaſt one ſon, who uſurped the crown after *Chaw Naraya*'s death.

(C) In 1685 the eldeſt was thirty-ſeven years old; and though of a very weakly conſtitution, was yet haughty, and capable of giving diſturbance, if

that the king, who always diſtruſted, and did not love, him, ſhould take other meaſures with him, in caſe he thought him in a condition to do him any miſchief [a]. 25. *King* Naraya.

THE two princeſſes, his own ſiſter and his wife, died about the year 1680, within three or four months one of the other; and their bodies were burnt in the palace, on the ſame funeral pile. Ever ſince then the king was ſo afflicted for the death of the queen, whom he paſſionately loved, that he never would marry a ſecond time, but contented himſelf with a few concubines. *The queen dies.*

THE princeſs, who was the iſſue of that marriage, inherited all the virtues and great qualities of her mother. She was of a good ſize, and handſome, excepting that her noſe was a little too flat. She was extremely agreeable, and had a great deal of vivacity, accompanied with ſolid judgment. This account our author *Gervaiſe* had from thoſe who had ſeen her, before ſhe was fourteen years of age: for, after that, the princeſſes ſee no men, except the eunuchs; their own brothers not being ſuffered to talk to them, unleſs through a curtain. The king, who knew her good qualities better than any-body elſe, had a mind, about the year 1684, to make a trial of them twice; by putting the crown (to which ſhe was preſumptive heir) on her head, and reſigning to her the government of his kingdom for twenty-four hours. In the execution of this arduous taſk ſhe exceeded his expectations: for ſhe reaſoned on the moſt difficult affairs of ſtate, propoſed by his council, as if ſhe had been bred up to them; and, what ſhe wanted in experience, was ſupplied by the depth of her capacity. There was only one thing with which ſhe might juſtly be reproached; and that was her too great ſeverity to her maids of honour, whom, for the ſmalleſt faults, and even for little abuſive words ſpoken to one another, ſhe cauſed to be ſhaved in her preſence, and thus diſhonoured them, during the remainder of their lives. *The princeſs: her great talents.*

THE king had an adopted ſon, who was very handſome, and had a great deal of ſpirit. He had rendered himſelf very popular, by his obliging carriage, and was loved exceedingly by his majeſty. He was treated as if one of the king's own children: he had a *ſhercelle*, or pavilion, on his elephant; was as richly dreſt as the king himſelf; entered at Mompe Totſo, *his adopted ſon,*

[a] GERVAISE, p. 246. & CHOISY, p. 398.

if his body had been able to act: the other was only twenty-ſeven years of age; he was well-made but dumb, though ſome ſaid it was only a political muteneſs. *Choiſy*, p. 398.

pleaſure

25. *King* Naraya. pleasure into his apartment; and was exempted from prostrating himself in his presence. According to the court-scandal, the king had this prince by one of his concubines, whom he politically married to an *Ok-kown*, as soon as he found her with child; and let him pass for that officer's son, till he saw how he should deport himself when grown up: however, as soon as he was born, he had him brought into his palace, and publickly adopted him for his son. *Chaw Naraya* finding him to answer his early wishes, designed him as a husband to his daughter, who discovered an affection for him; both by her sorrow at his turning *Talapoy*, about the year 1683, and the joy she expressed when she heard he had renounced the profession [b]. *Kæmpfer*, in his relation, speaks as if they were married; for he calls *Mompe Totso* (D) the son-in-law, as well as adopted son of the king [c]. But others, who speak of the great revolution which happened in 1688, say no such thing: nor is it likely it should be so, since they were not married in *February* that same year, when the *French* ambassadors left *Siam*; and *Mompe Totso* was put to death in the *May* following.

designed for the princess.

Several revolts quelled.

CHAW Naraya did not give himself up to effeminacy and sloth, like other *Indian* princes, but immediately put himself at the head of his army; and having defeated his neighbours who had invaded his dominions, returned to his capital, and applied himself diligently to the affairs of government. He stifled the seeds of civil war in their birth, by his prudent conduct: and several cities, which designed to revolt, were contained within the bounds of duty, by the privileges which he granted them; while others, which had actually thrown off their subjection, were reduced to obedience without much bloodshed. Some traitors about him, who intended his assassination, being discovered, he caused them to be put to death privately, rather than with any noise: but the conspiracy which put his life most in danger, was that of the *Talapoys*. These good religious, these priests of the law, says our author, who, in appearance, lead so holy a life, assembled by agreement, on their chief festival, in the principal of their temples, with a design to murder the king, who was to assist on that occasion. As it is the custom for his guards to remain without the pagod, and they had resolved, as soon as the king, with only five or six of his officers, were entered, to shut the doors, they thought themselves sure of

Plot of the priests.

[b] Choisy, p. 247, & seqq. [c] Kæmpf. hist. Japan, p. 20.

(D) By others he is called *Monpi Totso Pra-pie.*

their

their blow: but, by good fortune, two officers having been sent before, to see if every-thing was ready for celebrating the day, they were much alarmed at the extraordinary number of *Talapoys*; and more so, when they perceived arms to be hidden under their gowns. The king was secretly informed of this; and the regicides, having been convicted on the spot, were all put to the sword by the soldiers, who were sent into the temple for that purpose. 25. *King* Naraya.

This action of *Chaw Naraya*, though strictly justifiable, yet got him the character of a cruel and bloody prince: nor were the priests at all industrious to remove that prejudice out of the minds of the people. After this a *Sankrat* took the liberty to tell the king to his face, with some warmth, that his subjects murmured against him, and were offended at the rigour of his punishments. The king received this charitable remonstrance with a good grace: but, a few days after, sent the prelate one of those great baboons, so much abominated by the *Siamese*; with an express command to feed him well, and let him do what he would in his house, till farther orders. The mischievous animal no sooner got into the *Sankrat*'s house, but he began to make dreadful havock: he broke a great quantity of the most costly china-ware, and gnawed to pieces the richest carpets; bit some of his domestics, and beat others. In short, the *Sankrat*, unable to bear the creature any longer, went and begged his majesty to deliver him from so wicked a guest. *What*, reply'd the king, smiling, *you cannot endure the inconveniency of an ape for only three or four days, yet would have me suffer the insolence of my subjects, a thousand times more insupportable than the most malicious apes, all my life long. Go*, added he, *and learn this lesson, that if I know how to punish the wicked well, I know how to reward the good better.* In effect, there was no kind of favour which an honest man might not reasonably expect of him: nor did he ever turn away unrewarded any person, who did service to either the publick or himself[d]. *Insolent* Sankrat *pleasantly punished.*

About the time that this prince ascended the throne, great endeavours were employed in *Europe* towards propagating the *Romish* faith in the east, with more success than hitherto had been done. In this bold undertaking the *French* aspired to have the principal hand. The pope, who had been long importuned to send bishops into the *East Indies*, in order to make priests of the natives, to supply the want of missioners from *Europe*, pursuant to the scheme of *Alexander* *Bishops sent to* India.

[d] Gervaise, p. 252, & seqq.

de

25. *King* Naraya.

de Rhodes the Jesuit, had at length consented; and three persons, all *Frenchmen*, were nominated for that purpose; *Francis Pallu*, canon of *St. Martin* of *Tours*; M. *de la Motte Lambert*, formerly counsellor of the court of aids in *Normandy*, and afterwards director of the great hospital of *Des Valides* in *Roan*; and *Ignatius Cotolendy*, rector of the principal parish in *Aix*. The first was made nominal bishop of *Heliopolis*, and had *Tong-king* for the principal place of his mission: the second was appointed bishop of *Berytus*, whose jurisdiction extended over the kingdoms of *Champa*, *Kamboja*, and *Kochin-china*, with the three southern provinces of *China*, the island of *Hay-nân*, and other parts: the third was consecrated bishop of *Metellopolis*, and had the northern *China* committed to his pastoral care [e].

Mission of Siam.

THE eastern *Asia* being thus divided among the three *French* bishops, who were to act as apostolic vicars, in their respective departments, they left *Europe* in 1660 and 61, accompanied with about ten ecclesiastics. The bishop of *Berytus*, being arrived at *Siam*, resolved, in 1663, to repair to *China*, in order to execute his pastoral function in that empire. He accordingly left *Siam* to go by sea, but was driven back by a furious tempest: and understanding afterwards that a persecution was begun in *China* against the converts to the *Romish* faith, he resolved, in concert with the bishop of *Heliopolis*, for the other bishop was dead, to settle in *Siam* a fixed residence for the *French* missioners. To this they were induced by the situation of the country, which lay conveniently, as the center, from whence they might easily convey themselves, or send ecclesiastics, into the neighbouring kingdoms, whenever the way should be open.

The Jesuits hopes

PURSUANT to this resolution, they established a seminary there, for educating youth, and learning the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or camps, as they are called, at the capital. The *French* named theirs the camp of *St. Joseph*. The seminary proved of so good effect, that, in 1665, the bishop of *Berytus* sent missionaries from thence to *China*; and in 1667, built a church, the ground of which was given to them by the king, who also shewed a regard for the missioners, and put them questions, to inform himself concerning their religion. These condescensions in his *Siamese* majesty, encouraged the bishops to attempt his conversion. To this end they presented him with a book of cuts, containing the mysteries of the life and passion of *Jesus*

[e] Voy. de l'eveque de Beryte, p. 3, & seq. also PALLU abrege des Miss. p. 13.

Christ,

Chriſt, the apoſtles, and evangeliſts; in hopes that he would enquire into their hiſtory, which he did a few days after. On this occaſion *P. Laneau*, who ſpoke and wrote the language of the country, inſerted an explanation of them in the blank leaves of the book. This being ſhewn by the king to his chief doctors of the court, they confeſſed the religion of the miſſioners was good, but ſaid, that what his majeſty profeſſed was as good. This is what the biſhop of *Berytus* reports in one of his letters. He adds, that the king has often ſaid their religion pleaſed him; and to this good opinion of it imputes the favour which he ſhewed the miſſioners, and the orders which he gave to furniſh materials for building them a church. 25. *King* Naraya.

ALL theſe good ſigns, continues the biſhop, *might well afford matter of joy to the miſſioners, in hopes to ſee ſome act of providence in the converſion of* Siam, *by the example of the king.* But this prelate not only found that theſe were no proofs of the king's inclination to be baptized, but had the integrity to confeſs it; ſaying, that they have reaſon to fear thoſe favourable tokens proceeded from the ſame condeſcending diſpoſition which he ſhewed to others, who endeavoured to perſuade him to change his religion. For he obſerves, that, ſince the time when the queen of *Achîn* had invited him to embrace the *Korân*, he had treated the *Mohammedans* more favourably than before: and, in a ſubſequent letter declares, that the greateſt obſtacle to the propagation of the *Romiſh* religion in *Siam*, was the credit of the *Mohammedans*, and their extreme zeal to eſtabliſh their faith. For as they were numerous in the country, drove a great trade thither, and poſſeſſed many conſiderable poſts in the ſtate, they made no ſmall progreſs by their intrigues at court; and endeavoured to influence the king, particularly, by alleging the example of ſo many neighbouring monarchs, who had renounced their idolatry, to become the followers of their prophet. In 1668 there arrived two ambaſſadors, one from *Achîn*, and the other from *Golkonda*, on the ſame account; and the laſt of them obtained leave to build a moſque in the capital city. *Theſe aſſiduities*, concludes the biſhop, *joined to the ſignal ſervices which the* Mohammedans *do the* Siameſes, *makes it reaſonable to fear, that* Siam *will at length become* Mohammedan [f]. *to convert the king.*

THIS was a judicious way of reaſoning; and the miſſioners would have done well to have conformed themſelves more conſiderately to his ſentiments: for the *Indians* can never ſee any *ill-grounded.*

[f] Relat. Miſſ. eveq. Franc. p. 6, & ſeqq.

reaſon

25. *King* Naraya.

reaſon to change their native images for thoſe of a foreign manufacture: and although the *Korân* has ſucceeded in converting ſuch numerous iſlands and countries of the *Indies*, yet the goſpel of the Jeſuits has not yet converted one. But the *Romiſh* miſſioners are too ſanguine and preſumptuous to give over the attack, while any of them are left on the breach; and the ſmalleſt proſpect of hope will embolden them to renew it. For, preſently after, they formed expectations of converting the king's brother, on his having the curioſity to ſee the above-mentioned pictures, and hearing them explained by *P. Laneau*; after which, we are told, he declared, that he acknowleged only one God, the Creator, and daily worſhipped him. Now, although this is the common profeſſion of the *Indians* on both ſides the *Ganges*, yet from thence the miſſioners would have it believed, that the above-mentioned prince was inwardly perſuaded in favour of their religion, and would openly profeſs it, unleſs reſtrained by reaſons of ſtate[s]; the common ſalvo for errors of judgment in ſuch caſes.

Audience of the biſhops.

THE biſhop of *Heliopolis* went back to *Europe* in 1665, on the affairs of the miſſion; and returned to *Siam* in 1673, with letters from the king of *France* and pope *Clement* IX. accompanied with preſents, to thank his *Siameſe* majeſty for the favours beſtowed on the *French* biſhops, and to deſire a continuance thereof. On this occaſion the biſhop, on the 18th of *October*, obtained an audience of the king, as ambaſſador from *France* and the pope; and had the privileges of ſitting in his preſence, without the accuſtomed proſtrations during the ceremony; conceſſions never before granted to any foreigners. At the end of the audience, in which the letters above-mentioned were read, the king told Mr. *Lambert*, biſhop of *Berytus*; that *as he had the advantage to commence an alliance between the two kings, it was alſo his buſineſs to ſeek out the means of keeping it up.* A few days after they received notice, that his majeſty intended to ſend ambaſſadors the next year into *Europe*, with anſwers to the letters of the two ſovereigns, whom the biſhops had written to. The 19th of *November* following they were admitted to a private audience, wherein the king diſcourſed with them for three hours, about the ſtate of *Europe*, and its princes, particularly the grand monarch. He then enquired what might be the motive which had induced the biſhops to croſs ſo many ſeas, and the king of *France* to ſend his ſubjects to countries ſo far from home. Theſe queſtions furniſhed them with the opportunity

[s] **Relat. miſſ. Franc. p. 10.**

which

which they wished for, to inform his *Siamese* majesty; that *zeal for the salvation of souls, and a strong desire in their prince to extend the kingdom of God*, was the sole cause of their voyage. The king of *Siam* made answer, that he was willing to promote their monarch's glorious designs; and, to give him proofs of the esteem which he had for his virtue, he resolved to make him an offer of a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built, to the honour of *Louis the great*, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside [h]. 25. *King* Naraya.

THESE favourable dispositions in the king of *Siam* renewed the hopes which the missioners had first conceived of his conversion, and, consequent thereto, of all his subjects. We are told, that the honour done the *French* bishops, on occasion of these audiences, filled the whole court with esteem, both for those prelates, and the holy law which they professed. It is added, that the noise which this news made in the provinces augmented much, when they came to hear that, some time after, the king had promised to build a church to the God of heaven and earth; from whence it was judged, that several persons would immediately embrace the religion of the *French*: which, saith our author, accordingly happened. These conversions gave occasion to some of the natives to make a great noise, and complain openly, that they were going to introduce an unknown religion, without the king's authority. But these murmurs, which in another country might have given rise to a persecution against the missioners, proved a favourable occasion, which they laid hold of, to open a way for preaching their religion throughout the kingdom: for they forthwith presented a petition to the king, requiring that he would permit his subjects to embrace the *Romish* faith. Hereupon his majesty declared, in a publick assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all persons at liberty to embrace it, who had a mind, without hindering them: and soon after sent one privately to acquaint the bishop of *Berytus*, that he would in time permit the preaching and exercise of the *Romish* religion, by a solemn edict [i]. *Their hopes revived.*

THIS was the state of the mission in *Siam* in the year 1674, at which time they had three schools in the capital, and the seminary was vastly increased. For all this, and notwithstanding the recruits which had arrived from time to time, they were in great want of missioners in the year 1675; so *Missioners sent for.*

[h] Relat. miss. & voy. des eveq. p. 76, 107, 113, 120, 123.
[i] Ibid. p. 227, 233, & seq.

that

25. *King* Naraya.

that the biſhops wrote very preſſing letters into *Europe* for a conſiderable number to be ſent them, in order to carry on the work of converſion among the *Indians* [k]. We have been the more particular in relating the eſtabliſhment of the *French* miſſion in *Siam:* becauſe it ſeemed neceſſary, in order to explain the occaſion of the two famous embaſſies from *Louis* XIV. to *Chaw Naraya*, ſeveral years after, as well as to give light into the cauſe of the great revolution, which happened immediately after.

In the interval between the year 1675 and the firſt of thoſe embaſſies, which is the ſpace of ten years, we meet with ſcarce any-thing farther concerning the affairs either of the miſſion, or of the *Siameſe* hiſtory. *Gervaiſe*, the only author who has undertaken to give an account of this king's reign, ſays nothing more about it than what has been already related; excepting a few particulars touching the part which *Chaw Naraya* took in the wars of *Kamboja*, with which, and the other neighbouring ſtates, the *Siameſes* ſeem to have been continually embroiled (E), for many years. *Kamboja*, indeed, had been diſtracted with civil wars, occaſioned by the ambition of its princes, ever ſince the year 1628, or thereabout. Towards the year 1680, *Nak Soreſhit* having killed *Nak Protien*, who intended to make away with him, ſeized the throne; and reſolved to marry the wife of *Nak Kotrey*, a prince of the blood, who had fled to *Kochin-china*, upon this aſſaſſination. The lady made the leſs reſiſtance to the tyrant's purſuit, as ſhe had determined to revenge upon him the death of her brother-in-law; and accordingly ſtabbed him in his bed, the firſt night of her marriage. At the ſame time ſhe diſpatched two couriers, one to *Nak Kotrey*, to give him notice of what ſhe had done in his favour; and the other to *Nak Seſta*, ſon of *Nak Protien*, ſignifying, that it was time for him to come and ſhare the kingdom with the prince her ſpouſe.

War with Kamboja.

Revolution there.

When *Nak Seſta* arrived, inſtead of acknowleging the ſervice which this princeſs had done him, he killed her with the ſame dagger, wherewith ſhe had ſlain his mortal enemy. Mean time *Nak Kotrey* returned from *Kochin-china:* but when he heard of his wife's death, he took it ſo to heart, that he retired into a diſtant foreſt, where turning *Talapoy*, he ended his days in peace. While he was alive *Nak Seſta*,

[k] Relat. miſſ. Franc. p. 61, 228, 388.

(E) *Choiſy* ſays, the king of *Siam* was continually at war with *Pegu* or *Ava*, the *Laos*, *Kochinchina*, and the *Kambodians*.

intimi-

intimidated by the guilt of his crime, durſt not appear in public, or aſſume the title of king: but as ſoon as he was aſſured of *Kotrey*'s death, he aſſembled his friends, and, by their credit, got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. However, not thinking himſelf abſolutely ſecure without the king of *Kochin-china*'s conſent, and knowing that monarch had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with him, he ſent him very rich preſents, in order to engage him in his favour: but this great prince, who was not to be bribed to do injuſtice, adjudged to *Nak Seſta* that part of *Kamboja* which his father had formerly enjoyed; and gave the other half to *Nak Non*, ſon of *Nak Praſhoufa*, who had been adopted by *Nak Shân*, the former king [1].

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

NAK Seſta, diſſatisfied with the king of *Kochin-china*, refuſed to ſtand by his arbitration, and declared war againſt *Nak Non*. The two kings fought ſeveral battles; but the equality of their forces always held the victory in ſuſpenſe. *Nak Seſta* died three months after, and left for his ſucceſſor *Nak Son*, who was very young. As ſoon as *Nak Non*, who was a very good prince, received advice of his death, he had the generoſity to ſend his ſon very conſiderable preſents, and a large number of *Talapoys*, to perform his father's funeral with the greater pomp. But they who governed the kingdom during the young prince's minority, received thoſe preſents with great contempt, and were ſo baſe as to put all thoſe poor prieſts to death. This cruel action kindled a war between the two kings. *Nak Non*, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, applied for ſuccours to the king of *Kochin-china*; and *Nak Son* put himſelf under protection of the king of *Siam*, who ſent him troops, and furniſhed him with money. The two armies coming to a battle, after a bloody fight *Nak Non* was defeated, and obliged to retire into *Kochin-china*. But *Nak Son* did not long enjoy the peace which this great victory ſeemed to promiſe him: for two or three years after 3000 *Chineſes*, whom the *Tartars* had driven out of their native country, joining the *Kochin-chineſes* and *Kambodjans*, who were of *Nak Non*'s party, with this prince at their head, fell on *Nak Son*; and having defeated him in ſeveral battles, wherein the *Siameſes* were all cut in pieces, he was forced to fly into the foreſts, to avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. His only reſource in this extremity was to demand new ſuccours of the king of *Siam*, who ſent him 500 of his beſt troops: but theſe being too few to reſiſt the great number of enemies, almoſt all of them loſt their lives; although, contrary to the cha-

The Siameſe *forces aſſiſt* Nakſon:

[1] Gervaise, ubi ſupra, p. 275, & ſeqq.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

racter of the *Siameſes*, they ſold them dearer than could have been expected.

moſt of them ſlain.

THUS matters ſtood, towards the end of the year 1685. And, when our author was about to quit *Siam* ſoon after, *Chaw Naraya* deſigned to ſend *Nak Son* 18,000 men by land, and a ſquadron of four or five great ſhips, commanded by *Portugueſes* and *Engliſh*; together with ſixty large barks, to which they give the name of gallies, under the conduct of the braveſt *Siameſe* officers [m]. The king's counſel were much againſt his intermeddling in this war. They repreſented to him, that it would be a means, one day or other, of bringing upon himſelf the whole power of *Kochin-china*, who had declared againſt *Nak Son*: that this prince had already been defeated ſeveral times: and that the forces which he was going to lend him could not poſſibly be ſtrong enough to prevent another overthrow. *Chaw Naraya* replied, *It ſignifies nothing; the honour which the king of* Siam *will acquire, by protecting an unfortunate prince, who is allied to him, and from whom he can never expect any-thing, will make him amends for all his loſſes* [n]. However that was, we find that the event of this war was ſuch as the king's counſel feared it would be: at leaſt we are informed, that his army was not ſucceſsful by land [o], and that this aſſiſtance given to *Nak Son* had intailed a courſe of hoſtilities on the *Siameſes*, with *Kamboja* and *Kochin-china*, which had not terminated in the year 1720 [p].

SECT. II.

Siameſe *Embaſſy to* France. *Mr.* De Chaumont *ſent to* Siam: *His Memorial to convert the King:* Chaw Naraya's *acute Anſwer. Hiſtory of Lord* Faulkon. *Another* Siameſe *Embaſſy to* France.

Siameſe *embaſſy to* France.

LET us now return to the affairs of the *French* miſſion. It has been already mentioned, that the king of *Siam* propoſed to ſend ambaſſadors to *Europe* in the year 1674. Whether he did or not, is a circumſtance which does not appear from the authors before us: but it is certain, that two were diſpached from that country, if not in that year, yet a few years after. For, about 1682 or 83 there arrived in *France* two officers of the king of *Siam*'s court, with Mr. *Le*

[m] GERVAISE, p. 277, & ſeqq.
[n] Ibid. p. 256.
[o] HAMILT. new acc. E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 173.
[p] Ibid. p. 197.

Vachet

Vachet (A), a priest of the foreign missions settled in that country, in order to enquire after two ambassadors who had been sent some time before by the king of *Siam* to *Louis* XIV. These ambassadors first passed over to *Bantam*, in the island of *Java*, for the conveniency of a ship to carry them into *Europe*, and embarked on board the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the *East India* company, with magnificent presents for his most christian majesty. But not returning to *Siam* within the time expected, and a report being spread in that country as if the vessel had been cast away, therefore the king thought fit to send the three persons above-mentioned, in order to enquire into the truth of the matter. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

THOSE officers arrived in *France* (B) just at the time when *Louis* XIV. was about sending some Jesuit mathematicians to *China*, in order to make observations there, for the improvement of geography and navigation. The king of *France*, considering how earnest the king of *Siam* appeared to be in seeking his friendship; and that there were hopes besides of his becoming a convert to his religion, in case an ambassador was sent thither, nominated the chevalier *De Chaumont* for that purpose. The ambassador carried with him the abbé *De Choisy*, who was to continue with the king of *Siam* in quality of ambassador till his baptism, in case he should become a proselyte to the *Romish* faith; the two *Siamese* officers, Mr. *Le Vachet* above-mentioned, four other churchmen, and six Jesuits, destined for *China*[a]. Mr. *De Chaumont* arrived at *Siam* the 24th of *September* 1685, almost six months after he had left *Brest*; fully determined, out of his great zeal, to push the affair of religion to the utmost: but it soon appeared that there was not so much ground to hope for the king's conversion, as the Jesuits had pretended: for the abbé *De Choisy* observes in his journal, soon after he arrived in *Siam*, that the king's conversion was a thing not to be expected suddenly: that although he favoured the missioners and their religion, yet he was far from being baptized: that he had French *embassy to* Siam

[a] TACHARD's first voy. Siam, p. 4.

(A) *Le Vachet* went to *Siam* in the second embarkation from *France*, made in 1669; and returned thither on the occasion mentioned in the text.

(B) *Hamilton* says, that in 1683, the first year of *Faulkon*'s ministry in *Siam*, the Jesuits got the king to send an embassy to *France*; and that the same ambassador came also to *London*, and settled a treaty of commerce for the *English* who should trade in *Siam*. *New acc. of E. India*, vol. ii. p. 171.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

not declared himſelf on the ſubject of religion, nor done anything tending that way for eighteen months before.

to convert the king.

In ſhort, according to this author, all the hopes they had of the king's converſion was grounded on this contingency: that lord *Faulkon*, called by the *French* lord *Conſtance*, who was of the *Romiſh* religion, being then prime miniſter, would have intereſt enough to prevail on his maſter to become a Chriſtian: but the abbé was ſo far from placing any dependence on this circumſtance, that he conſiders it as a very precarious argument, ſaying coldly, *we ſhall ſoon ſee how it will turn out*. He adds, indeed, that the juncture was very favourable to make the king do what one would: that the ambaſſador would firſt inſiſt on matters of religion, to the end that, if nothing was granted on this head, he ſhould be obliged to grant every thing elſe. However, that the *French* did not deſpair of having, at leaſt, their religion permitted and approved of, by proclamation through the kingdom of *Siam*. This indeed they obtained, but this was all; and what the king had promiſed to the miſſioners many years before [b]. Let us ſee how they proceeded.

Chaumont's *ſpeech*

According to the above-mentioned plan, Mr. *De Chaumont*, in his ſpeech at firſt audience, earneſtly recommended to his *Siameſe* majeſty to forſake the worſhip of the images of his own country, and embrace the religion of his maſter [c]. On this occaſion, we are told, that when *Chaw Naraya* read the king of *France*'s letter, he ſaid he ſaw that monarch wanted to make a Chriſtian of him, and dropt ſome words of encouragement: that he mentioned the ſame in council, and promiſed lord *Faulkon* to protect the religion of the miſſionaries throughout his dominions: that the *Barkalon* repeated the ſame to one of the miſſioners; adding, with ſome earneſtneſs, *that the religion of the pagods was near its end.* However, ſays *Choiſy*, who was not ſo ſanguine in the matter as others, we are not fools enough to believe this in the ſtricteſt ſenſe [d].

and memorial.

Mean time the ambaſſador was wholly taken up about the converſion of the king, which was the ſubject of his embaſſy: and the rather, as he underſtood the *Perſian* ambaſſador came upon the ſame errand, with whom he was reſolved to be before-hand. Hereupon Mr. *De Chaumont* drew up a ſhort memorial on that head, and gave it to lord *Faulkon*, in order to deliver it to the king. The miniſter ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the

[b] Choisy journ. voy. Siam, p. 285, & ſeqq. [c] Chaumont relat. p. 38. [d] Choisy, ubi ſupra, p. 350, 419, 425, & ſeq.

2 propo-

proposal; and, in a long conference on this occasion, would have dissuaded him from pressing the king upon that point. He advised him not to speak of the affair, alleging, that the king, who was extremely attached to the religion of his ancestors, would be strangely startled at such a motion; that it would cause disorder, as things then stood; and could produce no good. But the ambassador very prudently, says *Tachard*, persisted in his opinion, and intreated lord *Constance* to present that writing to his majesty. The minister being thus earnestly pressed by the zealous *Chaumont*, took the memorial, and carried it to the king; intimating, at the same time he delivered it, how solicitous the king of *France* was to have his majesty of the same religion with himself.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

On this new attack *Chaw Naraya* asked, *who made the king of* France *believe that he entertained any such sentiments?* and after hearing the memorial read, bade lord *Faulkon* tell the ambassador: "that he was exceedingly troubled to find "the king of *France*, his good friend, should propose so "difficult a thing to him, and with which he was not in the "least acquainted: that he referred it to his most christian "majesty himself to judge, whether the change of a religion, "received and followed through his dominions for 2229 "years, without interruption, could be a thing of small im- "portance to him, or easily complied with: that, besides, "it was matter of astonishment to him, that the king of "*France* should so much concern himself in an affair, which, "though it related to God, yet the deity did not at all seem "to interest himself therein, but left it wholly to human "discretion. For could not the true God (added the king), "who created heaven and earth, with all things therein, and "who bestowed on mankind such different natures and in- "clinations; could not he, when he gave to men the same "kinds of bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, in- "spired them with the same sentiments for that religion, "which they ought to follow, and for that worship which "was most acceptable to him; and have made all nations "live and die in the same laws? That, since order among "men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on divine "providence, who could as easily introduce it into the world, "as the diversity of sects, which in all times have prevailed "in it, ought not one to think that the true God takes as "much pleasure to be honoured by different worships and "ceremonies (C), as to be glorified by a prodigious number "of

The king's acute and discouraging answer,

(C) This is the general sentiment of all the *Indian* nations on both sides of the *Ganges*: and this alone is sufficient to ac-

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

" of different creatures, who praiſe him every one in his own " way? Would that beauty and variety which we admire in " the order of nature, be leſs admirable in the order of ſu- " pernatural things, or leſs becoming the wiſdom of God?

" However that be, continued the king of *Siam*, ſince we " know that God is the abſolute maſter of the world, and " that we are perſuaded nothing comes to paſs contrary to " his will, I wholly reſign my perſon and dominions into the " arms of the divine mercy and providence; and, with all " my heart, beſeech his eternal wiſdom to diſpoſe thereof, " according to his good will and pleaſure [e]."

ſhews him fixed

So diſcouraging, as well as acute an anſwer, which, in effect, amounted to a flat denial, convinced the abbé *De Choiſy*, that he had no pretence to remain in *Siam*, as the king of *France*'s reſident. " Although, ſays that author, on " this occaſion his *Siameſe* majeſty builds churches, daily " grants advantages to the *Romiſh* religion, has a crucifix in " his chamber, reads the goſpel in the *Siameſe* language, " ſpeaks of *Chriſt* with great reſpect, and has conferences " with the biſhop of *Metellopolis* (D); yet all this is not ſuf- " ficient to make me ſtay here [f];" as he was to have done in caſe of the king's converſion. Afterwards ſpeaking directly in relation to the king's anſwer to the ambaſſador's memorial, he ſays, it appears from thence that his *Siameſe* majeſty was not yet ſufficiently inſtructed to embrace the *Chriſtian* religion (meaning the *Romiſh*); but obſerves, that he promiſed to inſtruct himſelf [g]: which, however, amounted to no more than ſuch an enquiry as is only the effect of curioſity, and a deſire to be informed in the religion of other countries.

in his religion.

To return to *Chaw Naraya*'s anſwer, it appears, even from the account of one of the moſt zealous miſſioners, that the king of *Siam*, how deſirous ſoever of cultivating an amity with *France*, was ſo far from any thoughts of changing his religion, that he ſeemed, from his method of reaſoning, to have been firmly fixed in it; and however well pleaſed lord *Faulkon* might have been to hear his maſter declare himſelf a

[e] TACHARD, ubi ſup. p. 218, & ſeqq. [f] CHOISY, p. 417. [g] Ibid. p. 447.

count for their not admitting of perſecution, which the contrary opinion has produced in *Europe*.

(D) His name was *Louis*, or *Lewis*: ſo that *Laneau*, who ſucceeded *Cotolendi*, muſt have been dead. This *Louis* ſeems to have been a *Portugueſe*, who, by conſent of his ſuperior, had joined the *French* miſſioners about 1674.

proſelyte

proſelyte to Chriſtianity, yet he was, at that time, quite averſe to making any propoſition of the kind to him.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

FOR all this the miſſioners did not give over the hopes of converting *Chaw Naraya*. Theſe hopes were founded on the great privileges which were promiſed on the ſcore of religion, and which made the biſhop of *Metellopolis* declare, "that he "expected new churches would, in four years, be built "throughout the kingdom of *Siam*." Thoſe privileges were granted according to the ambaſſador's memorial; after which *Choiſy* himſelf ſeems to have conceived a better opinion of the iſſue: for he ſays, "Nothing was then wanting to complete "the work but miſſioners; and believed, that, at the news "of this ſucceſs, they would flock to *Siam* from all parts of "the world." They were farther encouraged in their hopes, by obſerving, that the king not only deſired to keep up a friendſhip with *France*, but even that twelve Jeſuits ſhould be ſent over; promiſing to build them churches, and allow them the liberty of propagating their religion in his dominions. But their chief dependence, doubtleſs, was on lord *Faulkon*; who, by his poſt of prime miniſter, and the great influence he had over the king, was in a ſituation to ſerve them, the moſt advantageous they could poſſibly wiſh for. This was, in effect, confeſſed by the biſhop of *Metellopolis*, who, on occaſion of the king's conceſſions in favour of his religion, often declared, "that the miſſion had the utmoſt obligations to "lord *Conſtance*; ſo that his advancement to the high poſt "which he then enjoyed in the court of *Siam*, ought to be "looked on as a ſpecial providence in their favour [h]." And here it may be proper to give ſome account of this extraordinary perſonage, whoſe merit had raiſed him to the higheſt honours in a foreign country, very diſtant from his own; and who was no leſs remarkable for his tragical fall ſome years after, than his ſurpriſing elevation, which happened two years before.

The Jeſuits ſtill perſevere in hope.

CONSTANTINE Faulkon, for that was his name, was a *Grecian* by birth, born in the iſland of *Cephalonia*. His father was a noble *Venetian*, the ſon of the governor of the iſland; and his mother ſprung from one of the ancienteſt families of the country. But his parents having reduced their affairs to a low condition, their ſon *Conſtantine*, when but twelve years of age, reſolved to ſeek a livelihood in foreign countries. Accordingly, about the year 1660, he ſhipped him aboard an *Engliſh* veſſel returning to *England*. Here his wit, humour, and agreeable behaviour, made him known

Lord Faulkon's *origin.*

[h] CHOISY, p. 448, 453, 461, & ſeq.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

to ſome lords at court: but finding little hopes of advancing his fortune by that courſe of life [i], he applied himſelf to the more ſubſtantial affairs of trade. After a ſtay of ſome few years in *England*, during which time he became a proteſtant, he determined to paſs into *India*; and arriving at *Siam*, put himſelf into the ſervice of Mr. *White*, a conſiderable *Eaſt-India* merchant. In this gentleman's family he lived for ſome years, and continued his factor when Mr. *White* returned for *London*. By this means (E) he gathered ſome money; and then quitting the *Engliſh* ſervice he ſet up for himſelf. The firſt ſtep he took was to buy a ſhip, and put to ſea; for he had paſſed through all degrees of ſea-faring: but he had the misfortune to be beaten back by bad weather, and was twice caſt away in the mouth of the river of *Siam*.

Adventures in Siam.

PUTTING to ſea once more, he was ſhipwreck'd the third time, and much more unfortunately, on the coaſt of *Malabâr*. There he was in danger of periſhing; and could not ſave, of all his ſubſtance, above 2000 crowns. In this ſad condition, being oppreſſed with grief and wearineſs, he laid himſelf down on the ſhore; and, whether aſleep or awake, (for he often proteſted to our author *Tachard* that he could not tell which), thought he ſaw a perſon full of majeſty, who, with a ſmiling countenance, moſt obligingly ſaid to him, *Return, return, from whence you came.* Theſe words ſo wrought on him, that he could not ſleep the reſt of the night, his thoughts being taken up with contriving how to return to *Siam*. Next day, whilſt he walked by the ſea-ſide, meditating on the ſame ſubject, he ſaw a man coming towards him, dropping-wet, and with a moſt dejected aſpect. It proved to be an ambaſſador from the king of *Siam*, who, in his return from *Perſia*, had been caſt away on the ſame coaſt, without ſaving any-thing but his life. As both ſpoke the *Siameſe* language, they ſoon became acquainted with each other's adventures. The ambaſſador having thus diſcovered himſelf, and told what extreme neceſſity he was reduced to, Mr. *Faulkon* condoling his misfortune, offered to carry him to *Siam*. To accompliſh this deſign, with the money he had ſaved he bought a ſmall bark, and proviſion for the paſſage. This generous behaviour ſo charmed the ambaſſador, that, when he got home he related it to the *Pra Klang*, or *Barkalong*,

[i] TACHARD ubi ſupra, p. 134, & ſeq.

(E) And perhaps by being interpreter for the *Engliſh* at court, as captain *Hamilton* tells us he was.

then

then chief minister; who was so pleased in his turn, that he had a mind to know so rare a man.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya. *Introduced at court.*

The minister sent for Mr. *Faulkon*, and, on discoursing him, liked him so well, that he resolved to keep him about himself; in which station he soon gained the esteem and confidence of his master. This chief minister was a man of parts, and well versed in business; but, as he loved his ease, he was glad to meet with a person so capable to relieve him. He often spoke of him to the king, and his majesty soon found reason to take notice of him: for, being disposed to send ambassadors to some foreign prince, as he loved magnificence, he was willing to spare no cost: but the *Moors*, or *Mohammedans*, whom he made use of on those occasions, demanded such an immense sum to furnish out the embassy, that he complained of it to the *Pra Klang*. The *Pra Klang* mentioned the thing to Mr. *Faulkon*, who said, if the king would honour him with that commission, he would undertake to provide every-thing for less money than what was offered the *Moors*, and yet prepare much finer presents than they had inserted in their inventory. The king being informed of this, sent for *Faulkon*, and gave him orders for the purpose: which trust he executed so much to his majesty's satisfaction, that from thenceforth he conceived a great opinion of his abilities. The *Moors*, vexed to find their exorbitant demands rejected, thought to make themselves amends, by a petition to the king, for payment of what he owed them, in which they brought him in their debtor, to the amount of a considerable sum. But the account being put into *Faulkon*'s hands to examine it, he found that, instead of the king being indebted to them, they owed his majesty above 60,000 crowns.

The *Pra Klang* dying not long after (F), the king would needs put lord *Faulkon* (G) (for as such thenceforth he ought to be considered), into his place: but he declined it, as well as that of *Chakri*, to avoid the envy of the great men [k] (H).

Made prime minister.

[k] Tachard, p. 135, & seqq.

(F) *Chaumont* says it was two years before his arrival in *Siam*, which places it in the year 1683. *Embassy*, p. 79.

(G) According to *Hamilton*, lord *Faulkon* was the name by which he went: nor is it probable it could be any other, much less *Constance*, which was not his name, but given to him by the *French*; doubtless to denote his attachment to their interest and religion. His *Siamese* name was *Oya Vishayjen*. See *Tachard*, l. 7. at the end.

(H) And possibly because this post was so slippery, that the *Siamese* could not reckon up the number of *Barkalongs* since the king began his reign. *Loubere*, p. 106.

Nor

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

nor would he ever accept of any place, though every-thing paſſed through his hands, and nothing was done without him: ſo that he was, in effect, prime miniſter, which rendered him the object of envy, as much, perhaps, as if he had held the poſt to which it was then annexed: for the *Malay*, who ſucceeded the deceaſed *Pra Klang*, looking on him with a malicious eye, made uſe of one Mr. *Bacon*, an *Engliſhman*, to create an ill impreſſion of him, and render him ſuſpected by the king. But *Chaw Naraya* perceiving that miniſter's malice, deprived him of his office, and had him baſtonado'd to death [l].

We know not what it was which Mr. *Bacon* laid to this miniſter's charge; and the affair of captain *Hamilton*, before related, will always make us judge with caution of accuſations laid by the agents of intereſted companies. Perhaps his turning papiſt, after he left their ſervice, might induce the *Engliſh* to think that he would ſupport the *Portugueſe* or *French* intereſt againſt theirs: although we are told [m] he took all occaſions to do our nation ſervice.

His great abilities.

However that be, he was certainly a perſon of more than ordinary abilities, of which his being advanced to ſo high a poſt by a judicious prince, is a ſufficient proof. He was admired for his affability, dexterity in buſineſs, and eloquence; for which *Tachard* highly commends his ſpeech made to the king, on delivering Mr. *Chaumont*'s memorial. The ſame author ſays, he was much ſurpriſed, conſidering lord *Conſtance* was a man of no ſtudies, at the reply which he made the king, who aſked him what he thought the ambaſſador would ſay to the reaſons contained in his anſwer to the ſame memorial? and that the moſt conſummate divine would have been hard put to it to make a better [n].

The abbé *De Choiſy* often ſpeaks of him in raptures, praiſing him for his wit, addreſs, ſincerity, and charming converſation [o]. He ſays lord *Conſtance* did more buſineſs in twenty-four hours, than all the officers at court in fifteen days [p]: that he heard 100 men, and anſwered their petitions, all in half an hour: that, with all the vivacity in the world, he was prudent: that nothing embarraſſed him [q]: and that, when he found out no expedients, it was becauſe there were none [r]. This, it is true, is the character given of him by the *French*, whoſe favourite he was: but writers of other nations have ſpoken very diſadvantageouſly of him, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

[l] Chaumont's embaſſy to Siam, p. 79, & ſeq. [m] See hereafter. [n] Tachard ubi ſupra, p. 219, 227. [o] Choiſy, p. 344, & 385. [p] P. 411. [q] P. 463. [r] P. 434.

MR. *Chaumont* left *Siam* about the middle of *December*, in the same year 1685, accompanied by the *Siam* ambassadors, and *Tachard* the Jesuit, one of the six destined for *China*, who was sent back to *Europe* to sollicit the twelve missioners, and other affairs. The *Siam* ambassadors were three in number, all persons of the first quality at court. The first had (I) transacted in all the affairs of *Siam* for fifteen years, under his brother, who was the *Barkalong*, or *Pra Klang*. He was very polite; a man of parts and abilities. The second had been twice ambassador to *China*: and the third had been at the court of the *Great Mogol*. They were attended by twelve officers of the court, who embarked with them, and carried very rich presents to the king of *France*, in return for those which had been sent to their master [s]. But the chief end of their embassy seems to have been to sollicit engineers to fortify some of the king of *Siam*'s most considerable towns, and a certain number of forces to garrison them. In the mean time Mr. *Le Mare*, an engineer, was left behind, at the king's request; and likewise the chevalier *De Fourbin*, a well experienced officer, who was soon after posted at *Bankok*, with some troops under his command, which proved of service two years after, in suppressing the *Makassars* [t]; of whose revolt we are next to treat.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya. *Siam embassy to* France.

SECT. III.

Revolt of the Makassars. *Plot to kill the King: Its Discovery. Intrepid Behaviour of a* Makassar. *Obstinacy of their Prince. Slain with all his People.*

THIS revolt happened in the year 1687, and might have had as fatal effects as that of the *Japaneses* in a former reign, if it had not been timely prevented, by the vigilance of the king, and diligence of his first minister. After the *Dutch* had vanquished the king of *Makassar*, a kingdom situated in the island of *Selebes*, or *Celebes*, about the year 1664, one of that monarch's sons, with many of the natives, retired to *Siam* (K); where the king generously received him, assigning him

Revolt of the Makassars.

[s] CHOISY, p. 362, 401, & 509. [t] CHAUMONT, p. 61. TACHARD's 1st voy. p. 234. 2d voy. p. 93.

(I) His name was *Manpay*, as we learn elsewhere, and will appear hereafter.

(K) This prince, named *Daën Ma ali*, whose nephew had usurped the throne, on his father's death, through discontent, retired first to *Java*, and then to *Siam*. For a full account of him see the history of *Makassar*.

land,

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

land, two cannon-ſhot diſtance from the capital, for his followers to build houſes on for their habitation; and this was called the camp of the *Makaſſars*, according to the cuſtom of that country. This camp is ſituated partly on the great river *Menam*, and partly on another called *Kachon*, which falls into the great one in that place. It was allotted them that they might be next to the *Malayans*, who, being alſo *Mohammedans*, might be ready to aſſiſt them, and accommodate them with their churches.

Plot to kill the king,

ABOUT five years before a plot was laid for taking away the life of *Chaw Naraya*, and placing the younger of his two brothers on the throne. The treaſon having been happily diſcovered, his majeſty generouſly pardoned not only his brother, but alſo the prince of *Makaſſar*, who was concerned in the conſpiracy, and all his accomplices. This act of grace ought to have laid an eternal obligation of gratitude on the fugitive prince. But inſtead of repenting of his former crime, about *April* 1687, he entered into a new plot, at the ſolicitation of the princes of *Champa*, fled likewiſe for ſhelter to the court of *Siam*; who intended to have placed on the throne the ſame brother of the king, and then oblige him either to turn *Mohammedan*, or put him to death. Nay, in caſe he had ſo far complied, their deſign was quickly to have depoſed him again, in order for one of themſelves to aſcend it, on whom the election ſhould happen to fall. After this, all the inhabitants of *Siam*, both *Chriſtians* and *Pagans* (if our author's intelligence is to be relied on), were either to change their religions, or to be ſlain [a].

by the Champa *princes.*

THESE princes of *Champa* were three brothers, ſons of the late king of that country, who, on their eldeſt brother's coming to the crown, fled hither for fear of him. One of the three was made an officer of the king of *Siam*'s houſhold, and was not in the conſpiracy which was ſet on foot by the younger of the two others, who lived like private perſons. The young prince having communicated his deſign to a *Malayan* captain, born alſo in *Champa*, a man of parts and learning, as well as courage; this officer entered into his meaſures, and, with the aſſiſtance of one of their prieſts, conducted the whole affair. He began by giving out, in the camps of the *Malayans* and *Makaſſars*, "that he had ſeen in the heavens "a ſign which he had often ſeen before, and was every time "attended with ſome extraordinary events, which affected "thoſe of the *Mohammedan* religion." He adviſed them therefore to pray their prophet, that it might turn out to their

[a] TACHARD's 2d voy. p. 89, & ſeqq.

benefit;

benefit; and, in the mean time, to be upon their guard. After he had, by this means, filled them with terrible apprehenſions, without declaring his deſign, he diſcloſed it to each of them by degrees, as he found they gave into it; ſo that, in leſs than three months, he inticed them all into the ſnare, excepting 300 *Malayans*. When matters were in this ſtate, he aſſembled the three chiefs, to know what was to be done with thoſe who were in the oppoſition: and it was reſolved, when the plot was ripe for execution, to aſſemble the 300 *Malayans* with the reſt, flattering themſelves that they would not ſtand out, when they ſaw their countrymen ſo readily embrace the party of the conſpirators. Their deſign was alſo to ſet all the priſons open, and free the galley-ſlaves, in order to augment their forces with ſuch deſperate recruits; and their firſt exploit was to ſeize the palace, and give the plunder of it to their men.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

THE time approaching for putting this plot in execution, which was the 15th of *Auguſt*, at eleven o'clock at night, the two princes of *Champa* wrote to their brother, who was at court, acquainting him with what was intended, and adviſing him to make his eſcape as faſt as he could. At eight in the evening the letter was delivered to the prince, who, ſuſpecting ſomething more than ordinary, from the haſte with which the meſſenger made off, carried it unopened to lord *Faulkon*, who having read the contents of it, ran with it to the king. His *Siameſe* majeſty, without ſeeming concerned, ſent 3000 of his guards to defend the palace of *Siam*, and diſpatched the chevalier *De Fourbin* to *Bankok*, to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. The reſt of his guards, to the number of 5000, were poſted in the palace; and other troops to defend the avenues and walls of the city [b].

is timely diſcovered,

THE hour being come, the conſpirators met in a long tongue of land, which ſeparates the two rivers, oppoſite to the camp of the *Makaſſars*. But as ſoon as the 300 *Malayans* underſtood their prince's deſign, they refuſed to obey him, declaring their abhorrence of ſuch an act of ingratitude to the king their benefactor. This reſolute anſwer having wrought upon others, who had their ſcruples before, they began to diſperſe; which the prieſt obſerving, reſolved to go and diſcover the plot himſelf to the governor of the city, leſt any-body elſe ſhould be beforehand with him. As ſoon as the governor received this information, he poſted the few men he had in the palace in ſuch a manner, as to let the conſpirators ſee that the plot was diſcovered, and he was on his

and the rebels diſperſe.

[b] TACHARD, p. 91, & ſeq. Alſo FOURBIN's mem.

guard.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

guard. This news greatly alarmed the princes, who were ſtill more ſurpriſed next morning, to ſee 3000 of the king's ſoldiers arrive in the palace, and all the inhabitants of the city in arms upon the ramparts.

The king's clemency.

MEAN time *Chaw Naraya* being informed that the rebels had returned home, ſent lord *Faulkon* to *Siam*, to reclaim them by gentle methods, and learn all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy. By a promiſe of pardon the captain, who laid the ſcheme, ſurrendered himſelf to the miniſter, and diſcovered the whole affair, ſo far as to confeſs that his real view was to declare himſelf king, and make away with the three princes. After this, lord *Faulkon* publiſhed a general pardon to all thoſe who ſhould, within four days, come in and diſcover their accomplices. The *Malayans* accepted of this grace, but the *Makaſſars* ſtood out, reſolving to periſh rather than ſubmit. Their prince was ſeveral times ſummoned to give an account of his conduct, but ſtill refuſed, alleging, "that he never would enter into the conſpiracy, though much "preſſed; and that, if he had committed any fault, it was "only in not diſcovering the authors of ſo black a deſign: "but that he judged his quality of a prince and a friend, "would excuſe him for not doing the office of a ſpy, and "betraying thoſe who had intruſted him with a ſecret of ſuch "importance[c]."

One of the conſpirators

AN anſwer ſo very improper, determined the king to bring him to reaſon by force; which reſolution, inſtead of intimidating the *Makaſſars*, only rouzed their courage; and an action which about the ſame time happened at *Bankok*, helped to render them the more daring. The captain of a galley, which came from the king of *Makaſſar* with a preſent of money and ſlaves to the prince his relation, ſeeing the bad ſucceſs of the plot in which he had been himſelf engaged, thought it his beſt way to retire in time. But accordingly he applied for a *fara*, or paſſport, and obtained it. But, at the ſame time, orders were ſent (A) to the chevalier *De Fourbin* to ſtop him, and his men, at the paſſage of the chain which was drawn acroſs the river at *Bankok*. On his arrival the chevalier ſent for him, to come and let him know the number of hands on board his galley. The captain, after many excuſes made to avoid this danger, ſent word he could not come, unleſs he was followed by his men in arms; and, to

ſtopt at Bankok.

[c] TACHARD, p. 93, & ſeqq.

(A) *Fourbin* complains heavily of thoſe orders, as contrived by Mr. *Conſtance* to ſacrifice him, by making him fall into the hands of the *Makaſſars*.

take

take off his suspicion, it was at length agreed, that he might enter the fortress with eight men, armed only with the *Krit*. This is a kind of poniard, from twelve to eighteen inches long; the blade is flat, and about two inches broad at the handle; from whence it goes tapering (often in scollops) to the point, which is very sharp. Some of these blades are poisoned; and this is done two ways; either by applying the poison every time it is used, or else working it in the temper of the metal. *Krits* of this sort are a long time in making, and some blades cost 1000 crowns. To be asked to give up his *Krit* is a great affront with a *Malayan*; and to draw it, without killing his man, a mark of cowardice[d].

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

THE captain, at landing with his attendants, took leave of the rest, declaring, that if they demanded his *Krit* he would run a *muck*; and they promised to follow his example, and revenge his death. As soon as he entered the citadel, he was ordered to send for his men to be counted; *Fourbin*'s design being to surround them with a company of soldiers, and thus oblige them to deliver their arms. The captain answered carelessly, that he had fifty men on board, and they might take his word for it: but as the thing was insisted on, and he found himself under a necessity to obey, he sent two of his eight followers to acquaint the rest with what was required of them. The chevalier *De Fourbin* took that opportunity to plant some pikemen and musketeers at the entrance of the hall where the *Makassars* were. The captain, seeing the danger he was in, discovered great agitation of mind, insomuch that the sweat fell from his face in great drops. Mean time the chevalier sent an officer to demand his *Krit* in the king's name. The captain made him no answer, but plunged the weapon into his breast, and laid him dead at his feet. The blow was so violent, that he cut through three of his ribs. Two *Siamese* soldiers, who attempted to seize him, were served in the same manner; and having killed a fourth, he ran furiously to force his way through the pikes. But finding that impracticable, after receiving a few wounds, he leaped with three of his people through a window, into a port-hole of the bastion, on which the hall stood, with design to jump down from thence; but the leap seemed so desperate, that it required some shot to make them take it: another volley was sent after them in their descent. For all this, some of them had strength enough to rise, and run staggering upon the soldiers who were posted thereabout, but they were soon dispatched. A *French* captain perceiving the

His intrepid behaviour.

Slain with others.

[d] TACHARD, p. 96, & seqq. FOURBIN's mem.

Makassar

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

Makaſſar chief not quite dead, though pierced with ſeveral balls, advanced to take his *Krit* from him: but laying hold of the ſcabbard, inſtead of the handle, the almoſt expiring man had yet ſtrength enough to draw it, and rip up his belly: for in ſtriking they give the arm a twiſt, which makes a wound as large as that of a halberd.

The reſt revenge them.

FOURBIN finding by this ſample what the reſt of the *Makaſſars*, who were on their way to the fortreſs, might do, was obliged to alter his meaſures; and drawing out his garriſon of 3 or 400 men, poſt them ſo as that the enemy would be ſurrounded when they came up. Theſe deſperadoes hearing the muſkets go off, and being in pain for their captain, ſent to demand him. The chevalier gave them good words, to gain time to make his preparations. On the other hand, the *Makaſſars* put themſelves in a poſture of defence, rolling the cloth which covers their thighs about their arms, to ſerve as a ſhield. When every-thing was ready for the attack, an *Engliſh* captain advanced with ſome ſoldiers, ſending the *French* commander word, that he would bring all that rabble bound neck and heels before him. The *Makaſſars* thinking this a proper time to fall on, ran to meet them; and, after they had loſt a few of their party, with the fire-arms, or pikes, cut him in pieces, with all his followers. Some were found pierced with no fewer than a dozen ſtabs of the *Krit*. The remainder of the garriſon were ſo terrified at this firſt charge, that they would not wait a ſecond; but fled in ſuch diſorder, that *Fourbin*, who endeavoured in vain to rally them, had much ado to eſcape himſelf [e].

Are all deſtroyed.

HAD the *Makaſſars* taken the advantage which this panic gave them, they might eaſily have become maſters of the fortreſs: but they contented themſelves with killing all who came in their way, without diſtinction of age or ſex; and then fled to the woods for ſhelter themſelves. Here they remained ten or twelve days; and, though weakened with hunger and other miſeries, yet they were ſtrong enough to kill five or ſix more of thoſe who went to exterminate them. A youth, not above ten or twelve years old, who with ſome others had gotten into a temple, made two ſallies with the *krit* in his hand, and killed a man each time. Some were taken ſtill alive, though mortally wounded: one of whom, when juſt expiring, cried out, *Alas! I have killed no more than ſix; if they will ſuffer me only to kill ſeven, I ſhall die contentedly.* Others deſired to be diſpatched quickly out of

[e] TACHARD, p. 99, & ſeqq. FOURBIN, ibid.

the

the way, that they might go find their companions again, whom they were not willing to survive.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

WHILE matters went on thus at *Bankok*, the king of *Siam*, unwilling to come to extremities with the *Makassar* prince, sent *Okpra Shula*, one of the chief lords of his court, to bring him to a sense of his duty. The prince owned that he was extremely culpable, and desired the *Okpra* to intercede for him; but could not be prevailed on to go in person, and ask his majesty's pardon, notwithstanding the grounds which he had to expect it, from the lenity which had been shewn to others no less guilty than himself. This obstinacy provoked *Chaw Naraya* still more; yet being averse to shed royal blood, and unwilling to destroy a prince with a whole colony of people, without being absolutely compelled to it, sent the same lord once more to try to reduce him by fair means: but the *Makassar* prince, moved neither by the indulgence shewed him on one side, nor the example made of his countrymen on the other, would not so much as see the court officer, pretending he was sick. Hereupon the king resolved to punish his obstinacy, or force him to submit, detached 5400 of his guards, under the command of the lord *Faulkon*, prime minister; imagining that the fear of such a considerable power might oblige him to what gentleness could not [f].

Makassar *prince intractable.*

THE operations being fixed to the 27th of *September*, at half an hour after four in the morning; lord *Faulkon* set out from *Siam* the evening before, in a *balon*, or bark, accompanied by captain *Yjoudal* (A), commander of an *English* man of war then at the bar of *Siam*, several other *Englishmen*, who were in the service of the king of *Siam*, a missionary, and a private person. When he arrived at the point of the horse-shoe, where the other *balons* and gallies were assembled, facing the camp of the *Malayans*, he sent all the *English*, excepting captain *Yjoudal*, on board two of the king's vessels which lay half a league below the enemies camp or habitation. The order of the attack was to be in this manner: *Ok-louang Mahamontri*, captain-general of the guards, was to inclose the camp behind with 1500 men; making a strong hedge, with all his soldiers, from the *Menam*, or great river, to a brook five fathoms broad, which was at the end of the camp. Towards the right, there was a pool behind the camp, which reached from the *Menam* to within two fathoms of the brook; so that the *Makassars* had no more room to fight in than that narrow spot of ground, which made a kind of causeway: but the general had

Preparations to attack him.

[f] TACHARD, p. 102, & seqq.

(A) *Yudal*, according to *Forbin*.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

orders to make a barricade of ſtakes in that place. *Okpra Shula* was to poſt himſelf on the other ſide of the brook, and line it with 1000 men. On the two rivers there were twenty-two ſmall gallies and ſixty *balons*, all full of men, to be employed on occaſion; beſide 1000 more on the tongue of land over-againſt the *Makaſſars* camp.

Siameſe *general killed.*

THE hour being come, and the ſignal given, *Mahamontri* ſet out briſkly, followed by fourteen of his ſlaves, without ordering his troops to follow him, or taking the poſt which had been aſſigned him. He advanced thus without thought to the cauſeway, along which he proceeded to the very houſes of the revolters, where he ſtopt, calling ſoftly *Okpra Shula*. One of the *Makaſſars*, whom he could not ſee for the darkneſs, anſwered in *Siameſe*, *What would you have? Mahamontri*, believing him to be *Shula*, went forward; aſking, *Where are you? Here*, replied the foreigner; and at the ſame time coming out from his ambuſcade, with twenty-five more, killed the general, and ſeven of his ſlaves, the reſt eſcaping by favour of the night. After this, one part of the *Makaſſars* paſſed to the other ſide of the brook, before *Okpra Shula* had taken poſſeſſion of it [z].

Other loſſes.

HALF an hour after five, Mr. *Cotre* (B), an *Engliſhman*, captain of a veſſel belonging to the king of *Siam*, attacked them on the ſide of the great river, at the extremity of the point of their camp. The captain cauſed ſeveral fire-balls to be thrown to burn their houſes, with a continual diſcharge of ſmall arms, which obliged them to return to the upper part of their camp. As ſoon as he perceived this, he landed, followed by ten or twelve *Engliſhmen* and a *French* officer: but ſeeing the enemy running towards them, and their own men fly at their approach, they threw themſelves into the river to get off. The *French* officer eſcaped by ſwimming; but the *Engliſh* captain was ſhot in the head, and died of the wound.

The Makaſſars *remove.*

AFTER this blow, the *Makaſſars* abandoned their camp, which was already half-burned, and bent their courſe towards the upper part of the rivulet, with deſign to paſs on to the camp of the *Portugueſes*, and there diſcharge their fury on the *Chriſtians*. Their drift being perceived by lord *Faulkon*, he ſet forward in his *balon*, followed by about fifteen others; in one of which was Mr. *Veret*, chief of the *French* factory, with all thoſe of his nation whom he brought from *Siam*, in order to hinder the enemy from paſſing the river half a league above the camp. As ſoon as he overtook them, he ordered

[z] TACHARD, p. 106, & ſeqq.

(B) Doubtleſs *Coats*.

the

the *Siameſes* to land, and at the ſame time going aſhore himſelf, went directly up to them, followed by two *Engliſhmen*, two *Siameſe*, and a *Japaneſe* ſoldier. The *Siameſes* having paſſed through a long hedge of *bambû* trees, 250 paces from the river, and entering into the plain where the enemy were, killed two or three of them, with the loſs of one or two of their company. The *Makaſſars* then divided themſelves into two parties, returning to the *bambûs* with a deſign to ſurround the *Siameſes*; and having taken their opium, ran headlong to attack the royaliſts. The miniſter prepared himſelf to receive them, though ſixty in number; but perceiving thirty or forty others haſting to fall on his rear, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, in which five of the twelve who accompanied him were ſlain; four *Frenchmen*, and captain *Yſoudal* killed on the ſpot with five ſtabs of the *krit* in his body, and two of the *Frenchmen* had no fewer than twelve wounds each.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya. *Lord* Faulkon *retires*;

LORD *Faulkon*, not at all diſcouraged at this misfortune, landed a ſecond time, followed by ſeveral *Engliſh* and *French*, who killed ſeveral of the *Makaſſars*, without loſing one man: however, this miniſter, finding that there was no reducing them without a much ſuperior force, detached *Okpra Jumbarat* with 400, to advance beyond the place where the enemy then were, with orders to fight them, if they offered to paſs that way; and at the ſame time made a deſcent himſelf near the brook, at the head of 3000 men, among whom were all the *French* and *Engliſh*, marching towards the revolters up to the middle in water. In his way, perceiving thoſe deſperadoes, after a vigorous attack on the 400 men ſent before, to retire for ſhelter to the houſes and *bambûs* which were on the brook-ſides, he detached 800 muſketteers, to beat them out of that retreat by a continual fire, which they performed very well. A little after he ſent the remaining 2200 men who were with him, to join the 400, and cauſed the *balons* to advance, in order to hinder the enemy from paſſing the rivulet. The *Makaſſars*, ſeeing themſelves attacked thus on all ſides, were ſtruck with a panic, and began to ſeparate; the greater part of them retired into the houſes, two or three in each; others hid themſelves among the *bambûs*; and twenty-two of them took ſhelter in a moſque. Theſe places of retreat being fired by the *Siameſes*, the revolters waited till they were half-burnt about their ears, and then ſallied out, making *amuk*; that is, ruſhing upon the thickeſt of the troops, with the *renews the attack.*

[h] TACHARD, p. 108, & ſeqq. FORBIN'S memoirs.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

lance or ſword in hand, and fighting continually till they are ſlain.

The revolters ſlain,

NOT one of all theſe *Makaſſars* eſcaped. The prince, who had hidden himſelf behind a houſe, and was wounded in the left ſhoulder by a muſket bullet, perceiving that he was diſcovered, ruſhed out with his lance, and ran directly towards lord *Faulkon*, who likewiſe preſented his own. The prince hereupon ſtopp'd, and making a feint, as if he intended to dart it at the miniſter, at the ſame time turned upon an *Engliſh* captain, who was to the left of him; but a *Frenchman*, who was near lord *Faulkon*, making a ſhot at him in the ſame inſtant, killed him; at length all the *Makaſſars* were either killed or taken. They who had fled to the *Mohammedan* temple ſurrendered without fighting; there were thirty-three others taken, who were all ran through the body. A ſon of the unhappy prince, about twelve years of age, came and ſurrendered himſelf. Being ſhewn his father's body, which he knew, he ſaid, *That indeed his father had been the deſtruction of people; but that, notwithſtanding, he was very much grieved to ſee him in that condition*; greatly blaming thoſe who had ſlain him. Lord *Faulkon* ordered a Chriſtian of *Conſtantinople*, then in the king of *Siam*'s ſervice, to take care of him. He was afterwards ſent with one of his brothers (C) into *France*[1].

with their prince.

Their arms.

THE bodies of no more than forty *Makaſſars* were found, the reſt periſhed in the river: moſt of them had breaſt-plates, made of flat pieces of iron, faſtened by the ends one over the other, ſo that they could eaſily move in them. None of them had fire-arms, nor do they know well how to uſe them. What renders them ſo formidable through the Eaſt, is that fury and contempt of danger which opium inſpires them with; but ſtill more that wonderful dexterity which they have in throwing darts and lances, as well as in uſing the ſabre and *krit*. Some had long trunks, out of which they blew poiſoned fiſh-bones fixed in ſhafts, wherewith ſome *Siameſes* who were wounded died in three hours time. There were likewiſe found on the dead certain ſcrolls or billets, which (as charms) contributed to render them more daring. The *Siameſes* loſt no more than ſeventeen men, reckoning ſeven *Europeans*

[1] TACHARD, p. 111, & ſeqq.

(C) Count *Forbin* ſays, they ſaved the lives of none of the priſoners, excepting the prince of *Makaſſar*'s two ſons, who were carried to *Louvo*. They were brought afterwards by P. *Tachard* to *France*, where they ſerved in the marine.

among

among the number, in all this action (D), which laſted from half an hour after four in the morning till four in the afternoon. Lord *Faulkon*, having ordered the heads of the ſlain to be cut off and expoſed in their camp, departed to give an account of what had paſſed to his majeſty; who commanded him to thank the *French* and *Engliſh* for the ſhare they took in this expedition. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

AMONG thoſe taken alive there were four *Makaſſars* of the king's guards, who deſerted the day on which the conſpiracy broke out; for which the king reſolved to puniſh them in an exemplary manner. They beat them terribly with ſticks, ran iron pins under their nails; broke all the joints of their fingers; burnt the fleſh off their arms, and ſqueezed their temples between two boards: all this they bore with inexpreſſible reſolution (E). What is more, they had the conſtancy to refuſe being made converts by the Jeſuits; who imagined, that people, weakened by ſuch terrible ſuffering, would more eaſily have complied with their propoſal. After this, at ſeven in the morning, they were faſtened naked to the ground, tied hands and feet, and a tiger let looſe on them: but the beaſt only ſmelled to them one after the other, and then attempted to get away by leaping over the incloſure, which was fifteen feet high. At noon, the executioners being impatient, drew off the tiger, and faſtened them ſtanding to thick poſts, as if this poſture was more proper than the former to irritate the animal; he ſlew three of them before night, and the fourth before morning. What is admirable, they were never once heard to bewail themſelves, or even ſo much as to fetch a ſigh. One of them ſaw the tiger eat his foot, without offering to draw it away; another, without making the leaſt complaint, felt him breaking all the bones of his back; the *Their ſurpriſing reſolution.* *Sad inſtances of it.*

[k] TACHARD, p. 114, & ſeqq.

(D) *Forbin* ſpeaks of an action two months before this, in which were killed ſeventeen *Europeans* and above 1000 *Siameſes*; but *La Maire*, who was on the ſpot, ſays nothing of it.

(E) As an inſtance of their intrepidity, Count *Forbin* relates, that ſeeing one of the firſt ſix, who were killed at the fort, running up to him, he plunged his lance into his breaſt; the *Makaſſar*, as if inſenſible of any hurt, ſtill preſſed forward, making incredible efforts to get at *Forbin*, by thruſting his body on the lance; and would certainly have gained his end, if he had not been kept back by the guard which gave breadth to the blade. he had no way to ſave himſelf but to give back, without daring to draw out his lance to repeat the thruſt, until ſome others came up and killed him.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

third, ſuffered the animal to lick the blood which fell from his face, without turning away his eyes, and without ſhrinking: one of them alone went round his poſt, to avoid the ſight and onſet of that furious creature; but he died, at laſt, with the ſame reſolution and patience as the others had done[k].

SECT. IV.

Embaſſy of Meſſ. Loubere *and* Ceberet. *The* Siameſe *murmur at the* French *Forces and Miſſioners.* Petracha's *Conſpiracy. Lord* Faulkon *impriſoned, and the* French *arreſted. Prince* Totſo *and Lord* Faulkon *executed. The King's Brothers murdered. The* French *ignominiouſly treated, and their General trepanned to Court. Eſcapes by his Addreſs, and is beſieged in* Bankok. Chaw Naraya *dies; his Character and Family.*

Second embaſſy from France.

THE very ſame day, *viz.* the 27th of *September*, on which the revolt of the *Makaſſars* was ſuppreſſed, four ſhips arrived at the bar of *Siam* from *France*, bringing with them, beſides the *Siam* ambaſſadors who had been ſent thither two years before, two envoys from *Lewis* XIV; namely Meſſ. *Loubere* and *Ceberet*, with a letter to the king of *Siam*; the twelve Jeſuits, and a body of *French* ſoldiers, under the command of Mr. *De Farges* as general, and Mr. *Bruan* (Z), lieutenant-general.

Treaty concluded.

IN a day or two after their arrival, a treaty was drawn up between P. *Tachard* and lord *Faulkon*; which, as that Jeſuit expreſſeth it, was very favourable to religion and the intereſts of *France*. At their firſt meeting they went both together into a bark, and remained there by themſelves the reſt of the day, and all the night following[a]. As no other perſon was preſent, we know nothing of what paſſed in this long private conference; however, we may preſume ſomething was done towards furthering thoſe very important deſigns which we are told were on foot between the kings of *France* and *Siam*, for the good of religion and trade[b].

To give our readers the beſt light we can in this affair, we ſhall relate what count *Forbin* hath written upon the oc-

[k] TACHARD, p. 114, & ſeqq.
[a] Ibid. p. 182, & ſeq.
[b] Ibid. p. 9.

(Z) He is by ſome named *Bruant*, by others *Brukan*.

caſion.

casion. This author informs us, that lord *Constance* having, besides the circumstance of his being a foreigner, incurred the hatred of the whole *Siamese* nation, by his ingratitude to the *Praklang* or *Barkalong*, to whom he owed all his good fortune (A); the Mandarins and other grandees, incensed by a proceeding which put them all in fear for themselves, conspired secretly against the new minister; and proposed to destroy him in the same manner as he had done his benefactor. But *Constance* was before-hand with them, and had so wrought himself in credit with *Chaw Naraya*, that more than 300 of those who would have done him the ill office, lost their lives on that occasion. After this, he knew so well how to make use of his good fortune, and the foible of his master, that he gathered immense riches; partly by extortions, and partly by commerce, the whole business of which he had seized to himself. So many oppressions, which yet he exercised under the pretence of public good, had set the whole kingdom against him; however all stood quiet, waiting for a revolution, which, from the king's age and bad state of health, they judged not to be far off.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya. *Occasion thereof.*

CONSTANCE was not ignorant of the ill-will which every body bore towards him, and knew better than any one how little he had to reckon on the life of the king, as well as what he had to fear from a revolution. He plainly saw that nothing could secure him from the resentment of the *Siamese*, but the protection of some foreign power established in the kingdom, and therefore began his scheme by proposing to the king the introduction of strangers into his state, to whom he was to intrust the care of some principal places. He so dexterously set forth the advantages which would arise from an alliance with foreigners, that *Chaw Naraya* blindly gave into every thing which the minister recommended. The difficulty was to determine on the choice of a prince to be addressed on this occasion. *Constance* durst not trust any of the neighbouring potentates, whose ministers, inconstant like themselves, might, after getting all they could out of him, sacrifice him to the resentment of the Mandarins; his view therefore was turned towards the *Europeans*, yet without all the encouragement which he might have proposed from that quarter. He

Constance *disgusts the* Siamese. *Contrives to secure himself*

(A) This minister, *Forbin* says, he destroyed by rendering him suspected by false insinuations to the king. But whether the count had been misinformed, or *Tachard*, to save the honour of *Constance*, has represented the matter falsely, we find a different account of this affair, as already related: by which, if true, it appears that the *Barkalong*, who was put to death, was not his benefactor, but one who succeeded him.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

saw that it would be in vain for him to apply to either the *English* or *Dutch*, because the trade of *Siam* was not considerable enough to allure them to settle there: for the same reason he could not address himself to the *Spaniards* or *Portugueses*. He had therefore no other course to take but to apply himself to the *French*, whom he judged most easily to be imposed on. With this view he persuaded the king to seek the alliance of *Lewis* XIV. by ambassadors, who had in charge particularly to insinuate, that their master had an inclination to become a Christian; although, says our author, *he never had the least thought that way* [c].

by foreign assistance.

THE king of *France*, in the belief that religion obliged him to concur towards so good a work, sent, in his turn, ambassadors to *Siam*; while *Constance*, perceiving his project to succeed in part so well, began to contrive how to carry the whole into execution according to his own views. He first opened his mind to Mr. *Chaumont*, by acquainting him, that the *Dutch*, with a design to enlarge their commerce, had for a long time desired a settlement at *Siam*, which yet the king would never listen to, for fear they should make themselves masters of his dominions: but that, if the king of *France*, on whose integrity he could more confidently rely, would enter into a treaty with his *Siamese* majesty, he would undertake to put into his hands the fortress of *Bankok*; a place of importance in the kingdom, and, as it were, the key of it: on condition, however, that he should send thither troops, engineers, and all the money necessary to begin a settlement.

Imposes on the French.

MR. *Chaumont* and the abbé *Choisy*, to whom this affair was communicated, not judging it to be practicable, declined to take the management of it upon them; but P. *Tachard*, blinded with the advantages which he imagined would accrue to the king of *France* from such an alliance, readily embraced it. He was drawn into this delusion by the artifices of *Constance*, who, concealing all his own private views under an appearance of zeal, rated to extravagance the benefits which would flow from such an union, as well with respect to *Louis* XIV. as to religion: assuring him that, one time or other, the king of *Siam* would declare himself a proselyte to Christianity; and insinuating the liberty which the missioners might propose in the exercise of their ministry, under the protection of a *French* garrison at *Bankok*. Nor was he less flattered by the promises of Mr. *Constance* to make a considerable settlement in behalf of the society of *Jesus*, for whom he was to build a college and an observatory at *Louvo*. In a word, this Je-

[c] Count FORBIN's memoirs.

suit,

suit, seeing nothing in the whole scheme but what appeared very advantageous for the king, for religion, and for his society (A), undertook to negotiate the affair without hesitation: he even promised to bring it to bear, provided P. *La Chaize* would embark in it. From this time the whole secret of the embassy rested in P. *Tachard*, who was resolved to return into *France* with the *Siamese* ambassadors [d]. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

COUNT *Forbin* had no opinion at all of this project, which he foresaw would involve his native country in a vast expence, and, after all, turn to no account. He had scarce entered within the river of *Siam*, before he perceived how much *Europe* had been abused, by the brilliant relations which had been published there of the riches and splendor of that country. He particularly expresses his surprize, how the abbé *Choisy* and P. *Tachard* could agree to write things so little conformable to truth: for, although Mr. *Constance* did all he could, during the few months of their stay in *Siam*, to conceal from them the poverty of that kingdom, yet, he says, they must have been extremely prejudiced not to see what appeared so visibly to their eyes. On his first landing at the bar he observed three or four little houses, built of reeds, and covered with palm-tree leaves, in which, he was told, the governor of the bar resided. He went into one, and found three or four *Siamese* sitting on the ground, cross-legged, without slippers, stockings, caps, or any thing on their bodies but a plain piece of cloth to cover them: nor was the house better equipped than the people, as having neither chairs, nor any other furniture. On asking for the governor: one of them answered, he was. This first appearance diminished much the ideas which he had formed of *Siam*. He was still more surprized, when, on asking for something to eat, the governor presented him with some rice; and told him, There was nothing else to be had. *Poverty of* Siam.

AT *Bankok* he found not much better fare; nor was there either herbs, fruits, or any other refreshments to be purchased for love or money. Those handsome houses, magnificently furnished, which, in the language of *Tachard*, were built at certain distances on the river-side for lodging the ambassador and his train, were nothing but cabins of reeds, hung with coarse cloth painted. They were likewise moveable; so that, as soon as the ambassador and his people left them, they were conveyed to the next stage, or landing-place: and thus the same sett served all the way to the capital city; of Tachard *censured.*

[d] FORBIN's memoirs.

(A) This last seems to have been his chief motive.

which

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

which he gives but a very mean picture. He falls foul on those who have published relations, for speaking of a pretended city of *Siam*, capital of the kingdom, which they represent as big as *Paris*, and very brilliant in appearance: whereas, our author says, it is a city merely of the imagination, for that *Siam* has no other capital but *Odia*, or *Judia*; and that it is scarce to be compared to a city of *France* of the fourth rank: that the ambassador's house, though the best in the town, was little and ill-built, only it was of brick; all the rest of the place, which is very nasty, being composed of houses made of wood or canes; excepting one street, where the *Mohammedans* and *Chineses* dwell, of about 100 brick houses, but small, and no more than a single story high. The temples also are of brick: as for the king's palace, it is very large, but without either proportion or taste [e].

The minister's arts

This is the account that *Forbin* gives in general of the country and metropolis, to which every thing else is suitable. But *Constance*, to dazzle the eyes of the *French*, employed all his arts to give them a grand idea of the kingdom. He made them continual feasts, served up with all the pomp imaginable: he displayed to their view the riches of the royal treasure, which were indeed worthy of a grand monarch, and capable of imposing. But he did not tell them that it was the work of a long succession of kings, who are esteemed illustrious only in proportion as they augment it; and never meddle with it, how great soever the occasion may be. He carried them likewise to the principal temples of the city, whose statues, he would persuade them, were of massy gold; whereas they were nothing but plaister, very artfully gilded (B). There was one fifteen or sixteen feet high, which *Tachard* and *Choisy* took to be solid gold, and have reported it as such in their voyages; but, soon after their departure for *France*, the chapel, in which it was, falling, broke the statue, and discovered the imposture of *Constance*; on which occasion *Forbin* could not forbear rallying him.

to display grandeur.

In short, that minister's earnestness to give the *French* an high opinion of the wealth of *Siam*, was seen in nothing more than the presents destined for the king and court of *France*; to compose which, he almost exhausted the kingdom, sending even to *China* and *Japan* for the most rare and curious things. Nay, that nothing might be wanting to promote his design, the very common sailors had bounty-money given them. It

[e] Forbin's memoirs.

(B) Or perhaps covered with very thin plates of gold, as *De Challes* observed some to be.

was

was thus that the ambaſſador *Chaumont* and the *French* were impoſed on by this artful miniſter. However, he knew that *Forbin* had already ſeen too much to be deceived; and, for fear he ſhould diſcover all, in caſe he returned to *France* with the ambaſſador, and ſo blaſt his project, he therefore urged the king, who had taken a fancy to the count, to require the ambaſſador to leave him behind. Conſiderable offers were made to diſpoſe him to comply: but *Forbin* was ſo well acquainted with the poverty of the country, that nothing could have prevailed with him to ſtay, had not Mr. *Chaumont* ordered him to continue there on the behalf of the king of *France*. Four days after, he was created *high admiral, general of the king's armies, and governor of* Bankok (C) [f].

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

But the more opportunities he had of being acquainted with the affairs of the country, the more he was convinced of the miſerable ſtate of things, and diſſatisfied with his own condition. After the ambaſſadors were gone, he went to *Louvo* with Mr. *Conſtance*, where he was introduced to the palace for the firſt time. The ſituation in which he found the Mandarins ſurpriſed him: they were all ſitting in a ring on oſier mats, with a ſingle lamp which lighted the whole court: and when any of them had a mind either to read or write, he drew a piece of wax-candle out of his pocket, and, lighting it at the lamp, ſtuck it on a piece of wood; which, turning on a pivot, ſerved them for a candleſtick. On aſking *Conſtance*, If all the grandeur of theſe Mandarins conſiſted in what he ſaw? The miniſter ſaid, Yes; and, taking him aſide, told him, "The country was really poor; but your fortune "ſhall not ſuffer on that ſcore; I will take care of it." After which he let *Forbin* into all his deſigns, ſuch as have been related. He went daily to the palace for two months, without ſeeing the king more than once; afterwards he ſaw him oftener; and, on a time, being aſked by his *Siameſe* majeſty, If he was ſatisfied to ſtay at his court? He con-

Confeſſeth its poverty.

[f] Forbin's memoirs.

(C) Mr. *Forbin* was afterwards honoured with the dignity of *Okpra ſak di ſon Kraam*; that is, *a divinity who has all the lights and experience for war*. This new mark of the king's favour inflamed the jealouſy of lord *Conſtance* to ſuch a degree, as to attempt to poiſon him by milk, which he ſent him; on eating of which, four of his ſlaves died immediately. What gave firſt riſe to his malice was to ſee how, for a word ſpeaking to the king in behalf of that miniſter, *Forbin* had delivered him out of an ugly ſcrape, in which he had involved himſelf by an act of tyranny and oppreſſion.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

feſſeth, that he told a great untruth by anſwering in the affirmative.

Abject ſtate of the grandees.

He was ſhocked particularly at the rigour with which the ſmalleſt faults were puniſhed; as the cutting open the mouth from ear to ear, for not ſpeaking enough; or ſewing it up, for ſpeaking too much: cutting off the buttocks, burning the arms with red hot irons, and running cane ſplinters under the nails to the very roots; a puniſhment which ſcarce any eſcape, at leaſt once in their lives. *Forbin*, ſurprized to ſee the great Mandarins expoſed to ſuch kinds of treatment (nor are the ſons and brothers of the king more exempt than others), aſked Mr. *Conſtance*, if he had the like to fear from the laws? That miniſter anſwered, No: but in that, ſays our author, he lied; for he was baſtonado'd himſelf under his predeceſſor, as I underſtood afterwards. In ſhort, the count thought he had no great reaſon to be pleaſed with the proviſion made for him, as not ſuitable to the high poſts which were conferred upon him. The king ordered a very little houſe to be given him, with thirty-ſix ſlaves to wait on him, and two elephants. The whole ſubſiſtence of his family coſt him but five pence a day; ſo temperate are the men, and ſo cheap proviſions: he had his own table with Mr. *Conſtance*. The furniture of his houſe was of no great value; to which were added twelve ſilver plates, and two great cups of the ſame metal, but all very thin; four dozen of cotton napkins, and two candles of yellow wax a-day. This, ſays he, was all the equipage of monſieur *the high-admiral, and general of the king's armies* [g]. Having related theſe particulars, ſo neceſſary for underſtanding the ſtate of *Siam*, the occaſion of the *French* embaſſies, and cauſe of the revolution which followed, we proceed in our hiſtory.

Their mean appointments.

Ambaſſadors return.

The *French* ambaſſadors having diſcharged their commiſſion, Mr. *Loubere* had his audience of leave on the 22d of *December*; at which time the king, who had been for ſome while ſick, was much altered in his countenance. That ambaſſador departed from *Siam* on the 4th of *January* 1688; with him went three *Siameſe* officers of ſtate as envoys, who carried their king's letter to *Louis* XIV; and Pere *Tachard*, with the character of *Chaw Naraya*'s envoy extraordinary to the king of *France* and the pope. He had orders from the king of *Siam* to carry with him twelve *Siameſe* youths, to learn the *French* language; but was ſo hurried away that he could take with him no more than five. After they were gone, the twelve Jeſuits performed their functions of teaching their religion,

[g] Forbin's memoirs.

ligion, and the mathematical sciences, in the colleges erected for them in the two royal cities of *Siam* and *Louvo* [h]. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

THE major part of the troops were posted at *Bankok*, within the mouth of the river *Siam*, under general *De Farges*; and the remainder were sent to keep garrison at *Merghi*, a port on the western coast of *Siam*, in the bay of *Bengâl*, at the mouth of the river which washes *Tenasserim* [i], under the command of Mr. *Bruan*, his lieutenant-general.

THE introduction of foreign troops and foreign priests into the kingdom, occasioned various conjectures, and induced the people to suspect that the king had a design to make some considerable change in the laws, as well as religion of the country. The odium on this occasion fell chiefly on lord *Faulkon*, as the person who, influenced by these foreign priests, had given *Chaw Naraya* this bad advice. *The people uneasy*

THE missioners themselves thought he was their tool: for although that nobleman continued a protestant for a considerable time after he was settled in *Siam*, yet falling at length into the hands of the Peres *Thomas* and *Maldonat*, they prevailed on him to renounce the church of *England*, and embrace his former religion, which was that of *Rome* [k].

SOME say, not only that he had recourse to the *French* to secure his power, but even that he had views of usurping the crown [l]. But this is not likely: it is certain however, that the measures which he advised the king to take, gave much discontent, and at least furnished a handle for those suspicions, which soon after produced an extraordinary revolution in the kingdom.

THE intrigue was carried on at court, under the plausible pretence (B) of freeing the gulf of *Siam* from the oppressive yoke of the *Dutch*; who being possessed of the strong fortress of *Malakka*, situated at the entrance of the streights leading into it, had imposed a toll and duty on all the *Indian* ships *at the court measures.*

[h] TACHARD, 279. 298. [i] Ibid. p. 189, & 261. [k] TACHARD, vol. i. p. 138, & seq. [l] KÆMPF. hist. Jap. p. 19.

(B) The following account is taken from a pamphlet, printed at *London* in 1690, and intituled, *A full and true relation of the great and wonderful revolution that happened lately in the kingdom of* Siam, *&c.* It is said to contain the substance of several letters, written from *Siam* in *October* 1688, and from the coast of *Choromandel* in *February* 1686; never before published in any language, and now translated into *English*.—They seem to have been written partly by the *Dutch*, and partly by the *French* officers, who were then at *Siam*; and therefore we rather follow the account given in this relation, than that of *Kæmpfer*, or some others.

which

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

which traded or paſſed into that bay. However, the *Siameſes* were of opinion that the true deſign was firſt to bring the kingdom under the *French* power, and then to change the eſtabliſhed religion of the country: towards the attainment of which two ends lord *Faulkon* had prevailed on the king to appoint for his heir and ſucceſſor, in prejudice to his two brothers, his adopted ſon (*Mompi Totſo*), whom the Jeſuits were ſaid to have converted to the *Romiſh* faith (C). It was under this ſucceſſor that the conſpiracy was to have taken effect. The *French* were already in poſſeſſion of *Bankok* and *Merghi*, the two chief places which open a paſſage into the kingdom of *Siam*; they were alſo allowed to have a command in the guards about the king's perſon.

The French forces

THESE things were ſaid to be done for the ſecurity both of the king and his kingdom. It is true, the *French* were better able to fortify and defend the frontier places than the natives, who are not at all ſkilled in that neceſſary art; they were likewiſe more capable of ſerving the king on all military occaſions. But the *Siameſe* officers of ſtate and great men conſidered theſe proceedings in the worſt light imaginable; ſo that it was with the greateſt impatience and reſentment that they ſuffered them to be carried on. They concluded, that theſe great *French* ſquadrons, filled with ſuch numbers of men, and ſo plentifully provided with warlike ſtores, aimed at ſomething more than ſecuring the commerce of the *French* company of merchants; all whoſe ſtock, ſays our author, was not of importance enough to occaſion the expence of fitting out one of thoſe fleets. Neither could they believe that thoſe exceeding rich preſents, which arrived ſo frequently from *France*, were ſent for no other end than to keep up a ſtrict friendſhip between the two kings[m].

and the miſſionaries.

As for what concerns the Jeſuit miſſioners; they were looked on with an evil eye by the *Siameſes*, who could not, without indignation, hear their ſpecious diſcourſes, wherein they endeavoured to perſuade them; that all the fatigues and dangers which they ran through in coming to live among them, proceeded ſolely from the ſtrong deſire they had of doing

[m] Full and true relat. p. 2, & ſeqq.

(C) We rather put it thus, than as it is in the original: that he had been bred up in the *Romiſh* religion by the Jeſuits, and had been adopted by the king, on the perſuaſion of lord *Faulkon*; which facts are contrary to what is related before of *Mompi Totſo* turning *Talapoin* for a time, and being adopted from his birth by the king, whoſe ſon he was ſuppoſed to have been.

them good: whereas, it was obvious to every body, that their true design in teaching physic, surgery, astronomy, and mathematics, was to have the better opportunity of making converts of those who applied to them to learn the sciences. They called to mind likewise, that these were the methods which the same sett of men had practised in *Japan*, and what a formidable party they at length made in that empire, by virtue of their conversions (D). These were the reflexions which the grandees of *Siam* made on this occasion: as they judged the constitution both in church and state to be in danger, by the measures which were pursued at court, they resolved to obstruct them; but they were loth to attempt any thing that way during the life of *Chaw Naraya* [n]. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

As soon as the king fell ill, which was in *March* 1688, *Pecherachas*, or *Pitrachas*, who had taken his measures long before-hand to establish himself, in case of accidents, glossing his designs under pretence of the good of the state, began to insinuate to the people; that the *French* were come into their country with no other view than to destroy the royal race, their religion and their customs, by obliging them to submit to *Prapye* (or *Monpi*) and *Constance*; who would be the second person in the kingdom, in case their designs succeeded. By these artifices it was easy for him to gain all the grandees, as well as the people, on his side, and inflame them in a strange manner against the *French:* the rather as the princes, who were the true heirs to the crown, always looked upon him as a faithful subject, who acted in favour of their interests; whilst they considered *Prapye* and *Constance* as their most avowed enemies [o]. Pitracha's *conspiracy.*

CONSTANCE, from whom these intrigues could not be hidden, notwithstanding the fair appearance which *Pitrachas* put on to amuse him, in *February* sent general *Farges* an or- Farges *sent for to court.*

[n] Full and true relat. &c. p. 5. [o] Farges relat. revolut. a Siam, 1688.

(D) Some authors give the affair another turn. They say, that the king, in his sickness, being desirous to secure the crown to his adopted son, lord *Faulkon* took the proper measures with that prince to fulfil his master's intentions. To strengthen his party his relations were in high posts, and had troops under their command; the *French* too were in his interest: *Pitracha* therefore, to give a colour to his conspiracy, pretended that designation was unjust; and that what he did was to secure the crown to the king's brothers, as the rightful heirs (*La Martiniere introduction a l'hist. d'Asie*, &c. tom. i. p. 251.). And indeed this is more likely to be the fact, than that the *French* intended to subdue *Siam*, with so small a force.

der

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

der from the king, to come up to *Louvo*, with the greater part of his troops. When that order came, he had in all under his command no more than 200 men: Mr. *Bruan* had three of his beſt companies at *Merghi*; and, after his departure, the general was obliged to ſpare thirty-five choice ſoldiers, with two or three officers, to ſend on board ſhips which the king of *Siam* had ſent out to cruize; beſides the ſmall number of men which remained, diminiſhed every day by ſickneſs. He departed from *Bankok* with ſeventy men and five officers, under great uneaſineſs of mind, on account of the reſt of his garriſon whom he left ſo weak in the fort; of which there ſtill remained unfiniſhed two baſtions, two curtains, and a cavalier (E).

He advances and returns.

On his arrival at the city of *Siam*, near which they were obliged to paſs, they found all the gates ſhut; and he was informed by the biſhop of *Metellopolis*, the abbé *De Lionne*, and the chief of the *French* factory, that it was reported the king was dead: that all were in arms at *Louvo*, and on the roads: that they talked of arreſting Mr. *Conſtance*, ſpread a thouſand ſtories to the diſadvantage of the *French*; and, in ſhort, that they had advice, a great body of *Siameſe* troops were marching for *Bankok*, to make themſelves maſters of it. On theſe tidings, general *Farges* did not think it prudent to continue his route: but, halting in the neighbourhood of the capital, he wrote without delay to Mr. *Conſtance*, to acquaint him with thoſe unlucky reports; and let him know, that he judged it much better, for the good both of himſelf, as well as the *French*, that he ſhould repair to them, and go offer their ſervices to the king's two brothers, heirs of the crown, who were then in the city of *Siam*; and by that means remove the ſuſpicions which the princes had conceived againſt them [P].

Conſtance *embarraſſed.*

But that miniſter, either thinking the evil not ſo great as it was, or not being at liberty to retire from *Louvo*, or, in ſhort, being in the intereſt of *Praſye* (as, it is ſaid, he afterwards confeſſed), he would not liſten to the *French* general's advice; who therefore, as ſoon as he had received the anſwer of *Conſtance*, retired immediately to *Bankok*, with a view to preſerve his troops. What followed, ſays *Des Farges* (F), has clearly

[P] Des Farges, ibid.

(E) A kind of high platform for cannon.

(F) This relation of *Des Farges* has for its title, *Relation des revolutions arrivées à* Siam, *en* 1688. Amſt. 1691. — It was the firſt which appeared from the *French*; but the editor does not

clearly evinced, that I could not have acted otherwise, without engaging myself in a party, no less unjust than weak, and causing the ruin of all the *French* who were in *Siam*. For it appeared for certain, from the information of two Mandarins whom he had in his hands, that, at the very time when *Constance* sent for them to *Louvo*, *Pitrachas* was already in possession of the palace; and had at his devotion more than thirty thousand men at *Louvo* and on the roads: without reckoning the forces of the two princes, which were at that time joined with those of *Pitrachas* against the party of *Pra-pye*, in which, as *Farges* supposes, *Constance* wanted to engage him, although he durst not declare his intentions to him. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

As soon as *Pitrachas* understood that the *French* were returned to *Bankok*, and that it would not be easy to master them, as they were not divided; he had recourse to all the artifices imaginable to oblige the two princes and the princess to repair to *Louvo*: because it was of the last importance to him to prevent their joining with the *French*; and he could not advance his affairs so long as either the one or the other remained masters of the capital city and of *Bankok*, by the assistance they were able to afford each other on the least suspicion of his designs. He therefore repeated his invitations to them, under pretence that the king, who was at the point of death, wanted to see them, in order to place the crown on the head of one of them: adding, that they ought not to delay one moment, to come and receive the oath of allegiance from all the court, in order to prevent *Pra-pye* from gaining ground to their prejudice; and that as a faithful subject, zealous for their service, he had disposed all things in such a manner that they had nothing to fear [a]. *Pitrachas invites the princes and princess to court.*

The princes hesitated much to comply with these pressing solicitations; not that they had then the least suspicion of *Pitrachas*, but because they saw themselves masters of *Siam*, and were not so sure of being well received at *Louvo*, where both *Pra-pye* and *Constance* then were; a circumstance which seemed to forebode some unlucky accident. However, at length the younger prince ventured to go thither with the princess, who either was then, or was to be, his wife. They made their public entry, escorted by a great number of troops,

[a] Farges, ubi supra.

ot tell us how the manuscript ell into his hands. In all likehood, it was brought to *Holand* by either the *Maligne* or the *Coche*, which were taken in 1689 by the *Dutch*, as mentioned in a former note.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

sent for that purpose by *Pitrachas*, who received them with the utmost submission, and did them homage; in which he was followed by all the Mandarins. *Pra-pye* and *Constance* were, it is said, the only two who did not pay their attendance: however, some time after, the latter came, but the prince would not admit him.

Assassinates Monpi.

It is likely that *Pitrachas*, having now in his hands those who might aspire to the crown, would, before he made use of arms, have waited the king's death, which was not far off: but, being informed that *Pra-pye* had caused some troops to advance, in order to try his fortune, which could not but prove fatal to him under the dominion of the king's brothers, his declared enemies; that crafty lord prevailed on the princes and great Mandarins to secure his person. This important task he undertook to execute himself; and although *Pra-pye* was then in the king's apartment, from whence he had never stirred from the time his majesty fell sick; yet *Pitrachas* laid his scheme so well, that having drawn him by artifice to the door of the chamber, he forced him out by violence, and had him slain upon the spot, without regarding the king, who intreated him to spare the life of his favourite and adopted son.

Sends for Constance.

This first act of the tragedy being over, *Pitrachas* judged it time to seize Mr. *Constance* also; sending for him, in the king's name, to come to the palace. The minister, who knew nothing of *Pra-pye*'s death, yet was under some uneasiness, took with him three *French* officers, among whom was one of general *Farges*'s sons (A). As soon as he was entered the palace, *Pitrachas*, at the head of a great body of armed men, took him by the arm; and, with a fierce and disdainful tone, said, That he arrested him as a prisoner, for having conspired with *Pra-pye* against the state, and dissipated the public treasure. The officers offered to lend him their assistance (B); but he thanked them, and desired they would give up

(A) According to the *full and true account*, he was accompanied by a train of his friends, among whom were these officers of note; Messr. *De Beauchamp*, *De Fretteville*, *Vaudrille*, *De Laisse*, and the chevalier *De Fourbin*. A mistake for *Farges*; *Fourbin* having left the country the year before.

(B) According to Pere *D'Orleans*, as soon as *Constance* heard *Pitrachas* had made himself master of the palace, he ran thither in great zeal to serve the king, with a guard of only some *French*, two *Portugueses*, and sixteen *English*; with whom he would have forced his passage had his followers been as resolute as himself: but he was scarce entered into one of the courts, when he found himself surrounded by the *Siamese* soldiers

up their swords without opposition. *Pitrachas*, concealing his evil intentions against the *French* for the present, ordered that they should be conveyed to *Thlî Poussom*, under pretence of securing them against the rage of the populace [b]. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

As for *Constance*, he was led, as in triumph, upon the walls of the palace, followed by a number of *painted arms*, who are the guards, and, at the same time, executioners, of the king of *Siam*. He was afterwards carried into the palace, and there strictly guarded, loaded with five heavy chains, and debarred from seeing any body. He was tortured several times in different manners; and according to the common report, confirmed by the depositions of the two mandarins before-mentioned, he confessed, in his torments, that he had held a correspondence with *Pra-pye*, and also dissipated, or sent out of the kingdom, great sums of money. They, after this, drew from him all the light they could, with respect to the affairs of the foreigners, and then cut him in pieces. His house was pillaged; and his wife, with most of her family, put to the rack, in order to come to the knowlege of all his effects. There remained besides three Mandarins of that party, who were put in fetters the night after Mr. *Constance* had been seized; all which was done without making the least noise [b]. *Has him executed.*

This is the account of matters as given by general *Des Farges*, to which it may not be amiss to add certain particulars, which we have from other quarters.

P. *D'Orleans* tells us, that the conspiracy was formed between *Pitrachas* and *Monpi* (or *Pra-pye*), who was drawn into it in hopes to marry the princess, and ascend the throne: that *Pitrachas* resolved first to get rid of *Constance*, as the greatest obstacle to his designs: but that *Constance*, apprised of it, resolved to be beforehand with him; and, as his chief dependance was on the *French*, sent for *Farges*: that *Farges* advanced with eighty soldiers; but, when he drew near the city of *Siam*, being misled by reports of troubles at court, returned to *Bankok*, and never after could be prevailed on to march to his assistance: that *Constance*, thus left to himself, endeavoured to persuade the king to appoint one of his brothers to succeed him; but, not caring for them, he declared his daughter queen, with liberty to marry one of her uncles: that this D'Orleans, *his account.*

[b] Farges, ubi supra.

diers, and at the same time deserted by all but the *French*, who were taken with him, and put in irons.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

not pleaſing the grandees, the factions continued; and *Pitrachas*, falling out with *Monpi* about the diſpoſal of a place, the latter diſcovered the plot to the king, who thereupon chid *Conſtance*: that, *Conſtance* having pacified the king, it was agreed that *Pitrachas* ſhould be ſeized the firſt time he appeared in his majeſty's apartment; but that lord, being appriſed of the deſign, aſſembled his friends, and next morning, the 18th of *May*, became maſter of the palace without reſiſtance: that *Conſtance*, zealous to ſerve his maſter, againſt the advice of his friends, went to the palace with a ſmall guard, ſome *French*, two *Portugueſes*, and ſixteen *Engliſh*; but being incloſed with ſoldiers, all fled from him but the *French*, who would have defended him, but he would not ſuffer it; and thus he was ſeized by them. This account of P. *D'Orleans*, being collected from letters ſent from *Siam*, cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſo exact as the accounts of thoſe who were chief actors in the affair.

Other reports.

SOME ſay, that when Mr. *Conſtance* was ſent for by *Pitrachas*, he was adviſed by many of his friends not to obey the order, but, inſtead thereof, to raiſe the forces of the city; aſſuring him that many officers of the army would come over to his party, which was much ſuperior to the general's, as being at leaſt 50,000 ſtrong: that beſides, he had all the fleet at his devotion, and had made himſelf exceeding popular by his courteous deportment to people of all ranks and degrees; but that, being infatuated, he was deaf to all advice [c]. Yet, according to *Kæmpfer*, he would have avoided obeying the ſummons, if he could have told how; and that, dreading ſome ill event, he took leave of his family in a very melancholy manner [d].

The French *arreſted.*

HOWEVER that be, we are told, that the next day *Okpra Pitrachas* ſent for lord *Faulkon*; and ordered him to acquaint the *French* officers, "That there was no deſign of keeping "them priſoners; but that, as a moſt dangerous plot againſt "the king's life had been diſcovered, and all the parties con"cerned were not yet fully known, there was a neceſſity of "ſecuring all perſons of note, till ſuch time as matters ſhould "be brought more to light." And as for you, Lord *Faulkon*, (ſaid he, with an air of authority) "I charge you to ſay "this, and no more, to the *French* officers;" letting him know, at the ſame time, that he ſhould be narrowly watched. This viſit to the *French* was only an artifice of *Pitrachas* to moderate their reſentment, and divert them from taking mea-

[c] HAMILTON, ubi ſupr. vol. i. p. 174. [d] KÆMPF. hiſt. Japan, p. 20.

ſures for their common ſecurity. Among the ſeveral troops of guards which were about the king's perſon, one was made up wholly of *Europeans* of different nations, eſpecially *French*; and the *Siameſe* troop itſelf, conſiſting of 150 men, was commanded by *French* officers. Theſe were ſent to *Thalapſon* (or *Thli Pouſſon*) a houſe of pleaſure which the king had at ſome diſtance from *Louvo*; whither *Okpra Pitrachas* had before-hand ordered a great body of forces to encamp, and be in readineſs, as occaſion ſhould require. Two days after this, the *French* officers, who had been taken into cuſtody at *Louvo* with Lord *Faulkon*, were ſent thither alſo, under a ſtrong guard. 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

MATTERS having proceeded thus far, *Pitrachas* had Lord *Faulkon* again brought before him: it was then that he opened to him the cauſe of all theſe motions. He reproached him in a very ſevere manner; and, having charged him with treaſon againſt the king and government, cauſed him to be put to the ordinary and extraordinary torture, to force him to diſcover his accomplices in the intrigue for making the king a chriſtian, and ſubjecting the kingdom to the *French* power. When he had continued this unhappy lord for ſeveral hours under thoſe grievous tortures, he ordered the king's adopted ſon to be brought to the place, and his head to be cut-off immediately (C); then, cauſing a ſtring to be run through it, had it hanged about Lord *Faulkon*'s neck, after the manner of an *European* cravat. This tragedy was acted on the 28th of *May* (D). The two following days he was again applied to the torture, in the cruelleſt manner that could be deviſed; the young prince's head continually hanging at his breaſt both night and day. Thus they continued to torment him till the 4th of *June*; when, being unable to hold out any longer, he died under the violence of the torture [e]. *Prince* Totſo *put to death.*

THIS was the unhappy end of Lord *Conſtance*, or *Faulkon*; who, after riſing by his merit to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, *Lord* Faulkon *executed*

[e] Full and true relat. p. 6, & ſeqq.

(C) We think it better to adhere to the account of general *Fargs* (confirmed by that of others), who makes the tragedy to commence with the murder of *Monpi*.

(D) *Kæmpfer* ſays, *Petrachas* threw the head at Lord *Faulkon*'s feet, with this reproach, *See, there is your king.* At the requeſt of the king, who was exceedingly grieved at this event, his body was decently buried. *Monpi*'s father was ſeized by ſtratagem between *Judia* and *Livo* (or *Louvo*), and all their adherents diſperſed.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

fell a ſacrifice to the ambition of another. He was ſober, ingenious, and induſtrious [f]. He had an agreeable aſpect, was gifted with a great underſtanding, and very eloquent, although not bred to learning [g]. His modeſty, ſkill, and diligence in diſpatching affairs (E); and his diſintereſtedneſs in refuſing both the appointments of his office, and all preſents from private people, daily increaſed the king's confidence in him, and made him deſerving of a better fate. He was very civil to the *Engliſh*, and did them all the friendly offices which lay in his power. He was alſo very deſirous of ſettling a trade between this nation and the *Siameſes* (F): but his good intentions were obſtructed [h]; and who knows, but it was their ſlighting his kind offers which made him turn his thoughts to the *French*. In the year 1688 he ſent a very conſiderable preſent to King *James* II. of all the rarities and valuable things which the *Eaſt Indies* produce, eſtimated to be worth about 6000 pounds [i].

HOWEVER we muſt here add, that, beſides what is ſaid of his ingratitude to his benefactor in the notes, his treatment of Count *Forbin*, if fact, ſhews him to have been a bad man. At firſt he careſſed him, and promoted his advancement at court, where he was made high-admiral, general of the king of *Siam*'s forces, and governor of *Bankok*: but when he found that the count was become a favourite with *Chaw Naraya*, he did all he could to deſtroy him; firſt, by poiſon, and then by ſending him upon the moſt dangerous enterprizes, which obliged him at laſt to deſire leave to depart the country. But after he had obtained it, a *Portugueſe* officer was ſent, by way of honour, to bring him to court. On this occaſion the biſhop of *Metellopolis* ſaid, "Take care you do not put your-"ſelf into the hands of thoſe *Portugueſes*. I know Mr. *Con-*

[f] HAMILT. ubi ſupra, p. 170.
[g] KÆMPF. p. 19.
[h] Full and true relat. pref. p. 8.
[i] Ibid.

(E) Our author adds, his fidelity in managing the public revenue. And although he is charged with ſquandering it, to carry on his project of bringing in a foreign power; yet, in other caſes, he might have acquitted his truſt with great integrity.

(F) Yet there ſeems to have been no good underſtanding between the officers of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company and him. For we are told by Count *Forbin*, that in 1688, being at *Maſulipatan*, the director of the *Engliſh* factory there, who was a ſworn enemy to Mr. *Conſtance*, invited him to dinner, where that miniſter was not ſpared; and that, among other things, the director ſaid, *If he could lay hold of him, he would have him hanged up.*

"*ſtance*

" *stance* well; you need not doubt but these men have orders " to murder you on the road——Be advised by me, and draw " yourself out of the hands of so artful and wicked an enemy " while you may." The *French* ambassador was suspicious of him, and at last looked on him in the same light.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

FARGES says, he had great qualities, but that it required time to know him. That he had no sincerity, and a boundless ambition; was easily offended, and never forgave; which made him hated by the *Siamites*, and most foreigners. To proceed,

KÆMPFER relates, that after he had been tortured and starved for many days, so that his body was almost reduced to a skeleton, he was carried in a chair to his own house, which he found rifled. To add to his affliction, his lady, who lay a prisoner in the stable, was so far from taking leave of him, that she spit in his face, and would not so much as suffer him to kiss his only son of four years old; another, who had died a little before, being still unburied. From thence he was carried out of town; and, after his head was struck off, his body was divided in two parts, and covered with a little earth, which the dogs scratched away in the night-time, and then devoured the corpse to the bones. Before he died, he took his seal, two silver crosses, a relick set in gold, which he always wore on his breast, being a present from the pope, with the order of St. *Michael*, sent him by the king of *France*, and delivered them to an officer of the court, desiring him to give them to his little son [k].

with great rigour.

As soon as this execution was done on lord *Faulkon*, all his effects were seized, and his family carried to prison. His lady, after undergoing a very strict examination, was at last put to the torture; which she endured for several days together, without confessing what they expected or desired. She was then thrown into prison, where she continued for some months, with chains on her hands and fetters on her feet. At the expiration of this term they made her and her family slaves; in which disgraceful quality they took off her irons, opened the prison doors and turned her out [l].

His lady tortured.

PITRACHAS having destroyed this party, applied all his thoughts to ruin the *French*, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his designs. He was not able to draw to court the elder of the two princes, brothers of the king, who seemed to conceive some suspicion on the repeated instances which were made to him on that account; and at which the

Pitrachas *resolve*

[k] KÆMPFER, ubi supra, p. 21. [l] Full and true relat. p. 7, & seq.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

younger, as well as the princeſs herſelf, expreſſed their ſurprize. The uſurper therefore, to take away all diſtruſt, thought proper to let the elder remain at the capital, and to take a ſolemn oath, before the ſecond and the Mandarins, by which he acknowledged the princes for his true lords, and promiſed to do nothing but what was for their ſervice. This engagement, performed with all the ceremony neceſſary to render it ſacred among the *Siameſes*, baniſhed all diſtruſt againſt that artful miniſter, and gave him more authority than ever. However, although the lives of the young prince and princes were in his power; he was ſenſible that the elder, who was in the city of *Siam*, might, in conjunction with the *French*, give him ſo much exerciſe, that he durſt not venture to deſtroy them. For this reaſon he employed all his art to inſpire, as well thoſe of the royal blood as the reſt of the nation, with hatred againſt the *French*, in order to join in their deſtruction; and he had ſo far gained his point, that the princeſs herſelf, as our author had been aſſured, was the firſt to give into that deſign [m].

to ruin the French.

HOWEVER *Pitrachas*, before he proceeded to open force, had recourſe to all ſorts of ſtratagems to ſurpriſe the *French*. He wrote ſeveral letters to the biſhop of *Metellopolis*, the Abbé *Lionne*, and the chief of the *French* lodge at the capital, to aſſure them, that he intended no manner of harm to either them or their religion: yet the Abbé, on going to *Louvo*, to his great aſtoniſhment, found, that all the *French* in that city had been arreſted, and the other Chriſtians impriſoned and ill-treated (G). But the Mandarin, who had

[m] FARGES relat. de la revolut. a Siam.

(G) According to *the full and true account*, *Pitrachas*, the better to facilitate his deſign of driving the Chriſtians out of the kingdom, commanded that all the *Portugueſes* ſhould come together, and retire into a little iſland near the capital city; threatening to put to death all thoſe who ſhould attempt to make their eſcape out of it. The *Engliſh* had the misfortune alſo to feel the effects of his indignation; for they were firſt plundered of all their effects, and then thrown into priſon. As for the *French* who were at *Siam* and *Louvo*, they were not treated with the ſame violence at the beginning, becauſe their numbers were too conſiderable, and it might have been hazardous to provoke them; beſides *Pitrachas* was willing rather to ſurpriſe thoſe who were poſted at *Bankok* and *Merghi*, than attack them by open force. According to *Kæmpfer*, p. 22. the *Dutch* were aſſured of *Pitrachas*'s protection, and orders ſent to *Bankok* to let their ſhips paſs during theſe troubles.

been

been first ambassador in *France*, protested to him that the *French* had been used in that manner, merely to secure them from insults; and that, as to the other christians, he would go forthwith and set them at liberty; which he did in a little time after, 25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

The Abbé *Lionne*, who went to the palace, was received very courteously by *Pitrachas*, in the midst of a magnificent court; but, after many compliments, he declared to him, "That it was the king's intention that general *Farges* should "repair to *Louvo*: that it was true, his majesty did not blame "him for returning to *Bankok*, on account of the evil reports "which then were current; and that he knew the general "could not march since then, for the disorder which had "seized him; to cure which, the king, as a mark of his "esteem, had sent his physicians: but that, being now in- "formed that he was perfectly recovered, it was necessary "that he should no longer defer to obey his majesty's orders: "That, for this end, he had sent the two Mandarins, late "ambassadors in *France*, with design to do him (*Farges*) "the more honour, and give him a new proof of his friend- "ship; to which *Pitrachas* added, that if the general did not "repair to *Louvo*, his refusal might receive a bad construc- "tion, and occasion mischievous consequences: that he hoped "he would make no more difficulty in the matter; and that, "in the interim, he would keep his son, the chevalier, near "him, at court." *Sends for* Farges

The ambassadors were ordered to declare farther, "That "the king, having caused Mr. *Constance* to be arrested as a "prisoner of state, had a design to give his place to the ge- "neral's son (H): that, for this reason, it was necessary, he "should stay at *Louvo* for some time, to instruct him in the "business of his post; a particular which made one of the "chief motives for sending for him." *up to court.*

For all their artifices to conceal the state of affairs, *Des Farges* could easily perceive that things were in a very bad situation, so that he was not a little perplexed what course to resolve upon. He could have been glad that the Mandarins would have been satisfied with the refusal which he made, to accept for his son the employments which they presented him; but they absolutely insisted that he should go up with them: to which he was likewise pressed by the Abbé *De* *The general's perplexity.*

(H) According to *the full and true account*, this interview is represented to have been with *Pitrachas* himself, who, in the king's name, offered *Des Farges* the place of *Barkalong*, which *Constance* enjoyed.

Lionne

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

Lionne (whom they had brought with them), in consideration of the state in which affairs then were. On the one side he perceived the danger he ran by putting himself into their hands; but, on the other, he saw he could not refuse going without causing an open rupture, at a time when he was in no condition to sustain a siege; having neither provisions, nor carriages for cannon in the place, which moreover was open on all sides [n].

He resolves to go.

AT length, after many reflections, he was of opinion, that both honour and duty required him to expose himself, with his two sons, to all sorts of perils; to try, if by such marks of confidence, he could remove the suspicions of the *Siamese*, and preserve his troops: a thing which seemed impossible to be effected any other way than by obeying the order. He considered likewise, that by this means he should avoid bringing on the *French* the imputation of want of fidelity, and gain time for putting *Bankok* in a better state of defence. He then gave the necessary orders to Mr. *Verdesale*, who commanded under him; adding, in presence of his other officers, "that he was sensible of the risk he ran in going to court; "but that the danger arising from his non-compliance would "be more general and certain: that he (*Verdesale*) should do "his duty in his absence, and sooner see him and his sons "hung up in his sight, than surrender the place intrusted to "his care."

Brought before Pitrachas.

PITRACHAS, being informed of the *French* general's resolution, sent him a handsome *paleki*, with other voitures for those who accompanied him. On his arrival at the gates of *Louvo*, he was complimented by a Mandarin, who invited him, as from the king, to go directly to the palace (I). This

[n] DES FARGES, ubi supra.

(I) We are told by others, that he set forward by water on the 7th of *June*. But he had not advanced two leagues on his way upon the river, when, perceiving himself surrounded with armed barges and gallies, he began to think that some extraordinary business must be in agitation. That his surprise was increased, when, on his arrival at *Siam*, he saw himself put into a *palanki*, or close litter, and carried to *Louvo*, guarded by several troops of armed men, in a manner he had never been escorted before: that, as soon as he got to *Louvo*, he was conducted to the king's palace, without being allowed to go first to the jesuits house, as he desired, under design of reposing himself a little; though his true pretence was, to learn the present posture of affairs, which seemed to him to be much altered (1).

(1) *Full and true account*, p. 10.

message

meſſage he judged foreboded no good, and made him believe that he ſhould be arreſted. He paſſed through ſeveral courts full of armed men; and was at firſt very well received by *Pitrachas*, who had aſſumed the title of *Great Mandarin*. After many compliments on his merit, and the affection which the *Siameſes* had for his perſon, he aſked, by way of converſation, "Whether he had the abſolute command of the officers "and ſoldiers left behind at *Bankok*; and if any of them dared "to diſobey his orders?" *Des Farges* anſwered, without conſidering *Pitrachas*'s drift, "That diſcipline was very ex- "actly obſerved in the armies of his maſter; and that all "muſt obey at the firſt word of a commander." "Ha! I "am very glad to hear that (replied the Great Mandarin); "the king ſent you an order to come up with your troops, "How comes it then that you have brought nobody with you "but your ſon?".

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

THIS queſtion, though unexpected, did not ſurpriſe the general ſo much, as the aſſurance of the firſt ambaſſador (K); who affirmed to his face, that he had importuned him to bring his garriſon along with him. *Des Farges* perceived by this that it was a concerted affair, and began to deſpair of getting out of the ſcrape. "Very well, replied *Pitrachas*, "I ſee it is a miſunderſtanding: you have only to write im- "mediately to your officers and ſoldiers to repair to you, "ſince, you aſſure me, that none of them will venture to diſ- "obey your commands." The general, without regarding the danger in which he was, anſwered "That, if he was on "the ſpot, what he had told him would be the caſe; but "that, according to the cuſtoms of *France*, a governor out "of his garriſon has no authority there: and that, before "he left his, he had deſired the firſt ambaſſador to let him "know, whether the king had ſent any other order, that he "might execute it at once; ſince, it was moſt certain, that "Mr. *Verdeſale* would not obey him in his abſence. The Abbé *De Lionne*, perceiving the danger in which they were involved, repreſented to the firſt ambaſſador, "That all was "loſt if the general was detained; and that Mr. *Verdeſale* "was a perſon who would hearken to nothing, but would "puſh things to the laſt extremity."

Ordered to bring his troops,

(K) This was *Manpay*, who, the year before, had been in *France*, in quality of firſt ambaſſador; and ſince his return was made *Barkalon*, or chief miniſter of ſtate (1).

(1) *Full and true account.*

THIS

25. *King* Chaw Naraya. *and write to* Bruan.

THIS discourse seemed to make an impression on the *Siameses*; who judged it better to send *Des Farges* back, and keep his two sons as pledges for performing his promise. Afterwards, they pretended to send him on an expedition against fictitious enemies (L), in which he was to have the whole command; and therefore, to secure the victory, proposed to him to write to Mr. *Bruan* at *Merghi*, to join him with his troops. It was to no purpose to desire leave to depart the kingdom, in case they distrusted the *French*; the king's will must first be obeyed. They then sent him a draught of the letter in *Siamese*, which, translated, formed a jargon, proper to give Mr. *Bruan* to understand, that the general was arrested, and their affairs in a very bad way. *Pitrachas* however was well pleased with the copy, imagining that what was a good stile in *Siamese*, was the same in *French*°.

The French *fly from* Louvo;

To add to his affliction, he was informed of an unhappy affair which befell the *French* who had been detained at *Louvo* (M). These, after the departure of the Abbé *Lionne*, with the two Mandarins from thence, being in fear that *Des Farges* would not quit *Bankok* to obey the summons, determined at all hazards to escape thither. With this view they took horses at that place, and made all the haste they could to get into the neighbourhood of the city of *Siam*, where they found more than 400 men (N) assembled, with a design to stop them. Presently after, certain Mandarins advancing, gave them their parole, that nothing ill should happen to

° DES FARGES, ubi supra.

(L) The *Kochinchinians* and *Laos*; who were said to have threatened the kingdom with an invasion. *Full and true account*, p. 13.

(M) And at *Thalasson*, or *Thli Pousson*. The most considerable persons among the *French*, we are told from another quarter, were the chevalier *Des Carges* (a mistake for *Des Farges*) and *De Fretteville*, with Mess. *De Vaudrille*, *De Lariffe*, and two engineers, one named *Bresley*. Their intent was to get to the quarters of the *French* company in that city, and there, seizing on some vessel, sail to join general *Farges* at *Bankok*, and inform him of what had passed: for these transactions had been hitherto carried on with such incredible diligence and secrecy, that not the least tidings of them had as yet reached either that garrison or *Merghi* (1).

(N) According to the *full and true account*, a body of 6 or 7000 was sent after them: so that early next morning, when within two leagues of the capital, they were surprised to see so great a detachment of the army both before them and behind them, to hinder their getting into the city.

(1) *Full and true account*, p. 8, & *seq.*

them,

them, provided they freely surrendered themselves. This promise prevented them from standing on their defence, which besides they saw would be to no purpose. The *Siameses*, however, regardless of their word, treated them in the most cruel and ignominious manner in the world. They stripped them almost naked, and conducted them back with ropes about their necks, which they tied to the tails of their horses; making them sometimes trot, not regarding the chevalier *Des Farges*, the general's son, who was one of the number: nor did they spare to beat them with sticks and lances, to oblige those to rise who fell down with such evil treatment, insomuch that one of them died on the road (O). They were afterwards exposed at *Louvo* for three hours to the mercy of the populace (P), who struck them in the face, and committed all the outrages imaginable [p].

25. *King* Chaw Naraya. *ignominiously brought back.*

As this history confirmed *Des Farges* still more in his opinion of the extreme hatred which the *Siameses* bore to the *French*, he made haste to return to *Bankok*; constrained to sacrifice his two sons (Q), whom they demanded in hostage, in order to get quickly to the place where he believed his presence was most necessary. He met with, on the road, the bishop of *Metellopolis* (R), whom the Great Mandarin had obliged to repair to *Louvo*, under pretence that the king wanted to discourse him on affairs of consequence: but, in reality, to make sure of his person, and send him to *Bankok*, sometime after

The general returns,

[p] Des Farges, and the full and true relat.

(O) This person, as we learn from the *full and true account*, was *Bresley* the engineer, mentioned in the last note but one; and seems to be the same, who, as *Kæmpfer* relates, seeing a halter put about the neck of each of them, according to the *Siamese* custom on such occasions, died of the fright. But he errs in saying they were general *Farges*'s hostages, who made their escape from *Louvo*, for *Farges* had not been there yet.

(P) They were chained two and two together by the neck, and imprisoned. Their domestics were treated in the same manner; and so were all the other *French* who staid in that city. See the *full and true account*, ubi supra.

(Q) *Kæmpfer* says, *Des Farges* was indeed well received; but, before he was permitted to return to *Bankok*, was obliged to deliver up that place, and leave his two sons, with twelve more of his countrymen, as hostages at *Louvo*.

(R) He had lived long among them, and was apostolic vicar in the greater part of *India*. *Full and true account*, p. 14. *Kæmpfer* calls him Mr. *Louis*. Capt. *Hamilton* speaks of a *French* bishop named *Cissee*, who in 1720 was eighty years of age, and had been there at least since 1708.

the

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

the general, to serve his design by exposing him to danger: for he declared plainly to him in the very first audience, "That he verily believed the general would march-up with "his troops; but that he would send him, the bishop, to "*Bankok*, to let him know, that if he did not come, he "would put him, his missionaries, the jesuits, and all the "christians, at the mouth of the cannon."

begins hostilities.

In spite of all the dangers which threatened, it was unanimously resolved, as soon as *Des Farges* reached the fortress, to perish rather than yield themselves up to the mercy of the *Siamese*, who had given them so many proofs of their ill-will. Mean time hostilities commenced, by attacking a ship belonging to the king of *Siam*, whose crew had refused to sell the *French* provisions, in very injurious terms. After this, the general withdrew the troops which were in the old fort on the west side of the river, because it was not possible to keep it; at the same time ordering the parapets to be demolished, and such cannon, as could not burst, to be nailed up. Nor were the *Siamese* backward to annoy them in their work; and no sooner were the *French* retired, than they set about repairing the fort and unnailing the guns. To prevent their lodgment, three officers, at the head of thirty men, were sent in two shallops against them; but finding a multitude, which they did not expect, they were forced to retire, after the loss of three or four men. The *French* then made a great fire, to hinder the enemy from mounting a cannon, which would have uncovered the fortress. Their works were several times destroyed, yet they had the obstinacy to repair them, although it cost them abundance of men. Mean time they did not cease firing for three or four days: and few nights passed in which they did not make false attacks; which, joined to the inconveniencies within the fortress, gave the *French* inexpressible fatigues [q].

Bravery of St. Crik.

As there was no possibility of receiving succours from without, nor hopes of obtaining composition from their enemies; they resolved to send a small bark, belonging to the company, out of the river, in quest of two *Siamese* vessels, manned with *Frenchmen*, which had been sent a cruising two months before. This was a dangerous enterprise, but their situation required it. A lieutenant, named *St. Crik*, with nine soldiers, sailed down the river, after escaping the fire of the fort; but scarce was the bark out of sight, when it was attacked with such fury that the *French* could not prevent boarding. However *St. Crik* cleared the deck of the multitude, by setting fire to

[q] Des Farges.

part

part of his powder and all his grenados, which he had dispoſed for the purpoſe. The bark having afterwards run aground, the *Siameſes*. who imagined all the powder was conſumed, entered her again without any apprehenſion; and were toſſed into the air in greater numbers than before. Then *St. Crik*, ſetting fire to ſome barrels which he had reſerved, blew up the bark, and all the *Siameſes* who were in it; moſt of whom periſhed with him, to the great admiration of thoſe who were on ſhore [r].

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

PITRACHAS, on the firſt advice which he received, that *Des Farges* refuſed to advance with his troops, did not fail to ſend to him the biſhop of *Metellopolis*, as he had promiſed. This prelate arriving at a time when the enemy's fort was battered with moſt violence, the *Siameſes* took all his men priſoners; ſtripped him, and, putting a rope about his neck, threatened to expoſe him to the cannon of the fortreſs (S). The Grand Mandarin yet tried another expedient: which was to make the general's ſons write, to acquaint their father, "That there was no more life for them, unleſs he "came to *Louvo*; and that it was even a favour done them, "that they were ſuffered to let him know the dangerous condi- "tion in which they were." *Des Farges* wrote for anſwer, "That he would willingly part with his own life to ſave theirs; "but when the honour of the king, and the preſervation of "his troops were concerned, he had no intereſts but what he "thought himſelf obliged to ſacrifice: that they ought to reſt "ſatisfied with the conſolation, that they had committed no "crimes wherewith to reproach themſelves; and that the "king would in time revenge the outrages which ſhould be "done them [s]."

Pitrachas's *artifices.*

MEAN time the Grand Mandarin, from the advice which he received of what paſſed at *Bankok*, conceived little hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign againſt it, any more by force than ſtratagem; and began to think that he ought not to defer proſecuting his ambitious views any longer on that ſcore, but clear his way to the throne by making away with the two princes, brothers

The two princes murdered.

[r] DES FARGES. [s] Ibid.

(S) According to the *full and true relation*, he actually was, with a halter about his neck, faſtened to a gibbet, ſet up in a place moſt expoſed to the fire of the cannon. *Kæmpfer* ſays, the biſhops, and ſeven or eight jeſuits, were impriſoned in the court of the king's magazines, where our author ſaw them living chearfully. Three other jeſuits, who ſettled at *Louvo*, on pretence to learn the *Pali* (or *Bali*) language, diſappeared of a ſudden.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

of the king, who only ſtood in his paſſage: one of them was already in his hands, and he had taken his meaſures to ſecure himſelf of the other. He therefore aſſembles the principal Mandarins in the palace, and complained in ſtrong terms againſt the princes, who, he ſaid, had ſworn his deſtruction; and deſired to know what they thought was proper to be done with them. As his power was now too great for any perſon to oppoſe him, and he had beſides gained over moſt of thoſe great men by fair promiſes; they unanimouſly gave it as their opinion, that the princes were ungrateful perſons, and deſerved to be puniſhed.

IMMEDIATELY orders were ſent to ſeize the prince who was at *Siam*, and bring him up to *Louvo*. Not many days after, both he and his brother were ſent to *Thli Pouſon* (T); where, being put into ſcarlet ſacks, they were beaten to death with clubs of ſandal wood. This is the account which general *Farges* gives of the princes, and their fate[t]: but, according to *the full and true account*, they never reached that place; for they were murdered in the way by a party of men, who were appointed to do that execution (U). After this, they fell upon all the conſiderable perſons (who were the friends or acquaintance of the three princes, and the miniſter, already diſpatched out of the way) and cauſed them either to be put to death after the ſame manner, or elſe cloſely confined in priſon[u].

The king dies.

THE old king was ſtill alive when his two brothers were put to death; but he died the day following[x]. According to *Kæmpfer*, this happened on the 11th of *July*, in the fifty-fifth year of his age (X), and thirty ſecond of his reign.

THE

[t] FARGES relat. revolut. a Siam.
[x] DES FARGES, ubi ſupr.
[u] Full and true account.

(T) Or *Thle Poſſon*, in the *full and true account*, called *Thelapſon*. It is one of the king of *Siam*'s pleaſure-houſes, a ſhort league eaſt of *Louvo*, according to *Tachard*. *Firſt voy.* p. 231.

(U) According to *Kæmpfer*, they were beaten to death with ſandal clubs, in a temple near *Livo*, or *Louvo*.

(X) The *full and true account* ſays he was about fifty-nine years old. *Kæmpfer* places this event in the year 1689, or that of the *Sonkard*, the *Siameſe* epocha 2232; but, according to *Loubere*, p. 8, it ought to be 2234. Beſides, it was not in the year of *Chriſt* 1689, but 1688, as appears from the foregoing account of the *French*, which ſeems, for the general, to be moſt authentic. Capt. *Hamilton* relates this revolution with ſomewhat different circumſtances; and ſays, he had the account from Mr. *Baſhpool*, Lord *Faulkon*'s ſecretary, who lay

THE character of *Chaw Naraya*, as given by the *French* travellers, is very advantageous; they will even have him to be the greatest prince who ever reigned in *Siam*. He was for stature somewhat of the middle size, but strait and well-shaped. He had besides an engaging air, a sweet and obliging carriage, especially to strangers. He was brisk and active, an enemy to idleness and sloth; for he was always either in the woods a hunting, or in his palace minding the affairs of his kingdom. He was no lover of war, because it ruined his people, whom he tenderly loved; but no king in all the east appeared more fond of glory, or impatient to revenge an affront when offered to him by any of the neighbouring princes. His love for learning prompted him to send to *Europe* for persons who might teach his subjects the sciences. He was desirous of knowing every thing; and having had a piercing genius, easily became master of what he had a mind to learn (A). He was magnificent (B), generous, and sincere friend as could be desired. These were the illustrious qualities which acquired him the respect of his neighbours, the fear of his enemies, and the love, as well as esteem of his subjects, which fell little short of adoration. He was never addicted to those vices, particularly the immoderate use of women, so commonly found among the eastern princes; and often punished the most considerable officers of state, for being too much given to their pleasures. He had too much understanding to believe the senseless doctrine of an annihilated God, or rather a Being who, weary of governing, plunges himself in

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

His character.

y in prison three years after s master's death, with his neck the portable pillory, and often hipt, to make him accuse ose whose estates the usurper tempted to seize.

(A) This is the character gerally given of him by the issionaries. But Count *De rbin*, who was often about his rson, says quite the reverse of m. He used to entertain the ng with little stories, which eased him, but never took y pains to dress them; for he serves, that his *Siamese* masty was a prince of no genius, d very ignorant; whereas *chard* cries him up as a progy of wit and judgment.

(B) *Forbin* observes, that although the kingdom of *Siam* is poor, and one sees no footsteps of magnificence in it, yet when the prince went a hunting, or shewed himself in public, he appeared with all the pomp suitable to a great monarch; and the superb figure which he made when he went abroad was scarce to be excelled by any other prince. As for the manner in which he was served in his palace, it was known to no person; his most intimate favourites not being admitted nearer than a window, from which he talked to them.

25. *King* Chaw Naraya.

repoſe, and for ever after forgets what paſſes in the world; on the contrary he believed the deity to be eternal, and that he governed the univerſe by his providence: to the ſame immortal being he prayed twice a day, for two hours time, in the morning when he was up, and at night before he went to reſt[a].

His family.

CHAW NARAYA left behind him only one daughter. According to *Loubere*, ſhe was called *Nang fa*, that is, *young heaven*[b]. *Chaumont* ſays ſhe was ſtiled the *princeſs queen*[c]; and all agree that ſhe had the rank and honour of a queen. In 1685 ſhe was twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years of age. She had her lands, revenues, ſoldiers, and officers, diſtinct from the king's. She daily gave audience, morning and evening, to all the wives of the great officers at court, who durſt not fail to make their attendance: and while the princeſs queen received them ſitting on her throne, they lay proſtrate, with their heads to the ground, in the ſame manner as their huſbands appeared before the king. She was ſevere even to cruelty in her chaſtiſements of her female attendants, as hath been already mentioned. She went to ſee his majeſty twice every day, and dined with him. Lord *Faulkon* had often been admitted, on affairs of importance, when they were at dinner, but could never ſee her face, for a little ſcreen which was placed before her. It was by means of lady *Faulkon* that *Choiſy* got his information concerning her.

CHAW NARAYA left a ſiſter likewiſe, and ſeveral aunts, at his death, who were all old women[d].

CHAP. XII.

Reign of Pitracha. *Peace concluded with the* French. *They depart* Siam; *none to remain under Pain of Death. A Pretender taken and puniſhed.* Pitracha's *Succeſſors.*

Reign of Pitracha, *or* Picheracha.

The uſurper's policy.

THE uſurper managed his affairs ſo politicly, that this great revolution was brought about without cauſing the leſt tumult or inſurrection throughout the whole king-

[a] Full and true relation, pref. p. 12. [b] Relat. p. 55.
[c] CHAUMONT relat. p. 110. [d] CHAUMONT ibid. & CHOISY, p. 373, 374, 398.

dom.

dom. *Opra Pecherachas*, or *Pitrachas* (A), was distinguished from among the other grandees by his majestic air and by his illustrious birth; for he was said to be descended from the true royal race, from which the father of the late king had usurped the crown. He was foster-brother to *Chaw Naraya*, and much about the same age. His affected zeal for religion had gained him the esteem of all the *Talapoys*, as well as veneration of the people; who besides observed in him a heart truly *Siamese*, full of esteem for his own nation and contempt for others: but being at the same time a great politician, he knew so well how to dissemble and conceal his mind, that he constantly refused the most considerable dignities both for himself and his son, seeming to aspire to no other happiness than that of a private life. The distance at which he kept himself from public affairs, removing all suspicions of his designs, he was constantly one of the first in the counsels of the king. Mr. *Constance*, who was thought to have the whole power, and omitted nothing to make the *French* think so, had not near so much credit nor access as *Pitrachas*; although he was in great favour with his master, who thought none but he capable of treating with foreigners, on account of the thorough knowlege which he had of their customs, and of all the courts of *Europe*[a].

26. *King* Pitrachas.

His family

To this account of general *Farges* we may add the report of other authors. *Pitrachas*, as hath been observed before, was one of the most powerful lords of the court, as having had the command of all the king's elephants and horses, which are esteemed that monarch's principal forces. His family had not only been long in the highest offices in the state, but was frequently allied to the crown; and it was even publickly reported, when *Loubere* was at *Siam*, that either he, or his son *Sourakak*, who was an *Ok-louang*, might pretend to it, if they should happen to survive *Chaw Naraya*, who was nursed by *Pitrachas*'s mother. The people loved him because he appeared moderate; and was by them supposed to be invulnerable, because he had come off unhurt in a battle against the king of *Pegu*, wherein he exposed himself much. His courage had likewise gained him the favour of *Chaw Na-*

and character.

[a] Des Farges relat. revolut. de Siam.

(A) Others write *Petracha*, or *Pitracha*, which perhaps is more correct; as *Racha*, which makes two of the three syllables of his name, seems to be the same with, or at least an imitation of, *Rajah*; a name of dignity equal to that of king, in the hither peninsula of the *Indies*.

26. *King Pitrachas.*

raya [b]. *Kæmpfer* tells us, that his mother was the king's ſiſter, and that his own ſiſters and daughters were the king's wives. On theſe accounts that monarch always looked on him as his moſt intimate friend; and he was the more grieved at the ſeverity which *Pitrachas* exerciſed againſt his brothers and adopted ſon, as he never expected any thing of the kind from his hand; the rather too becauſe he always expreſſed an abhorrence for the burthen of a crown [c]: the common artifice however in all times of thoſe who coveted it moſt. This lord having brought all things to bear according to his mind, ſet out from *Louvo* the laſt day of *July*, and arrived at the capital, where he was crowned with great ceremony and without oppoſition [d].

The kingdom pacified.

PITRACHAS being now maſter of the kingdom, forthwith diſpoſed of the great offices of the ſtate in favour of thoſe who had ſerved him. He promoted all the Mandarins whom he had any reaſon yet to fear, and even ſet at liberty thoſe whom he had cauſed to be arreſted, in order to gain both parties over to his intereſt. He eaſed the people of their ſervitudes; and commanded public alms to be diſtributed, which effectually procured him the affections of the whole nation. With regard to the princeſs, he ſtill preſerved his reſpect for her, whom he propoſed to make his conſort (C). However, it was reported, that ſhe expreſſed extreme grief at the death of the young prince, who either was, or was to have been her huſband (D); and that, in the exceſs of her

[b] Full and true relat. p. 17, 21. LOUBERE, p. 89. [c] KÆMP. Japan, p. 23. [d] Full and true relat. p. 21.

(B) This account is from the *French* officer, who was made priſoner at *Merghi* after *Bruan*'s retreat, and was carried to the capital at the time when this tranſaction happened. See his letter in the *full and true relat.* p. 21. alſo, p. 17.

(C) Neither *Kæmpfer* nor *Hamilton* tell us what became of this princeſs, or indeed ſo much as mention her: the firſt letters likewiſe which came from *India* after the revolution, were ſilent in this particular; but others, which followed them, brought an account, that, by order of *Pitrachas*, ſhe was put into a velvet ſack, and had her brains beaten out with clubs of ſweet wood; after which her body was thrown into the river (1).

(D) Reports or ſuggeſtions were various on this occaſion. Some ſay ſhe was, or was to have been married to *Monpi*, as before obſerved; and the *French* ſay, that ſhe had taken a fancy to the chevalier *Des Farges*, and actually promiſed to marry him; but this is more than the general *Des Farges* ſays himſelf.

(1) *Full and true account, pref. p. 2.*

rage,

rage, she had loaded with injurious language the author of his death: but time, in no long space, wore out her grief, and she chose rather to live a queen, than die unhappy. But to return to the affair of the *French*: 26. *King* Pitrachas.

PITRACHAS had no sooner resolved to make away with the princes, than he began to think of accommodating matters with the *French*, and obliging them to depart the kingdom in peace. In order to this, he sent for the sons of general *Des Farges*, and told them, "That he found himself "moved with compassion for them; that besides, he knew "the integrity of their father's heart, and that he was not "capable of breaking his word: adding, that he was con- "vinced they were the troops, who, possessed with panic "fears, could not be persuaded to obey him: that he "granted them their lives; and farther, out of consideration "for the general, as well as friendship for them, would send "them to him." Their return to *Bankok*, which happened on the 24th of *June* (E), gave extreme joy to all the garrison, as well as their father, who at first could not conceive what lucky motive to impute it to: but when afterwards he was informed of the death of the two princes, he concluded that the Great Mandarin was willing, by this action of generosity, to open the way to a peace with the *French*; and the two Mandarins, whom they consulted on that occasion, confirmed him in that opinion [e]. Des Farges's *sons released.*

FROM the time the general's sons arrived at *Bankok*, the fire diminished on both sides, and several proposals were made towards an accommodation; but the distrust of the garrison was so great that they could rely on nothing. Toward the end of these long and fatiguing negotiations (F), during which *Sufferings of the* Europeans.

[e] DES FARGES, ubi supr.

(E) This was after the death of the princes and the king, who, according to *Kæmpfer*, died the 11th of *July*. There is great disagreement in the dates of different authors: the *French* officer made prisoner at *Merghi* says, he died in *July*, but could not learn the day. He mentions nothing of *Des Farges*'s sons being sent to *Bankok*, but says, on the 9th of *August*, he, with five more officers, were sent thither, as mentioned hereafter; and if his dates be right, the general's sons could not have been returned to him before *August*.

(F) Authors give no particulars of this long negotiation; only the writer of the *full and true relation* informs us, that, on the 25th of *July*, the Bishop of *Metellopolis*, being released from the dreadful situation in which he had been posted before *Bankok*, was sent into the place to obtain a commission from general

20. *King* Pitrachas.

which *Des Farges* found means to procure proviſions, the two *Siameſe* veſſels, manned with *Frenchmen*, mentioned before, arrived at the fortreſs: they returned them alſo the officers, who had been detained at *Louvo*; and ſome other *French* of that place, as well as the capital, having found means to join them: they then were informed of all the ill-treatment which they had received from the *Siameſes*, as well as the perſecution which the *Siameſe*, *Peguan*, and *Portugueſe* chriſtians ſtill ſuffered in a cruel ſlavery: that the ſeminary of the biſhop of *Metellopolis* had been pillaged, and many young chriſtian girls ſeized to make concubines of. They learned alſo from a miſſioner, who had been put in the kanghe, with all the chriſtians of the province of *Porſeluk*, at the farther end of the kingdom, that ever ſince the month of *January*, they had not ceaſed to threaten them with the evils which afterwards befel them. This ſhews that *Pitrachas* had concerted his meaſures a good while before, for executing the deſign which he had in view.

Bruan *abandons* Mergui.

THEY were alſo informed by a *Frenchman*, who had been made priſoner at *Mergui*, that Mr. *De Bruan*, and the *French* of his garriſon, had been attacked; but that water failing in the place, which beſides was commanded by a *Siameſe* battery, they had forced their way through the enemy, and ſeized a veſſel belonging to the king of *Siam*, by means of which they had gotten ſafe out of the country[f]. But of this more particularly hereafter.

THE officer above-mentioned was made priſoner the 25th of *June*, as he relates himſelf (the day after *Bruan* had retreated), and ſent up to the capital, where he arrived the 17th of *July*. The day after *Okpra Pitrachas* was crowned (which muſt have been the 1ſt or 2d of *Auguſt*), he ordered all the *French* and *Engliſh*, who were in that city and *Louvo*, to be ſet at liberty. On the 9th he, with four other officers, *De Fretteville*, *De Vandrille*, *Des Carges* (G), and *De Laiſſe*, were

[f] DES FARGES, ubi ſupra.

neral *Des Farges*, to negotiate a peace with ſuch perſons as *Pitrachas* ſhould appoint for that purpoſe. The commiſſion was immediately granted him; and next day he returned to *Siam* in order to execute it: from that time the *Okpra* began to deſiſt from his cruel treatment of the *French*, and other *Europeans* who were in his power (1). But as it appears from the account of *Des Farges* that he deſiſted earlier, perhaps *June* ſhould be put in the place of *July*.

(G) Sure this cannot be a miſtake for *Des Farges*, one of the general's ſons. If it was he,

(1) *P.* 17, *& ſeq.*

methinks

were all sent by the new king's orders to *Bankok*; not to their own general, as they hoped, but to his general, who commanded the *Malayans*, by whom they were kept prisoners almost a month. All the *French* left at the capital, were delivered into the custody of the Jesuits, and *(Viret)* the chief factor of the *French* company, who were to be responsible for them. However, the king being resolved to have a peace (H) at any rate, sent them at last to Mr. *Des Farges*, who would hearken to no treaty unless they were comprehended in it [g].

27. *King* Pitrachas.

Jesuits favoured.

Shortly after advice came to *Bankok*, that the *Oriflame* man of war, commanded by Mr. *L'Estrille*, was arrived in the road, where he had continued for some time in no small pain, to hear neither from the garrison nor from some officers of his ship, who had first landed; for it seems the *Siamese* had artfully conducted them to the capital, without passing by the fortress, or mentioning any thing of what had happened: so that if the affairs of the *French* had not been already in terms of accommodation, those officers must have run great hazard; nor could the ship have given the garrison any assistance, or even had the least correspondence with them. This shews, says *Des Farges*, how ill-situated *Bankok* is, and that sooner or later we must have abandoned it.

The Oriflame *arrives.*

In the interim another accident happened, which had like to have broken off all their negotiations. The lady of Mr. *Constance*, after having been cruelly tortured to make her declare all her late husband's effects, and suffered many other outrages, as well from the painted-arms, who guarded her, as from the son of *Pitrachas*, who was passionately in love

Lady Constance *escapes*;

[g] See full and true relat. p. 21.

methinks the author of the letter would have mentioned that circumstance.

(H) *Kæmpfer* gives an account of the conclusion of this affair very different from all the *French* writers: he says, That the general, being enraged at his disappointment, on his return to *Bankok*, fired on the *Siamese* and their ships: he likewise hung up on the ramparts two of his garrison, who were natives, for appearing not quite so ready to act as he would have had them, and committed all sorts of hostilities. That this conduct had like to have provoked the *Siamese* to act a bloody tragedy with him and his sons; for which purpose they had begun to raise forts on the river, to cut off his retreat by sea; but on his abating his firing, and laying all the blame on his people, who would not obey his orders, the *Dutch* resident persuaded the court to slight his bravados; so that soon after he obtained leave to depart with his people. The *French* pique themselves much on the triumph of *Des Farges*: must we believe them, or the *Dutch*?

26. *King* Pitrachas.

with her, at length found means to escape, and take refuge at *Bankok* [h].

P. *D'Orleans* relates the circumstances of madam *Constance*'s escape in the following manner: a *French* officer, named *St. Mari*, being arrived at the city of *Siam*, to look for materials to equip the ships which were to transport the garrison of *Bankok* to *Pondicherri*, having had an opportunity of seeing that lady, made a tender to her of his services, with his purse. This civility encouraged her to propose the design of making her escape with him; which motion, being a man of gallantry, he embraced. The third of *October* in the evening, the time fixed for their departure, *St. Mari* repaired to her door well armed, as he was resolved to run all risks to bring her off. Things succeeded beyond expectation; the lady, with her son and one chamber-maid, following the officer, got safely on board the balon which waited for them, and next day they arrived at *Bankok* [i]. To return to the general's relation:

arrives at Bankok.

THE new king, fearing that if she got out of the kingdom, she would be mistress of the riches which her husband had conveyed abroad, sent the *French* word, that unless they delivered her up, he would not come to any accommodation with them. This proved a most unlucky event; for the sails, cables, anchors, and other things, without which they could not depart, were still in the hands of the *Siameses*; and the general saw he should have all the difficulty in the world to get them restored. Although he was extremely uneasy upon this new affair, which happened without his knowlege, yet he was of opinion, that he ought not to surrender her, without at least providing for her safety. He tried to obtain leave for her to go out of the country: but the king would not hear of it, and hostilities began to break out with more fury than ever. They had already at the city of *Siam* the Sieur *Veret*, chief of the *French* factory, whom the general had sent to finish their affairs, with all the missionaries, and one Jesuit, who still remained there. In short, they threatened the relations of the widow-lady with the most cruel punishments; so that her mother wrote to *Des Farges*, intreating him to accommodate the affair. This he did by a treaty, in which the king of *Siam* himself promised to allow the lady *Constance* liberty of conscience, with that of marrying whom she pleased; and that he would not permit any violence to be done either to

Delivered up again

[h] DES FARGES, ubi supra.

[i] P. D'ORLEANS hist. of M. Constance.

her

her or any of her family: on which conditions he sent her back [k]. 26. *King Pitrachas to the usurper.*

P. *D'Orleans* relates, that all the *French* officers of the garrison of *Bankok* were extremely pleased at the arrival of lady *Constance*, and were determined to protect her; but the general, to their great surprize, did not approve of it. A council of war was twice called upon the occasion by his orders, to deliberate on the affair; in which he endeavoured to prove, that it was for the interest both of religion (I) and the nation itself, that she should be sent back: but, says our author, he could not bring any into his opinion excepting his two sons. However, he was inflexible; yet, that things might be done with the less violence, he endeavoured to induce the unfortunate lady herself to submit to his reasons. As this attempt proved in vain, on the 19th of *October* (sixteen days after her arrival), she was confined in the prison. She submitted to this force, after protesting against the violence which was offered her under the protection of the king of *France*; and thanking the officers for the good-will which they had testified in her behalf. She was from thence delivered into the hands of an old Mandarin, one of the ambassadors who had been in *France*, and was conducted by water to *Siam*; where her last lot was to be sent down to serve in the kitchens of the palace [k]. *Kæmpfer* informs us, that in the year 1690, lady *Faulkon* and her young son went begging about the streets, none daring to intercede for them [l]. But afterwards she recovered somewhat of her former condition; for in 1719 she was honoured with the superintendency of the king's confectionary. She was born in *Siam* of honourable parents; and at that time respected both in court and city, for her prudence and humanity both to natives and strangers, whom she was ready to relieve when they fell into difficulties, or under the oppression of the men in power [m]. To return to the *French* at *Bankok*. *Her future condition.*

[i] Des Farges, ibid. [k] Orleans hist. Mr. Constance, &c. [l] Kæmpf. p. 21. [m] Hamilt. new account of the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 175.

(I) According to the *full and true relation*, Mr. *Des Farges*, before he left *Bankok*, was prevailed on by the Jesuits to deliver her up to *Pitrachas*, upon this suggestion, that, being a christian, and extremely beloved by the usurper's son, she might marry him, and contribute her endeavours to make a convert of her husband (2).

(2) *P.* 18.

26. *King Pitrachas.*

AT length their negotiations, which had been ſo often interrupted and renewed, were terminated by a capitulation; whereby the *Siameſes* engaged themſelves to give the *French* three veſſels, with proviſions and all other neceſſaries, beſides two great Mandarins in hoſtage, to conduct them out of the kingdom (K). It was farther ſtipulated on the part of the *French*, that they ſhould leave the works of the fortreſs entire, and that they ſhould march out with their arms and baggage; which they did on the firſt (L) of *November* [n].

The French depart Siam.

As they always apprehended ſome treachery on the part of the *Siameſes*, they were continually on their guard. However, thoſe people diſcovered no ſigns of intending to attempt any thing againſt them: but, on their arrival at the road, they refuſed to deliver them ſome tackle and pieces of cannon, which had been left on the ſhoals near their forts. By way of repriſal, the *French* thought fit to detain their Mandarins, who were reſponſible for their baggage.

Siameſe works

IT is almoſt incredible how many works the *Siameſes* were obliged to make during the ſiege. Beſides the cavalier, which, in ſpite of the fire from the *French* artillery, they had raiſed againſt them in the weſtern forts, of which they were maſters, they had ſurrounded the fortreſs at a ſmall cannon-ſhot diſtance with paliſades, and afterwards with nine forts, from whence they battered it on all ſides. From *Bankok* to the mouth of the *Menam*, the banks were defended by ſeveral other little forts, built with deſign to hinder ſuccours coming to the *French* from without. On theſe forts were mounted more than 140 pieces of battering cannon, which had been brought from the capital by an arm of the river opened for the purpoſe, to avoid paſſing in ſight of the *French*. They had likewiſe, by immenſe labour, ſecured the entrance of the bar with five or ſix ranges of thick trees, fixed extremely firm in the ground at low water, leaving only

to block up the French.

[n] DES FARGES, ubi ſupra.

(K) According to the *full and true relation*, the peace was concluded and ſigned on both ſides on the 30th of *September*, on the following conditions:

1. *That the* French *ſhould ſurrender the fort of* Bankok.

2. *That all the* French *ſhould have leave to depart the kingdom.*

3. *That they ſhould have two frigates belonging to the* French *company; a ſhip of the* French *king's, called the* Oriflame; *and a fourth of ſeventy-four guns, on which the king of* Siam *was to embark them, and tranſport them out of his dominions.*

(L) According to P. *D'Orleans*, they ſet ſail the 29th of *November*, and arrived at *Pondicherry* the beginning of *February* 1689.

a nar-

a narrow passage; which might easily be shut with an iron chain, and was guarded by several armed gallies. The *French* could not have believed the *Siamers* capable of so many contrivances (M): but their fury at the beginning was so great and general, that the very women, making it as it were a point of devotion, repaired in crouds with victuals for the soldiers who worked at their forts. They were besides assisted by most of the foreigners who were in the country: they had *English* and *Portuguese* to command their ships at the entrance of the river, and *Dutch* to play off their bombs; while the *French* were blocked up not only by an army of the *Siamese*, but also by the *Peguers*, *Malayans*, *Chinese*, *Mohammedans*, and others, who had their respective forts, where they were intrenched [o].

26. *King* Pitrachas.

It had indeed been easy for the *French* to have hindered the building of these forts if they had been sufficiently furnished with powder: but their general *Des Farges* chose rather to husband it and gain time, than put it out of his power in seven or eight days to repulse the enemy, in case they should make an attack: and the event, says our author, has made it appear, that no other course could have been taken, considering the circumstances they were in. On one hand, it was very uncertain whether the propofals of the *Siamese* were sincere; but, on the other hand, it was most certain, that all had been lost if he had not hearkened to them. This made him often say to most of his officers, who breathed nothing but fire and flame, that they should always have an opportunity to make the push of despair; but that time might produce that lucky turn, which they durst not hope for from all their too precipitate efforts. *Des Farges* gave the enemy sufficiently to understand by letters, that if they did not act sincerely, and grant him his demands, he would first blow up their fortress, burst all their cannon which were at his dispofal, and then would fall upon them with his whole garrison; only desiring of them, in such case, the favour not to give any quarter to a *Frenchman*, as he was resolved to deal the same way with every *Siamese* who fell into his hands. The event convinced him, that one need never despair of getting out of a scrape with time, which may produce alterations.

Des Farges's *defence of his conduct.*

[o] Des Farges, ibid.

(M) This shews how little *Europeans* know of foreign nations, or are curious to enquire into the state of arts and sciences with them; which are far from being so contemptible, as by superficial travellers, to conceal their own ignorance or want of curiosity, they are represented to be.

26. *King Pitrachas.* tions. That which happened on the death of the princes, began to put the affairs of the *French* in a better situation than they were before. The resolution, which they made the *Siamese* sensible they had all put on, and of which *St. Crik* had given them proofs, served also not a little to intimidate them: but, after all, *Des Farges*, like a true *Frenchman*, was ready to acknowlege, that the fear of vengeance from his grand monarch, contributed more than every thing else to the advantageous conditions, which the *Siamese* had been constrained to grant the *French*, after they had been exposed for five months to the most rigorous treatment [p].

THIS is the account of the revolution of *Siam* in 1688, and the conduct of the *French* on that occasion, as given by general *Des Farges*, who must certainly have had opportunities of knowing whatever past of moment; and, in all appearance, has been sincere, though not particular enough, in his relation of facts, notwithstanding the reflections passed on him by some of his own countrymen as well as others; of which, however, it will be proper to inform our readers.

Accused by others IT hath been already intimated, that the *French*, according to P. *D'Orleans*, loaded *Des Farges* with reproaches on several accounts: 1. For not advancing to *Louvo* to support Mr. *Constance*. 2. For delivering up Lady *Constance*, who had fled to the banners of *France* for protection. 3. For surrendering up *Bankok*, which, they say, he might easily have defended against all the forces of the king of *Siam*; and therefore go so far as to tax him with cowardice, and even with crimes of a blacker die, breach of trust and robbery.

of heinous offences. WE are told that Mr. *Constance* entrusted the general *Des Farges* with immense riches; and that it was the desire of converting them to his own use, which was the true cause of the revolution which happened in *Siam*. To this our author imputes the loss of *Siam*, and the death of the king, as well of Mr. *Constance*, and others; with the delivering up of Lady *Constance*, and her only son, to *Pitrachas*; lest, if they should pass over to *France*, the vulturs would be obliged to quit their prey. To the same cause he ascribes the persecution which the Christians underwent; and, in short, suggests, that, but for the father's avarice, the son would have been king of *Siam*: for he affirms that the princess, heiress to the crown, had given her hand to marry the young Marquis *Des Farges*, who was forced to abandon her. But, for this our author seems to have had no other authority than that of the general's sons, who boasted at *Martinico*, that their father

[p] DES FARGES, ibid.

had

had deprived the Marquis of the throne of *Siam*, and the Chevalier of the post of generalissimo [q]. 26. *King* Pitrachas.

HAVING thus given an account in what manner the *French* forces, which were at *Bankok*, quitted that fortress and the kingdom of *Siam*; let us next see what became of those which were posted at *Merghi*, under the command of lieutenant-general *Bruan* (N). This officer signalized himself on several extraordinary occasions. He took possession of the place in *March* 1688, with all the satisfaction which he could wish. The *Siameses* furnished him with plenty of victuals, tools, and workmen, for building a fort. He had already pretty much advanced the fabric, when he found the workmen gradually to desert him; and that the Mandarins of the province had not the same regard for him as before. He had a dispute with the governor of *Tenasserim*, which increased his diffidence. The *Siameses* had raised a little fort at *Mergui*, commanded by an eminence, which was also fortified; and as the guard of both posts was too much for a garrison of 120 men (O), the court ordered the lower fort to be demolished as soon as the upper was in a condition of defence. When Mr. *Bruan* went to execute that commission, the Mandarin opposed it; and the courier, whom he sent with a complaint to the minister (Mr. *Constance*), was arrested on the road. At the same time, having received advice from other quarters, that bad designs were forming against the *French*, he caused a small *English* vessel, with a frigate (P) belonging to the king of *Siam*, to be rigged, and brought under shelter of the fort. In this interval he received the letter which *Pitrachas* obliged *Des Farges* to write to him, with orders to evacuate the place: but the extraordinary stile of that letter, which, besides, was not signed, was sufficient to hinder this able officer from obeying them.

The French *fortify* Merghi.

The Siameses *refractory.*

THIS refusal was the signal for war, which immediately began by the siege of that place. The enemy, having been *Hostilities commence.*

[q] DE CHALLES journ. d'un. voy. aux Ind. Orient.

(N) So *Des Farges* names him; P. *D'Orleans* calls him *Bruant*; and his name is spelled *Bruhan*, in a letter of one of his officers, inserted at the end of the *full and true relation*, so often cited in this history of the revolution.

(O) According to the *full and true relation*, he had with him only fifty-two soldiers, three captains, three lieutenants, and as many ensigns, in all, to guard a large fortress, open on all sides. The forces seem to have been divided between the greater and the lesser fort, from what is mentioned hereafter.

(P) It carried twenty-six guns, according to the *full and true relation*.

often

26. *King* Pitrachas.

often repulſed, gave over their approaches to raiſe a battery upon a temple near the fort, which from thence they battered at firſt with pretty good ſucceſs: but the *French*, having built another againſt it, that of the beſiegers was ſoon diſmounted. They likewiſe killed their chief gunner, who was a *Portugueſe*, and threw them into ſuch diſorder that they had no hopes of becoming maſters of it but by famine, which proved their friend. However, they would not ſo ſoon have had their wiſhes gratified, if the well of the fortreſs had not of a ſudden gone dry; ſo that, water failing, the garriſon thought fit to retire (Q). This they did in ſuch good order, on the 24th of *June*, that the *Siameſes*, believing they were going to attack them, fled as faſt as they could, and left the *French* a free paſſage to the ſea. They might have embarked without any misfortune, had not ſome ſoldiers, who marched laſt, ſlipped, through the ſteepneſs and ſlipperineſs of the glacis, and ſtumbled on thoſe who were before them; which ſtruck them with ſuch a panic, that it made them break their ranks, and run in diſorder towards the veſſels.

The French *retreat.*

Purſued by the Siameſes.

THE *Siameſes*, perceiving the *French* in this confuſion, came pouring upon them in great numbers, and ſlew ſome ſoldiers; others were drowned; and, among them, one captain *Hilton*, with part of his company. *Du Bruan*, and his officers, who had bravely ſuſtained the efforts of the enemy while their men were embarking, entered laſt into the veſſels; and, after receiving ſome ſhot of cannon from the fort which they had abandoned, ſet ſail in ſpite of the *Siameſe* gallies which came out of the port to follow, but durſt not approach them[r]; and thus they eſcaped the hands of the *Siamers* (R).

[r] P. D'ORLEANS, ubi ſupr.

(Q) After they had been cloſely beſieged for ſeventeen days together, by an army of 12,000 *Siameſes*, who often attacked the place, but were as often repulſed. *Full and true relation*, p. 16, & ſeqq.

(R) But they had not ſuch good luck at ſea: for, beſides meeting with violent ſtorms, on the coaſt of *Martaban*, *Eſpagnac* the Jeſuit, and Mr. *Beauregard* (who was governor of *Bankok* after *Forbin*), going aſhore for proviſions, were made ſlaves of. They were afterwards driven on a deſart iſland, and reduced to the utmoſt extremity at the end of *September*, when a *French* ſhip put in there and took them in. Bad weather forced them into the river of *Arrakan*, where one *De Du* was prime miniſter, and relieved them; but in *Balaſſor* road, meeting with fourteen *Engliſh* ſhips, they were ſeized as ſhips of *Siam*, with whom the *Engliſh* ſaid they were at war. From thence they were carried to *Madras*, and got to *Pondicherry* the 15th of *January* 1689.

NEXT day, the 25th of *June*, a *French* officer, who commanded a company of fifty *Siamese* soldiers, being upon duty in the little fort of *Mergui* (S), he was seized by his own men; and for four days fastened to a stake, with chains about his body as well as hands and feet. On the 29th he was carried to view the *French* who were killed during *De Bruan*'s vigorous defence and retreat. There were about thirteen dead bodies on the place; and when he had made his report to the Mandarins who commanded the besiegers, they ordered him to be tortured, to force him to declare, "That *De* "*Bruan* was sent to *Mergui*, unknown to the king of *Siam*, "solely by Mr. *Constance*'s order, to make himself master of "the country; and that *De Bruan* expected several ships "from *France*, with men, arms, and ammunition, to enable "him to carry that design more effectually into execution." He suffered the torture for four hours together. 26. *King Pitrachas.* French *officer seized.*

THE 7th of *July* they sent him for *Siam*, in company with one *Picquard* (T), a soldier, who was made a prisoner on the day of *De Bruan*'s retreat; and although both were chained, yet above threescore soldiers were ordered to escort them. The 17th he arrived at the capital *Siam*, and two days after he was conducted to *Louvo*. He was led without stopping to the great hall, where the *Barkalon* (U) sitting with the Mandarins about him, ordered him to be examined strictly with relation to *De Bruan*[s]. *Sent up to* Siam:

NEXT morning a missionary, discovering the place where he was confined, told him, that the bishop of *Metellopolis* was gone to *Bankok*, by order of *Okpra Pitrachas*, to negotiate a peace with general *Des Farges* (X); and that they were in daily expectation of hearing it was concluded. This news gave him the first hopes he had of life since he fell into their hands. The 25th of *July* the bishop returned to *Louvo*, with full power from Mr. *Des Farges* to treat of peace; and from that time *Okpra Pitrachas* began to desist from his cruel treatment of the *French*, and other *Europeans* then in his power. *Thence to* Bankok:

[s] See full and true relat. p. 21.

(S) It is called *Morgen* in the original; which is a letter containing the journal of the *French* officer himself, mentioned in a former note N. we find the several particulars of moment; and by it the dates of several facts are supplied as well as rectified.

(T) This probably was the *Frenchman* mentioned in the relation of *Des Farges*, by whom he was informed of what passed at *Merghi*.

(U) By the *Barkalon* probably must be meant *Pitrachas*.

(X) It is much *Des Farges* mentions nothing of this.

THE

26. *King* Pitrachas.

THE new king, the day after his coronation (which was the 1ſt or 2d of *Auguſt*), ordered all the *French* and *Engliſh* who were in *Louvo* and the capital to be ſet at liberty. The 3d of *Auguſt* our author came from *Louvo* to *Siam*, with four other officers, as before-mentioned, who on the 9th were all ſent to *Bankok* to the *Malay* general; but preparatory to the peace, which was concluded on the 30th of *September*, were put into the hands of Mr. *Des Farges*.

And back to Merghi.

TWO days after the peace, the general ſent our author from *Bankok* to *Merghi*, to ſee what was become of Mr. *De Bruan*, and acquaint him with the ſame (Y). He was accompanied by a Mandarin, who, by the king's order, was to provide him with all kinds of neceſſaries during the journey. The 12th of *October* he arrived at *Merghi*, and not finding *De Bruan* there, on the 1ſt of *November* he embarked on a ſmall frigate of the king of *Siam*, and went upon the rivers *Tavay*, *Martavan*, and *Sorian* (or *Sirian*), belonging to *Pegu*, in queſt of him. As he could not hear of him in any of theſe places, he was obliged to paſs by the iſlands of *Rey*, and go on ſhore at *Seroide*; where by ſome pieces of the *French* ſoldiers cloaths, and other marks, which ſeemed to be left on purpoſe, he perceived they had touched there. On the 12th of *November* he returned to *Merghi*, where finding the ſhip *Le Coque*, belonging to the *French India* company, he embarked two days after for *Pondicherri*, where Mr. *Des Farges* had ordered him to wait his coming [u].

The French *leave* Pondicherri.

THAT general arrived the beginning of the year 1689 (Z), with all the *French*, as well ſecular and military, as eccleſiaſtics, on board the four ſhips, with which he ſet out from *Siam*. On the way he put into the port of *Balaſſor*, and there, by advice, as it is ſaid, of the Jeſuits, ſet the two Mandarins on ſhore. This is one of the things for which he is cenſured by his countrymen; who thought *Merghi* a much properer port, not only as it belonged to *Siam*, whither thoſe officers were to return, but as they expected he would in revenge have plundered the *Siameſe* temples, and ſtripped the images of their golden caſes (A).

THE

[u] Full and true relat.

(Y) This we are told was neceſſary; as *Pitrachas* had publiſhed a declaration forbidding any *French* to ſtay in the kingdom, or *Europeans* to harbour them, on pain of death. *Full and true relation*, p. 17, & 21.

(Z) P. *D'Orleans* ſays the 15th of *January* 1689.

(A) They would not have liked that their own ſhould have been ſerved ſo, though they no leſs deſerve it as idols, and objects of idolatry. But what with them

THE *French* being now all met at *Pondicherri*, ſent two ſhips to *Europe* to inform the king of the ſtate of their affairs: and then, full of reſentment for the miſeries received from the *Siameſes*, reſolved to ſubdue the iſland of *Jonſalam*, on the coaſt to the ſouth of *Merghi*. But in this alſo *Des Farges* diſappointed them; for he departed for *Europe* not long after, without making any attempt on that iſland before he went. He ſet ſail in the *Oriflame* with his two ſons and four Jeſuits, carrying with him the immenſe riches which Mr. *Conſtance* had truſted in his hands; and which, according to our author, were to be divided between him and thoſe eccleſiaſtics. 26. *King* Pitrachas.

MR. *Des Farges* died in the voyage a little on this ſide the *Cape of Good Hope*; from whence the *Oriflame* ſteered her courſe for *Martinico* in the *Weſt Indies*, whither ſhe arrived about two months after. The general's two ſons no ſooner landed than they made acquaintance. They were both in the flower of their age, well-ſhaped, full of vivacity, and profuſe in their expences. During the two months which they ſtaid there, they ſpent no leſs than 50,000 crowns each in balls, feaſts, and other gallantries. About the end of *March* 1690. they left the iſland in the *Oriflame*, which, in quitting the *Antilles*, met with an *Engliſh* ſhip. The veſſels attacked each other, and boarding both ſunk to the bottom, in ſight of the *Caribbees*. In the *Oriflame* periſhed, beſides the marquis and the chevalier *Des Farges* (who, we are told, were as brave as their father was otherwiſe), the four Jeſuits, with their riches and their writings. Thus ended the long and expenſive expeditions of the *French* to *Siam*, with all their ſanguine hopes of either getting footing in the kingdom, or converting the king and the natives. In theſe expectations they were the dupes of lord *Faulkon* or *Conſtance*; who, being a foreigner himſelf, ſeems to have had nothing more in view than to provide for his own ſecurity, by the aſſiſtance of foreigners againſt the *Siameſes*, whom he knew to be his enemies [x]. Des Farges *dies at ſea.*

HOWEVER, while theſe things were tranſacting in the *Indies*, P. *Tachard* was very buſy in *France*, ſolliciting new troops to be ſent to *Siam*, in conſequence of the ſecret treaty concluded with Mr. *Conſtance*. But it may be preſumed, that the account given by his two ambaſſadors and Count *Forbin*, P. Tachard *ſollicits troops.*

[x] DE CHALLES voy. ubi ſupr.

them would be ſacrilege in one caſe, would be virtue in the other: ſo much often does the reaſon of man differ from reaſon itſelf, or the reaſon of things.

26. *King* Pitrachas.

made *Louis* XIV. perceive that he had ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed on too much already by the intrigues of that Jeſuit, to give ear any more to his remonſtrances. The news brought afterwards by the two ſhips ſent from *Pondicherri* (B), no doubt completed the ruin of his project with the king. Notwithſtanding *Tachard* did not change his reſolution; but in *March* 1690 embarked with three *Siameſe* Mandarins, who had received baptiſm in *France*, on board a ſquadron of ſix ſhips, all equipped half for war and half for merchandize, on account of the *Eaſt India* company, under the command of Mr. *De Queſne*.

Meets with a repulſe

P. *D'ORLEANS*, from whom we have this intelligence, ſeems to ſpeak as if *Tachard* had ſucceeded in his ſuit, and had actually ſet out with more ſhips and ſoldiers for *Siam*. But nothing like this was the caſe. That Jeſuit arrived with the fleet at *Pondicherri*, at which place terminated all his grand projects, which the revolution in *Siam* had brought to nothing: for he ſaw he had no buſineſs to proceed to that kingdom, where he ſhould never be acknowleged as ambaſſador from the king of *Siam* by the enemy of Mr. *Conſtance*, who then ſat upon the throne. As to the court of *France*, it was in vain for him to look on that ſide, after being the means of drawing the nation into a vaſt expence, by two fruitleſs expeditions, undertaken almoſt ſolely on the credit of his report. In ſhort, we are told, that when he ſollicited *Louis* XIV. to ſend ſhips once more to re-eſtabliſh by force the miſſion of *Siam*. The king, who received him not at all favourably, with an air which ſhewed a diſlike to his propoſal, ſaid, "You have made voyages for a long time, and laboured much; you would do well to reſt yourſelf." Our author adds, that his ſuperior had notice from the king to ſend him at a diſtance; and, in effect, the report ran, that he was baniſhed as it were to *Pondicherri*[a].

from the king.

[a] P. Thomas let. apologetique.

(B) Theſe were *La Maligne* and *Le Coche*; they were taken by the *Dutch* at the *Cape of good Hope*. There were unluckily aboard them four Jeſuits, who, wanting to make ſome aſtronomical obſervations, by intreaties and threats prevailed on the two commanders to put in there. Theſe were rich prizes: M. *D'Armagnan*, going to blow up the *Coche*, of which he was captain, was killed by the gunner; and the gunner, delivered up by the *Dutch*, was hanged by the *French* for ſaving their lives. Theſe particulars *De Challes* had from the armourer of the *Coche*. And P. *D'Orleans* informs us, that thoſe ſhips being carried to *Zeland*, he compoſed his relation from the letters and accounts brought by the priſoners.

We

WE have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of this remarkable revolution, both to give our readers a sketch of *Siamese* politics, and enable him to form a judgment of the conduct of the *French* in the part they acted therein, as it is differently represented by authors even of their own nation. Two things at least may be observed from the premises: one, how ready the *French* are to catch at every occasion of extending their power or commerce; the other, that they are as easily to be made dupes of as other nations, whom they laugh at for being made dupes of by themselves. It only remains, before we proceed to other particulars, to give some account of the state of the *Romish* mission and the missioners, both before and after the said revolution. 26. *King* Pitrachas. *The author's apology.*

COUNT *Forbin*, on his return to *France*, being introduced to the king, who was inquisitive to know how matters stood in *Siam*; his majesty asked, if the king of that country had really any thoughts of embracing christianity? *Forbin* answered, that he never had such a thought; and that no mortal would be bold enough to make such a proposal to him. It is true, continued the count, that Mr. *Chaumont* in his first audience spoke much about religion; but Mr. *Constance*, who served as interpreter, dexterously omitted that article. The apostolic vicar, who was present and understood the *Siamese* language perfectly well, took great notice of this, although he durst not say any thing of it, for fear of incurring the resentment of that minister, who would never have forgiven him, had he once opened his mouth: That in the private audiences which the ambassador had during his stay, he never failed to introduce the affair of religion; but Mr. *Constance*, always the interpreter, acted two parts on the occasion, telling the king of *Siam* that which pleased him, and returning as an answer to Mr. *Chaumont* what he thought convenient; so that in effect both were imposed on by the artful minister, and nothing concluded on. Our author added, that he had the above account from the bishop of *Metellopolis*, who always assisted at those private conferences, and told it him as a great secret. *Louis* XIV. surprised at this discourse, which he listened to with much attention, said to Count *Forbin* laughing, *princes are very unhappy in being obliged to have recourse to interpreters, who are often insincere*[b]. *King of* Siam's *conversion* *all a farce.*

THE king enquired afterwards if the missionaries reaped the fruit of their labours, and had already converted abun-

[b] FORBIN's memoirs.

26. *King* Pitrachas.

dance of *Siameſes*. Not a ſingle ſoul, replied Count *Forbin*; but as far the greater part of the people is made up of different nations, and there are among the *Siameſes* a conſiderable number of *Portugueſes*, *Kochinchineſes*, and *Japanois*, who are chriſtians, the miſſionaries took care of, and adminiſtered the ſacraments to them: that they went from one village to another, and got admittance into houſes by practiſing phyſic and diſtributing little remedies; but that, after all, their induſtry thitherto had been quite thrown away: That their chief ſucceſs conſiſted in baptizing infants, whom the *Siameſes*, who are very poor, make no ſcruple to expoſe in the open fields; and that to this ſingle article was to be aſcribed all the fruit which the miſſions had produced in that country.

No converts made

by the Jeſuits.

In diſcourſe with P. *La Chaiſe*, the king's confeſſor, who ſpoke of the king of *Siam*'s being deſirous to retain the Jeſuits in his dominions, by building them a college and an obſervatory; Count *Forbin* ſaid thereupon, that Mr. *Conſtance*, ſtanding in need of the protection of *France*, had promiſed more than he could perform: that the college and obſervatory would perhaps be built during the life of the king of *Siam*, and the Jeſuits for ſo long maintained there; but that, in caſe the king died, *France* muſt be obliged to provide funds for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe fathers, there being but little probability that a new king would apply any of his revenues to that purpoſe.

Anecdote about Tachard.

P. *La Chaiſe* obſerving to him, that *he did* not agree with P. *Tachard*, the Count anſwered, that he neither knew what P. *Tachard* had ſaid, nor the motives which induced him to ſpeak; but that his friendſhip for Mr. *Conſtance*, who had his reaſons to ſeduce him, might well have blinded him, and afterwards rendered him ſuſpected: That during the ſhort ſtay which he made in *Siam* with Mr. *Chaumont*, he had wholly engroſſed the confidence of the miniſter, to whom, on certain occaſions, he ſerved as *French* ſecretary; and that he had ſeen briefs, written by that ſame Jeſuit, and ſigned, *By my lord*; and lower down, *Tachard*. At this word *La Chaiſe*, for all his accuſtomed gravity, could not forbear laughing [c].

This unfavourable account given of the miſſion of *Siam* before the revolution, receives no melioration from the account we meet with after it. *Des Challes*, clerk to one of the ſhips which in 1690 went to *Pondicherri*, where he learned all the circumſtances of the late revolution, informs us (C), that the

[c] Forbin, ubi ſupra.

(C) In his account of the voyage, under the title of, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, &c. without the author's name, in three volumes 12mo. *Rouen* 1721.

Chriſtians

Christians were always persecuted there; and the missioners, in particular, every day exposed to the most cruel torments. He adds, that the only persons who were spared were the Jesuits, who had played their cards with so much policy, that, far from meeting with any vexation, money was given to them by the new king to leave the country. 26. *King* Pitrachas.

General *Martin*, governor of *Pondicherri*, in a discourse which he had with our author, censured their conduct very severely. He observed, that if it was true that they suffered no cruel treatment like other Christians, and received rich presents from the usurper, it was also as true, that neither the *French* officers nor soldiers, though reduced to the last extremity, received the least succour from them; who chose rather to let them die for want, as most of them did, rather than relieve them. *Jesuits inhumanity.*

That all their converts, not excepting one, renounced their religion as soon as ever the persecution commenced; which shewed how ill they had been instructed: that Mr. *Des Farges*, his sons, and all the officers, had affirmed those things at his table; and that none of the *Siamese* had stood firm but the proselytes of the missionaries (D), who secretly retained christianity: that what the Jesuits understood best was the science of the world and of commerce, whereof they had extracted the quintessence as it were by the alembic, and knew how to turn it to profit. *Their converts relapse.*

The general laid to their charge the setting ashore the two Mandarins at *Ballasor* [d]; they ought, said he, to have brought them to *Pondicherri*; but they rather chose that the *Dutch* (who with the *English* transport their merchandizes to *Europe*), should be thought more their friends, as well as more capable to serve and protect them, than the *French*. That thus they would complete the ruin of the *French* reputation, to which the desertion of Madam *Constance* and her son; the infamous and cowardly rendition of *Bankok* (E); the being forced out of *Merghi* and the kingdom of *Siam*, after the tragic death of the king, and that of Mr. *Constance*, whom only the *French* *Dishonour* France.

[d] See before, p. 384.

(D) A distinction is made between the Jesuits and the missionaries; by which last term are denoted the regulars of other orders.

(E) Mr. *Des Challes* is of the same sentiments. He says general *Des Farges* was in a condition to have defended *Bankok* against all the forces of *Pitrachas*. But to assert things is not to prove them; nor has any body undertaken to refute those which *Des Farges* has advanced.

26. *King* Pitrachas.

could have saved (F), have already given a terrible shock: that the missionaries, with Pere *Tachard* (G), and other Jesuits, remained at *Pondicherri*; but he knew not any business they had there: that they behaved with so much complaisance one to another, that any one would take them for the best friends in the world if he did not know them; but that possibly at the same time they were contriving how to give one another pain in *Europe*, where he heartily wished they had staid [e].

State of the mission.

This character, given by general *Martin*, of the hatred which reigns between the Jesuits and other orders in the *Romish* church, is too well known to be doubted: but whether there be that difference which he mentions between the converts of one party and the other, or those of the Capuchins be better instructed and more stanch than the converts of the *Ignatians*, we will not pretend to determine; as the authors who since then have given an account of the *Siam* mission, do not make any distinction on the occasion. According to Captain *Hamilton*, it was in a very low state in 1720. He observes, that the *French* had a bishop then with a church, and a seminary for the education of converts, which stood a little above the city of *Siam*, on the opposite side of the river; but that they made very few proselytes except when corn was dear, at which time some of the poorer sort admitted baptism, which intitles them to a maintenance from the church; but when plenty comes they throw away their beads and brazen saint, and bid adieu to christianity. In the above-mentioned year, the Christians in and about *Siam* did not exceed seventy, and they the most dissolute, lazy, thievish rascals, says our author, to be found in the whole country [f]. A great credit to the popish mission!

Remarks on Siam.

We have now finished our account of this remarkable revolution, with its causes and its consequences: which, besides its use as a very curious piece of history, helps to fill up the reign of the prince who brought it about. And as we are possessed of very few other materials relating to it, we shall subjoin some farther remarks on the kingdom of *Siam*, made

[e] De Challes, ubi supra. E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 165.

[f] Hamilt. new account of

(F) This censure is too severe; since it does not appear thas it was in the power of the *French* to have saved any of them.

(G) P. *Thomas*, superior of the Capuchin missionaries, says expressly, in his *Lettre Apologetique*, that the Jesuits contributed not a little to the ruin of the mission of *Siam*. It is true, the Capuchins are their enemies.

by

by Count *Forbin*, who was not only more sincere than the generality of those who have published relations of *Siam*, but had much better opportunities of coming to the knowlege of the matters he treats of; qualifications fit to render every thing acceptable which proceeds from the pen of such a person. 26. *King* Pitrachas.

In discourse one day with Mr. *Ceberet* the *French* ambassador, who had travelled by land from *Louvo* to the port of *Merghi*, where he went on board the same ship (H), Mr. *Forbin* told him, that what he had seen was yet the most beautiful part of it: that the whole kingdom, though very large, was scarce any thing but a vast desert: that in advancing into the country, one meets with nothing but forests and wild beasts: that all the inhabitants dwell on the sides of the river, because the lands, which it overflows for six months of the year, produce, almost without culture, great plenty of rice, in which the whole riches of the kingdom consist; so that in ascending the river from the bar to *Louvo*, you see every thing which may deserve attention in the whole kingdom, with respect to either the people, their cities, or the products of the earth. *The country a desert.*

In answer to the question proposed to him by *Louis* XIV. Whether *Siam* was a rich kingdom? He made answer, that it neither produced nor consumed any thing. To explain this paradox, he added, that as no person has any property in lands, the greater part of the country lies waste; and the people are so very abstemious, as well as so very poor, that he who can earn fifteen or twenty franks a year, has more than is necessary for him to live upon: that the only food of the inhabitants is rice and fruits, which they have in abundance; for they dare not touch any thing which ever had life, for fear of eating their relations. *The people miserably poor.*

That there was among them neither nobility nor condition, being all born slaves to the king; for whom they are obliged to work one part of the year, unless he dispenses with it by raising them to the dignity of Mandarins: that this dignity, which raises them from the dust, does not screen them from the displeasure of the prince, which they incur with a great deal of ease, and is always attended with rigorous punishments. That the *Barkalon* himself, though prime minister, was as much exposed to it as the rest, and did not support himself in that dangerous post but by crawling before his *Abject slavery.*

(H) The ship in which *Forbin* went from *Siam*, after being at *Masulipatam*, returned to *Merghi*, on the west coast of *Siam*, to take in provisions.

26. *King* Pitrachas.

master like the baseſt of the people; that if he happens to fall into diſgrace, the mildeſt treatment he can expect is, to be ſent to drive the plough, after being ſeverely chaſtiſed: that in ſhort, when a Mandarin has by his addreſs gotten a little ſum of money, he muſt conceal it very carefully, otherwiſe the king will be ſure to take it from him [g].

A Mandarin's remark.

As a proof of the difference there was between *France* and *Siam*, he relates, that the Mandarin who had been ambaſſador in *France*, and was among thoſe who attended Mr. *Ceberet* to *Merghi*, ran up to him as ſoon as he ſaw him, and told him, that he had great reaſon to deſire to return into his own country: then, having made a pompous eulogy of the court, added in bad *French*, France *is a great good*; Siam *a ſmall good*.

King's retirement.

THE *French* ambaſſador *Ceberet* being deſirous to know how the king of *Siam* governed in his palace; Mr. *Forbin* told him, he could not ſatisfy him on that head: for that they who are without, however eminent in ſtation, never enter that part of it where the king is lodged; and that thoſe who once enter never go out any more. Every thing paſſes there in profound ſecrecy: every perſon has his fixed employment, and his ſeparate apartment, from whence he is never permitted to remove. Thoſe who ſerve in one chamber are ignorant of what paſſes in the reſt. Thus all the apartments have their particular officers even to that of the king; who paſſes almoſt his whole life ſhut up, making part of his grandeur to conſiſt in being rarely ſeen. When he would ſpeak to his miniſters moſt in favour, he ſhews himſelf at a window about ſix feet from the ground, from whence he hears them ſpeak; and diſappears after he has made known his will to them in a few words.

His revenue.

WITH regard to the intereſt of the king of *France* and that of commerce, he obſerves, that the principal revenue of the king of *Siam* conſiſts in the trade, which is carried on almoſt ſolely by himſelf throughout the kingdom; where nothing is to be found excepting rice, areka, a little tin, ſome elephants which are ſold, and certain ſkins of fallow beaſts, of which the country is full: that they have no ſort of manufactures excepting ſome muſlins; of which the Mandarins only have the privilege to make a kind of waiſtcoat, which they wear on days of ceremony.

Commerce inconſiderable.

THAT the kingdom of *Siam*, which forms almoſt a peninſula, might indeed be made a very commodious ſtaple to facilitate the commerce with *China*, *Japan*, and other countries

[g] FORBIN, ubi ſupra.

of

of the *Indies*, being washed by two seas, which open a communication with many countries, as well to the east as west; whose merchandizes were imported every year to *Siam*, as to a kind of market, where the *Siamese* gained some profit by selling their provisions: but that, as it produced nothing of value, it could serve only to the use above-mentioned; and consequently the new establishment made by sending troops thither was absolutely unnecessary, that which the *French* company already had in the country being more than sufficient for the purpose. 26. *King* Pitrachas.

LASTLY, as to the fortress of *Bankok*, he said it might remain in the power of the *French* during the life of the king of *Siam*, and of Mr. *Constance*; but that, when one of the two came to die, the *Siamese*, prompted by their natural interests, and the enemies of *France*, would not fail to drive its troops from a place which rendered them masters of the kingdom [h]. The event had already verified these predictions when Count *Forbin* arrived in *France*; whither soon after his return tidings came of the strange revolution which happened at *Siam* in the course of the same year, in the manner as hath been already related. It is now time to return to *Pitrachas*: *The* French *duped.*

THIS usurper was scarce seated on the throne, when he was in danger of being thrown out again by a priest of *Pegu*. This *Talapoy* had been formerly taken into custody at the capital for some misdemeanour, and during his confinement became so well acquainted with the affairs of the court, that he gave himself out to be the elder of the late king's brothers, who had been put to death by *Pitrachas*, as before related. This impostor gained so much credit in all parts of the country among the common people, that in a short time he drew together about ten thousand men; when being informed that the king's son (*Sourakak*), intended to be on a day appointed at a certain place, in order to divert himself with his whole court, he went thither with his followers, and hid himself in a neighbouring wood; purposing, as soon as the prince and his retinue were arrived, to put them all to the sword, then to surprize the city, and treat the king and his adherents in the same manner. The prince, who knew nothing of this plot, when the day came, set forwards towards the place: but perceiving such a multitude of people as he drew near, suspected some ill design, and fled back to the capital, leaving part of his treasure behind him. *Pitrachas*, on this alarm, with great speed assembled an army of *A pretender starts up.* A. D. 1689.

[h] FORBIN, ubi supra.

12,000

26. *King* Pitrachas. *Taken and punished.* 12,000 men, and sent them to meet the pretender, who was marching with his forces towards the city. This unexpected opposition threw the undisciplined rabble into such a consternation that they immediately dispersed; flying with so much precipitation that, for all they were diligently pursued by the king's forces, not above 100 of them were killed and 300 taken, the soles of whose feet were burned, to prevent their escape. A few days after, the priest himself was found in the wood, sleeping under a tree, with only a boy along with him, and was carried to *Siyuthia*. There he was exposed to public view for several days, chained about the neck and breast to a post; after which his belly was ripped open, and his bowels being taken out while yet alive, were thrown to dogs to be devoured before his face [i].

Pitrachas's *successors.* We are strangers to the subsequent transactions of this king's reign, and even to the time of his death. But according to the account we have of his two immediate successors, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his usurpation. We are told he was succeeded by his son, by whom we understand *Sourakak* before-mentioned; and that he married his father's widow, though against her will: that he died in 1708, and left the throne to his son *Chaw*, who would have married the same lady, but that she absolutely refused to comply with his inclinations; and the better to avoid his importunities, retired into a convent, where she died in 1715 [k]. We meet with nothing in the authors before us, relating either to this prince or his successors, excepting that in 1717 the king of *Siam* invaded *Kamboja*, with an army of 50,000 men by land, and 20,000 by sea; but was obliged to retire, after losing half his forces, for want of provisions [l].

CHAP. XIII.

The Kingdom of Kamboja.

SECT. I.

Description of the Country.

Authors. KAMBOJA is a country very little known to *Europeans*; for although both the *Dutch* and *English* have had opportunities of viewing it from one end to the other, by means of the river, which they have ascended, and along

[i] KÆMPFER, p. 24. [k] Sovr. du monde, vol. iv. p. 132.
[l] HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 181. 196.

whose

whose banks the lands principally inhabited lie, yet very few have regarded the improvement of geography, or the curiosity of their countrymen sufficiently, to give any tolerable account of it. The chief, or indeed the only authors, who may be said to have treated of it in any degree expressly, are *Gaspar da Cruz*, a *Portuguese* Dominican frier, who went thither on the mission about the year 1559; *Argensola*, in his history of the *Philippine* islands, which he wrote about 1592; *Henry Hagenaar*, who went to *India* in 1631, and was sent from *Batavia*, as ambassador to the king of *Kamboja*, in 1637; the embassy of *Gerard van Wusthof* in 1641, from the city of *Kamboja* to *Winkjan*, then capital of the *Laos*, up the river *Mekon*; lastly, Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, who was at *Kamboja* in 1720, and gives some account of it in his *New Account of the* East Indies, published in 1744. These are the principal funds from whence the following history of that country is compiled, interspersed however with remarks from other authors. *Name, extent.*

THE name of *Kamboja*, like that of other countries, has its variations, being found differently written (A) in different authors. But this is not owing so much to the difficulty which *Europeans* find to adjust their orthography to the *Siamese* pronunciation, as some have imagined; as to the difference arising from the different force given to the letters of the alphabet by the several nations of *Europe*, and to the want of the *j* consonant in most of them; for which some use *y*, others *di* and *dj*, while the *j*, in *Camboje* of the *French*, has the sound of *zh* (B). *Name.*

THIS country, situated between the ninth degree, and the sixteenth degree thirtieth minute of latitude; and between the 19° 30′ and 126° of eastern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of *Paris*, is bounded on the west by *Siam*; on the north by the kingdom of *Lanjang* and the *Laos*, with part of *Kochinchina*; on the east by *Kochinchina* and *Champa*; and on the south by the bays of *Kamboja* and *Siam*; or more distinctly by the former on the south-east, and by the latter on the south-west, on which side its greatest extent of coast lies. *Bounds, extent.*

(A) As *Camboje*, *Camboge*, *Camboya*, *Cambodia*, or *Cambodja*, and the like.

(B) As *je*, I myself, which is sounded not like the *English je*, in *jennet*, *jenny*; but like *zhe*, or as if those words were written *zhennet*, *zhenny*. This sound is hardly to be expressed in any *European* language beside the *French*, except the *English*; which shews the copiousness of its alphabet; while the *French* can neither pronounce our *j* consonant, nor express it by their letters, especially before *a* or *u*.

Air and soil. as it ſtretches ſeven degrees thirty minutes from ſouth to north, its greateſt length that way is about 520 *Engliſh* miles; and its greateſt breadth from weſt to eaſt, including ſix degrees thirty minutes of longitude, about 398 miles.

Superficial form. THE land of *Kamboja*, as to its ſuperficial form, may be compared to a great valley with a ſpacious river running through the midſt, lying between two chains of mountains which extend from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt; ſeparating it on one ſide from the kingdom of *Siam*, and on the other from thoſe of *Kochinchina* and *Champa*: ſo that in a good meaſure it reſembles *Egypt*, with this difference, that the valley or ſpace between the mountains is not ſo long as that of *Egypt*, but is much more extended as to breadth.

Air and ſoil. THE air muſt needs be very hot, in conſequence of its being ſituated ſo near the line; and as it is inhabited almoſt ſolely near the great river and its branches, it is attended with the inconvenience to which countries over-grown with woods and uncultivated are ſubject, that is, of being much peſtered with muſkittos, which are extremely troubleſome to the navigation of the river [m].

THE ſoil however in fertility is equal to moſt *Indian* regions [n]; it produces corn, rice, peaſe, butter, oil, and other proviſions in ſuch plenty, that *Spaniards*, *Perſians*, *Arabs*, and *Armenians*, reſort thither to bring them away. It abounds with fruits of various kinds and drugs, ſuch as bangue, ſanders, and opium. The ſugar is very good; and indigo is prepared here after an excellent manner.

Commodities. KALAMBA, aloes, and other odoriferous woods (C), are found in *Kamboja*; with variety of precious ſtones, ſuch as amethyſts, garnets, hyacinths, cornelians, chryſolites, and acates, cats-eyes; not to mention milk-ſtones and blood-ſtones, beſides a ſort of cryſtal found in the mountains, which is exceedingly tranſparent [o].

RAW ſilk and elephant's teeth may be had in this country at reaſonable rates; the firſt at 120 dollars *per pekul* (D); and the largeſt teeth for fifty or fifty-five dollars each. Gold likewiſe is among the productions of *Kamboja*, of twenty-

[m] HAGEN. apud recueil des voyag. Holland. de la compag des Ind. Orient. tom. v. (vol. 8. bound) p. 339. [n] ARGENSOLA's diſcovery and conqueſt of the Spice Iſlands, apud Stephens collect. voy. and trav. p. 142. & 3. [o] ARGENSOL. ibid.

(C) Sapan wood, ſandal wood, agala wood, ſticklack, and lack for japanning; beſides many ſorts of phyſical drugs. *Hamilton's new account of the* Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 107.

(D) The *pekul* is about 140 pounds weight.

one carats fine. Provisions of flesh and fish are exceeding cheap, and may be bought without a permit from the king: our author has purchased a bullock of between 4 and 500 weight for a *Spanish* dollar; rice at eight pence *per pekul*: but poultry are scarce, because the country being for the most part covered with trees, when the chickens grow big they repair to the woods and shift for themselves. The woods also give shelter to great numbers of elephants and tigers, besides wild cattle, buffaloes, and deer (E); all which animals are free for every body to catch or kill P. *Ports, islands.*

THE coast of *Kamboja* is known by several sorts of marks; among the rest, that of numerous trees, and even entire woods, which appear in view. But although it extends about 140 leagues along the sea, yet there are not in that space above five or six ports fit to receive ships; at least *Europeans* have not discovered more. Of these the first is *Kupang-soap*, on the south-west coast towards *Siam*; where may be had elephants teeth, sticklack, and the gum named from the country *Kamboaj*, or *Kambodia*: but then no free commerce is allowed there without a licence from the court of *Kamboja*. *Its ports.*

THE next place is *Ponteamas*, or *Pontiamo*, which drove a considerable trade for many years; having the conveniency of a pretty deep, though narrow river, which, in the rainy seasons of the south-west monsons, hath communication with *Bansak* or *Kamboja* river. This conveniency drew to it the foreign commerce from the capital city; which lying near 100 leagues up the river, and a continual stream running downwards for most part of the way, made the navigation thither so long and troublesome that few ships cared to go up to it. For these reasons they chose rather to resort to *Ponteamas*, which thence increased and flourished till the year 1717, when it was destroyed by the *Siam* fleet [q], as mentioned hereafter. Ponteamas.

ALTHOUGH there may be other ports on the coast of *Kamboja*, yet these two are all which we are acquainted with (F). On the south-west side it is crouded with little islands, especially towards *Siam*; but those which are largest, and of most note in navigation, lie at a considerable distance from the shore. Yet none of them are inhabited, because the *Islands on the coast.*

P HAMILT. ibid. p. 198. q Ibid. p. 195.

(E) *Argensola* adds, lions, boars, and other wild beasts common to other *Asiatic* countries. *Ubi supra*, p. 143.

(F) There is a place mentioned in the journal of *Hagenaar*'s voyage, p. 355. called *Cinckechanes* (which in our characters we presume should be written *Sinkeshanes*): but it is not said whether a port or island. There are many such inaccuracies in the same journal.

Salters,

Pulo Kondôr. *Salîters*, or pirates, who infeſt that coaſt, rob the inhabitants of what they get by pains and induſtry. There is one called *Quadrol*, about three leagues weſt of *Ponteamas*, which has the proper requiſites for a ſettlement. It is about three leagues long and one broad, has plenty of wood and water. The land is moderately elevated; the ſoil black and fat, excepting on the eaſt ſide facing *Ponteamas*; where yet it has ſeveral fine ſandy bays, which make good harbours in the ſeaſons of rain and wind.

Pulo Panjang *and* Ubi. ABOUT ſeven leagues ſouth-by-weſt of *Ponteamas* river, and eighteen weſt of the neareſt coaſt, is *Pulo Panjang*, conſiſting of a cluſter of eight iſlands, which form a pretty good harbour. Thence ſouth-eaſt about twenty-two leagues, and almoſt eight due ſouth of the point of *Kamboja*, is *Pulo Ubi*; which lies in the way of all ſhips bound from either the gulf of *Siam*, or the ſouth, to the river of *Kamboja*. It is about ſeven or eight leagues in compaſs, the land pretty high and very woody, affording good maſts for ſhipping[r]. It hath water on the north ſide, where veſſels may ride; but the beſt anchoring place is on the eaſt ſide, againſt a ſmall bay.

Pulo Kondôr. THE laſt iſland of note on the *Kamboja* coaſt is *Pulo Kondôr*, about forty leagues to the eaſtward of *Pulo Ubi*, and twenty ſouth of the *Banſak* river (G). It belongs to a great parcel of little iſlands, and is the only one inhabited. There is good anchorage on the north ſide; and at the ſouth end lies another iſland, ſtretching from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about three miles long and one broad, in ſuch a manner as to form a harbour between. The entrance is from the north-weſt, where the two iſlands are about one mile aſunder; but towards the ſouth end of the harbour they almoſt meet, there being only a ſmall paſſage for boats[s].

THIS iſland ſtretches with a great bend from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, forming a great hollow or bay on the ſouth-eaſt ſide. It is not above three leagues long and one and a half broad (H). It has two good ports (I), one parallel to the other;

[r] HAMILT. p. 204. & 206. Eng. Pilot, p. 65, & ſeq.

[s] DAMPIER's voyage, vol. i. p. 390.

(G) Captain *Hamilton* ſays, about fifteen leagues ſouth of the weſt channel of *Kamboja* river. *New account of the* Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 204.

(H) Pere *Gaubil*, in his voyage to *China* in 1722, found the latitude of *Pulo Kondôr* to be 8° 34′ 14″; and computed it to be one degree more eaſt than *Batavia*, conſequently in 105 degrees of longitude, according to *De la Hire*'s tables: but only 99° 24′ 45″ according to thoſe of *Harris*. *See* Souciet *obſerv. math. aſtron.* &c. p. 112.

(I) Captain *Hamilton* ſays, there were two harbours or anchoring

other; and both lying from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt. The inhabitants call it *Konon*, and ſome *French* the Iſle of *Orleans*. It may in fair weather be ſeen ſixteen leagues off. Pulo Kondôr.

THE ſea abounds with fiſh, particularly large turtles of a delicate taſte; with whoſe ſhells and oil the inhabitants drive a profitable trade on the continent. Of a fiſh like anchovies they make a brine or pickle, which the *Kochinchineſes* mix with their rice. There are very few birds here: the moſt remarkable are ſpar-hawks, who are at continual war with the fiſhes; and a bird as large as a wood-hen, which is of a beautiful green, with a ſtripe of white at the end of the tail; the fleſh is greyiſh, and very delicious: but fowl are plenty. *Fiſh and fowl.*

APES are here in prodigious numbers. Of lizards there are five kinds: one ſort like thoſe in *France*; the reſt are of the ſize of common ſerpents. Some of them have wings, and are of the bigneſs as well as colour of lizards: under the chin they have a purſe, white, and ſhaped like a heart, which ſwells and falls in breathing. Other lizards are covered with ſcales, and of a frightful aſpect; what is worſe, their bite is mortal. They get into the hollows of trees in the evening, and ſet up a cry ſo loud that one would think it came from ſome great bird. It is called *koka*, from that word which it ſeems to utter at thoſe times. The lizards of the fifth kind, which are likewiſe ſcaly, have hands and feet, armed with claws, as large as thoſe of a boy of fifteen; the tail is triangular: they are ſeven or eight feet long, and, it is ſaid, are good to eat (K). *Apes and lizards.*

ONE ſees in *Pulo Kondôr* flying ſquirrels; rats which have ears like the human; dormice as large as fowl; butterflies with trunks. Serpents and inſects of all kinds are numerous, and very troubleſome. In the iſland to the ſouth-weſt of the port, there are ſeveral ſorts of wild beaſts[t]. *Flying ſquirrels.*

THIS iſland, as well as the leſſer ſurrounding it, are covered with trees ever-green, for the general very thick, tall, ſtrait, and the wood hard. The *areka*, mango, ebony of all ſorts, and milk-trees, are very common; alſo bambû, rattan, and wild muſcadine. There is a little ſhrub which bears wild grapes, or rather a kind of gooſeberry. Many of the trees are odoriferous, and ſome yield gums; whereof one *Trees, kinds.*

[t] DAMPIER's voyage, vol. i. p. 390, & ſeqq. P. GAUBIL ap. Souciet obſerv. math. aſtron. &c. p. 107.

choring places at *Pulo Kondôr*, but neither of them good. One at the north-eaſt end, for the ſouth-weſt monſons; the other on the weſt ſide, for ſhelter againſt the north-eaſt winds: but the bottom of this laſt being rocky, is bad for anchors and cables.

(K) Theſe may be the guanos *Dampier* ſpeaks of, p. 392.

fort

Pulo Kondôr.

fort much reſembles benjamin. The tree, which affords an oil, called *goudron* by *Dampier*, is here very common. It is of the kind whoſe body is tall and wood hard; the leaves and bark much like thoſe of the cheſnut-tree. The oil is drawn in this manner; three or four feet from the ground they make a hole in the tree, a foot high, one and a half wide, and half a foot deep. Here they put fire, and in a little time the oil begins to drop: at firſt it is brown, then it grows whitiſh, and at laſt reddiſh; it has then the conſiſtence of butter, and a very ſweet ſmell. The beſt times for gathering this oil are in *September*, *January*, and *February*; but it may be had all the year round. The inhabitants make torches, by ſteeping in this oil the bark of a tree, which afford a very clear light. This tree, as well as many other ſorts, is very proper for maſts, yards, plank, and other ſhip timber (K); the reſt afford wood for all kinds of works.

Maſting.

Fruit trees. FRUIT trees are very numerous, but for the moſt part wild; as almond and medlar trees, a kind of ſervices, and other fruits; fair to the ſight, but inſipid, and perhaps dangerous. Here are found however kernels in a large red pod, which when roaſted taſte like cheſnuts.

OF cotton, papaya, citron, and tamarind trees, there are but few in the iſland. All the palm trees and aloes are wild: ſo are the latan and bannana trees. One meets alſo with the *ſquolante*, the capillaire, and *ananas*; beſides many beautiful plants and flowers, worth the obſervation of botaniſts [u]. This account of the natural productions of *Pulo Kondôr*, may in ſome meaſure ſerve for the natural hiſtory of *Kamboja*, with regard to which our authors afford very few materials: for although this iſland at preſent is ſubject to *Kochinchina*, yet it ought properly to be conſidered as part of the country to whoſe coaſt it lies oppoſite.

The village. THERE is but one village in the whole iſland; and that only is the place which is inhabited. It ſtands at the bottom of the great bay before-mentioned, among ſeveral little rivers, in a plain. The habitations are no better than cabins. In one part of the village you ſee ſeveral oratories, called *Tlan*, ranged in a ſemicircle, with a great tree in the midſt, on which they erect a flag on feſtival days. In this place, which is called *Tour*, that is *Lord*, they render honour to the ſouls of their heroes, princes, and literati; the ſame they do to

[u] GAUBIL, ibid. DAMPIER, ibid.

(K) *Dampier* obſerves, that there are trees bearing a kind of wild or baſtard nutmegs, but inſipid; alſo wild mangos, which are delicate. The grape tree is ſtrait; and the fruit grows in cluſters about the body of it, like the durion and kakao.

their

their anceſtors, in the private oratories which every body has in his hut. To the north-eaſt there is a temple where a prieſt reſides. Towards the ſouth-eaſt part of the village between two rivulets there is a magazine, a bake-houſe, and the foundations of a fort (L), built by the *Engliſh* [x]. Pulo Kondôr.

THE port between the great iſland and the ſmaller, before deſcribed, is little, but exceeding good. Veſſels are ſheltered from the winds by the hills which incloſe it on the ſides; but in the rainy ſeaſon the place is frightful. The *French*, who began a ſort of ſettlement on the eaſt ſide of this port in 1721, ſuffered much there. The plain in which the village ſtands forms a kind of ſemicircle, whoſe ſemidiameter is about three quarters of a mile: it is very marſhy, and the ſoil ſandy, yet if cultivated might produce nouriſhment for men and other animals; but the inhabitants have neither fowl, cattle, rice, pulſe, nor plants. Excepting this plain, all the reſt of the iſle is nothing but rocks, precipices, and ſteep mountains; covered indeed with beautiful trees, but cut with a thouſand rapid torrents, and full of inſects and ſerpents, without any fruits, flowers, or other uſeful vegetables; all which, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon, that is for near two thirds of the year, make *Pulo Kondôr* one of the worſt places in the world. There is good water in ſome of the rivulets; but thoſe of the village grow dry in *March* and *April*, when the people are forced to drink well-water, which is none of the beſt. *The port.*

THE inhabitants are only poor fiſhermen, who have properly no fixed habitation, but go and come as their buſineſs obliges. They are ſometimes two, three, or four hundred; at other times the iſland is quite deſerted. Hence it is that ſcarce any of the neceſſaries of life are to be met with in *Pulo Kondôr*; which ſometimes ſerves for a place of baniſhment to the Chriſtians in *Kochinchina*, whoſe language, religion, and manners, the people of this iſland have received. They have all long black hair, believe the migration of ſouls, and underſtand the *Chineſe* characters, although they ſpeak a different language. The reaſon is, that thoſe characters expreſs or convey to the mind the images of things themſelves, and not the *The inhabitants.*

[x] GAUBIL, ubi ſupra, alſo DAMPIER, ubi ſupra.

(L) According to an exact plan of *Pulo Kondôr*, inſerted by *Souciet* before P. *Gaubil*'s voyage, the village is above two miles from the bay; conſequently Captain *Hamilton* muſt err in ſuggeſting, if not expreſly ſaying, vol. ii. p. 206. that the *Engliſh* fort was built on the ſide of this port.

Pulo Kondôr.

founds of the voice, as ours do. The *Engliſh* were formerly poſſeſſed of this iſland till extirpated by the *Malays* and the inhabitants[y], which happened in the manner following:

Engliſh *factory.*

In 1702, when the factory of *Chuſan* (*Chew-ſhan*) on the coaſt of *China* was broken up, Mr. *Allan Ketchpole*, who was then director for the affairs of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, made choice of *Pulo Kondôr* for a colony; although, ſays our author, it produces nothing but wood, water, and fiſh. He hired ſome *Makaſſars* to ſerve for ſoldiers; contracting however to diſcharge them at the end of three years, in caſe they required it. When the time was expired, Mr. *Ketchpole* ſtill detained them contrary to articles; yet ſtill intruſted them with the guard both of his own perſon and the garriſon. Theſe eaſtern deſperadoes (who are very faithful where covenants are obſerved with them, but, in caſe of failure, revengeful and cruel) took an opportunity in the night, when the *Engliſh*, who lodged in the fort, were in their beds, and murdered them all.

The garriſon maſſacred.

The noiſe made by ſome who were awake, giving the alarm to thoſe who lodged without the fort, they ran to the ſea-ſide; and were ſcarce put from ſhore in a boat, which they luckily found ready fitted with oars and ſails, before the *Makaſſars* (M) came in queſt of them. After ſailing and rowing above 100 leagues, in which ſpace they ſuffered much by hunger and thirſt as well as fatigue, they reached ſome place in the king of *Johôr*'s dominions, where they were kindly treated (N). "Since a factory was thought neceſſary "to be ſettled on that coaſt, I wonder, ſays our author, why "theſe iſlands were choſen rather than that of *Quadrole* be-"fore-mentioned[z]."

River Mekon.

From *Pulo Kondôr* let us paſs to the river of *Kamboja*; the weſt branch of which, as hath been obſerved, lies fifteen or twenty leagues almoſt due north of it. The name of this river, according to ſome authors, is *Menon* or *Menan*, but more properly *Mêkon* (O); though it uſually goes under the

[y] Gaubil, ibid. [z] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 206.

(M) Captain *Hamilton* ſays, the *bloody villains:* not conſidering the provocation given them, and that what they did was to free themſelves from the ſlavery which the perfidy of *Ketchpole* had reduced them to. A circumſtance which renders their action not only excuſable, but alſo lawful.

(N) The reverend and ingenious Dr. *Pound* and Mr. *Solomon Lloyd* (an old acquaintance of our author's), were among thoſe who eſcaped.

(O) Or *Menam-kon*, as in ſome maps.

appel-

appellation of the river of *Kamboja*, and of the *Laos*. It is by many reckoned the largeſt in all the *Indies*; carrying ſo much water in ſummer that it overflows the adjacent country, like the *Nile* in *Egypt*[a]. *River Mekon.*

THIS river is ſo little known to *Europeans*, and they have given ſuch different names to the branches of it, that it is not eaſy to deſcribe it. In its courſe through *Kamboja*, from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, it ſeems to divide or ſend out ſtreams in ſeveral places. The moſt remarkable is that, which ſeparating from it about thirty-ſix miles below the capital city *Lowek* (or *Lovek*), and 250 miles from the ſea, runs parallel to it at a few miles diſtance; this is called by ſome *Matſiam* and *Oubequame*, by others the weſt chanel. About fifteen miles from the mouth it divides in two or three ſtreams, the moſt weſtern of which is named *Baſſak* or *Banſak*. The main ſtream, which below the firſt diviſion is called the river of *Japan*, about ſeven miles from its mouth divides alſo into two branches; the two main chanels communicate with each other by ſeveral croſs ſtreams, and fall into the ſea by different mouths about thirty miles aſunder. *Branches little known.*

LET us hear what thoſe relate of this river who have aſcended it as high as the capital city. *Da Cruz* ſpeaks as if he had ſailed much farther up. This author ſays, from the report of the *Laos*, that it riſes in *China*; and paſſing through their country from north to ſouth enters *Kamboja* at a place called *Chudurmuch* (P), it receives a large river alſo which comes from a great lake (Q) in the utmoſt borders of *Kamboja* towards *Siam*; and paſſing by *Loech* (or *Lowek*), the capital of the country, thirty-ſix miles lower meets the *Mekon* at the place above-mentioned. There it diſcharges moſt of its waters into the *Mekon*; and the reſt paſs by another chanel to the ſea (R), eſpecially in the time of the winter floods, *The paſſage up.*

[a] ARGENSOL. ubi ſupra, p. 143.

(P) We cannot abſolutely determine whether the *ch* in this word is pronounced like the *Engliſh* or the *Latin*; *Argenſola* calls it *Chordemuc*, which ſhould incline us to be of the latter opinion. It cannot be on the borders of *Kamboja*, as it is ſouth of the capital.

(Q) Our author ſays, it is ſo large that no land can be ſeen from the middle of it. *Hagenaar* obſerves, that from a great lake or inland ſea there proceed abundance of rivers and ſtreams; which afford more waters than the river of *Kamboja*, and its branches, are able to contain.

(R) So we apprehend the *Engliſh* tranſlation, which is very bad, is to be underſtood. This is by ſome called *Oubequama*, and the *Weſtern Chanel*, of which *Baſſak* is a branch.

River Mekon.

caused by the rains in other northern countries, for it does not rain then in *Kamboja*. At this place the river of *Laos* is called *Sistor*, and rushes with such fury into that of *Loech*, as to force it back with a strong current, which runs upwards from *July* to *September*. All this while the country is overflowed, and the inhabitants go from place to place in boats. It is on account of these inundations that they build their houses on piles, raised many feet above the ground [b].

In effect, in *August* the river sometimes is seen to swell in a few days eight, nine, and even twelve feet, and inundate the lands on each side; so that they may be sailed up in *June*, but not so easily in *July*, nor is it possible to ascend them in *August* [c]. That we may give our readers as good an account as can be had of this river, we shall insert what is said of it in the journal of *Hagenaar*, who in 1637 made the navigation up it as high as the capital of *Kamboja*.

Hagenaar's *passage*.

He entered the branch of *Bassak*, which he calls a little river, with his four ships, and in three or four days (S) passed into the river *Matsiam*, whose mouth is narrow, and banks adorned with trees. The same day, *May* 16, both wind and tide favouring them, they coasted some little isles, and saw the entrance of the river *Simmeding*, where one of the ships had been the year before. Here while they lay at an anchor, waiting for the wind and tide, the ships were covered with such a multitude of muskittos, that the candle scarce gave any light. Next day they struck on a bank, and could hardly get off, having no more than four or five fathom water. The 18th they towed along the east side of the river, which is best for navigation. At noon they came to the narrowest part of it, where they moved their yards, that they might not be embarrassed with the trees. Here a strong gale, accompanied with rain, springing up, they first were towed by the shallops, and then hauled along by means of a bambû cane, till the ebb. The 20th they continued to proceed the same way; were twice entangled with the trees, and twice run aground at low water, but were freed by the tide [d]. The breadth of the river in those places was not over twice or thrice the length of a ship; and the muskittos plagued them all the way. The 23d they found the river somewhat broader, and in that place it begins to be called the river of

[b] Da Cruz apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169. [c] Hagenaar, apud Recueil des Voyages Holland. vol. viii. p. 361. [d] Ibid. p. 338, & seq.

(S) Thus we compute; for the journal is extremely defective.

Japan. They ſaw many veſſels which ſailed along the bank (where herds of buffalos were at paſture), but none would come near them. *River* Mekon.

THE 28th, the wind turning to the weſt, they ſet ſail and made a great deal of way. At noon there came a Mandarin and an interpreter to welcome them from the king. They brought a preſent of ten great varniſhed cups with covers, filled with fruits and other things, according to the cuſtom of the country: likewiſe koko nuts, ananas, ſugar canes, and two pots of arrack. Theſe refreſhments were very acceptable; and after entertaining the perſon who brought them, and his companion, they preſented him with a piece of ordinary ſilk. The 4th of *June* they arrived at the point of the *Japaneſe* quarter. The 7th two *Nampras* came to viſit *Hagenaar* with a preſent from the king. All this while they advanced ſo ſlowly, that the factors at the *Dutch* lodge were uneaſy at the delay, which yet could not be avoided [d]. *River of* Japan.

THE 10th they were towed along with extreme difficulty as far as the point of the river of *Japan*. Next day they towed to weather the point where the river of *Lau*, which is very rapid, divides into three arms; and ſent to examine if they could paſs along the bank in the river *Natſiam* to the north-weſt, beyond the ſhoals. Mean time a ſouth-weſt wind riſing, they hoiſted all their ſails; and having ſtemmed the currents, paſſed the banks and mouth of the *Matſium*, aſcending as far as the town of *Buomping*, where there is a fair gilded tower. As the currents were then favourable they advanced to the third elbow, where the wind being againſt them, they caſt anchor. They proceeded again by moonlight, and at day-break arrived oppoſite to the company's lodge, at the capital of *Kamboja*, in five fathom water. From thence he paſſed along the quarters of the *Japaneſes*, *Portugueſes*, *Chineſes*, *Kochinchinois*, and merchants of *Kamboja*: having thus ſailed a league and a half, he landed in order to go to the king's palace [e]. With regard to the river in general it is remarked, that the bottom of its chanel is a firm ſand; that its ſtream is three fathom deep, but that the tide riſes and falls two fathom [f]. *River of* Lau. *Town of* Buomping.

FOUR years after, the *Dutch* ſent an ambaſſador, named *Van Wuſthof*, from thence to the court of *Laos*, which furniſheth an account of this river ſo much higher: but the journal we meet with of this voyage is neither very particu- Van Wuſthof's *paſſage*

[d] HAGEN. p. 340, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. p. 342, & 344.
[f] Ibid. p. 360.

River Mekon.

lar nor exact (T). They embarked in little pirogues, or ſhallops, and ſpent eleven weeks in the navigation. In ſome places they found the ſtream very broad, in others very narrow and full of rocks (as in the former voyage); ſo that they were often obliged to unload their boats, and carry the goods for a time by land.

THEY from time to time paſſed by towns and villages on the banks, pretty well built after that country faſhion. The moſt remarkable places were *Loim*, *Gokkelok*, *Looim*, *Simpow*, *Sombok*, *Sombabour*, *Baatſiong*, a ſmall city twenty-two days journey beyond the city of *Kamboja*, which formerly had a king of its own. *Nammoy*, where much gold is found, ſome days journey from the frontiers of *Laos*: *Baſſak*, *Okmum*, *Naewein*, *Samfana*, *Beenmouk*, *Saymoun*, *Tapanom*, and *Loſhan*, another little city belonging to the king of *Kamboja*, who keeps a viceroy there (U); *Huyſoun*, a town famous for the beauty of its ſilk manufactures; *Meunkok*, a city of pretty conſiderable commerce, whither the *Laos* carry all their merchandizes.

as high as Laos.

THE *Dutch* paſſed by ſeveral other places of leſs note; they met alſo with very high mountains, and ſome iſles (X) formed by the river. At length they arrived at *Winkjan* (Y), capital of *Laos*, 250 miles from whence they ſet out[g]. But here it muſt be obſerved, that no diſtinction is made with regard to the rivers which they navigated in this journey: for the capital of *Kamboja* is not ſituated on the great river which paſſes through *Laos*, but on a branch of it, ſaid before to have its ſource, with many other rivers or ſtreams, in a great lake; which branch therefore muſt have a communication with that river.

Chineſe pirates

IN the year 1687, the king of *Siam* ſent Captain *Howelt* and Captain *Williams*, *Engliſhmen*, who commanded two fri-

[g] VAN WUSTHOF's embaſſy, apud Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, Hague edit. tom. xii. p. 287.

(T) It is in the *Hague* edition of the *Hiſtoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. xii. p. 287. and was taken from *Valentine*'s collection of voyages and travels in *Dutch*, conſiſting of three folio volumes.

(U) It does not appear from this journal where the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Laos* join; nor which is the laſt town of the one, or the firſt of the other.

(X) They named them *Saxenham*.

(Y) The capital of *Laos* is by other authors named *Lanjan* or *Lancharg*. But whether they are the ſame, or different cities, is uncertain.

gates

gates in his ſervice, againſt ſome *Chineſe* pirates, who neſted themſelves in an iſland up the river of *Kamboja*. Theſe were ſome of thoſe who, when the *Tartars* conquered *China*, fled in their own ſhips; and, turning freebooters, took many of the *Siameſe* ſhips trading in thoſe ſeas. They found this river very large, eſpecially at its mouth; and to be navigable for very great veſſels for the ſixty or ſeventy leagues which they aſcended, whence they concluded that its depth and wideneſs extended much farther upwards. The courſe of the river is generally from north to ſouth, and the land low on each ſide, with many large creeks and branches; likewiſe conſiderable iſlands in ſome places. They ſteered up that branch which ſeemed moſt capacious; having the tide of flood with them, and the river commonly ſo wide as to give them room to turn and make angles, where the bending of the chanel was ſuch as to receive a contrary eaſt or ſouth-eaſt ſea wind. But theſe reaches or bendings of the river eaſt and weſt were very rare, at leaſt ſo as to make their courſe to be againſt the ſea wind, which commonly blew in their ſtern, and ſo freſh that with it they could ſtem the tide of ebb. In the night, when the land winds came, they anchored and lay-by till ten or eleven a clock next day, when the ſea breezes uſually ſprang up again and enabled them to continue their courſe [h].

River Mekon.

Settled in the river.

As ſoon as they came to the iſland they fired upon the pirates, and landing their men routed them, burnt their houſes, ruined their fortifications, and took many priſoners. Theſe people, on their flight from *China*, finding the river of *Kamboja* open before them, made bold to enter it and ſettle on the iſland before-mentioned. There they built a town, and fenced it round with a wall of trees, laid along four in a breaſt, and about as many in height. As the land was exceeding good, and they were provided with all ſorts of inſtruments fit for planting, they might have lived happily enough had they made uſe of them inſtead of arms, to get wherewithal to ſubſiſt. The *Engliſh* captains having done their buſineſs, they returned out of the river; but the ſouth-weſt monſoon being already ſet in, ſo that they could not proceed to *Siam*, they went to *Ma-kau* in *China*. There, to ingratiate themſelves with the *Tartars*, they delivered up their priſoners to the governor, who entertained them handſomely; and were afterwards received at *Siam* with great applauſe [i].

Diſlodged by the Engliſh.

[h] DAMPIER's voyages, vol. ii. p. 105. [i] Ibid.

Capital city.

We learn from the report of a late navigator, that the weſt entrance (Z) of *Kamboja* river is very deep; the ſhalloweſt part of the chanel going in being four fathoms, and that within it deepens to twenty in ſome places: that the north entrance, ten leagues diſtant, is broader, but much ſhallower, and little frequented: that the river in ſome places is three leagues wide; and that the navigation above the capital city is performed in ſmall rowing veſſels, of which great numbers are employed [k].

The capital deſcribed.

All the towns in *Kamboja* which are known to *Europeans* have been already mentioned and deſcribed, excepting the principal city. This commonly is denominated from the country itſelf, but it has its proper name, which yet is variouſly written. *Da Cruz* calls it *Loech* (A); the author of *Van Wuſthof*'s voyage, *Eauwek*; perhaps this laſt is miſprinted for *Lauwek* (B). It ſtands on a branch of the great river (C), thirty-ſix miles above *Ghudurmuk*, where it falls into it [l]. It is fifty or ſixty leagues from *Ponteamas*, a hundred from the bar of the great river (D), and forty from the borders of *Laos* [m]. Its ſituation is moſt agreeable, all the houſes are contiguous and ranged along a bank (E). The king reſides in a palace, whoſe fabric is very ſimple, and appears like a cloiſter, being incloſed with a paliſade ſix feet high. However it is defended by a great number of cannon brought from *China*; and twenty-four pieces of artillery which were ſaved out of the wreck of two *Dutch* veſſels on the coaſt

King's palace.

[k] Hamilt. new account of the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 204, & 206. [l] Da Cruz, apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169. [m] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 197, & 206.

(Z) He ſays it is commonly called *Bocca de Carangera*. A name given doubtleſs by the *Portugueſes* to the mouth of the *Baſſak* chanel.

(A) From what follows, we judge that the *ch* in this word ſtands for *kh*, or ſimply *k*.

(B) In the maps of Meſſ. *De L'Iſle* and *D'Anville*, it is written *Levek*, which is not very conformable to either of the names mentioned in the text.

(C) The relation of *Wuſthoff*'s embaſſy placeth it on the *Me-kon* itſelf. But all the accounts are ſo defective, one ſcarce knows how to determine any thing relative either to the city or river.

(D) In the relation of *Hagenaar*'s embaſſy, p. 360. it is ſaid to be ſixty *Dutch* leagues from the ſea.

(E) According to the plan of it inſerted in *Wuſthoff*'s embaſſy, it is incloſed with double rows of trees, and walks between, inſtead of walls or fortifications; and muſt afford a beautiful proſpect when viewed from ſome of the neighbouring eminences.

of

of that kingdom. They are planted round the inclosure, with all the necessary implements in great order. Within the same are the stables of the elephants, ascended by two or three steps: in 1637 there were fifteen or sixteen large ones, each of which had his own stable. The inside of the palace, though built with wood, glitters with gold and silver; the whole finished with charming propriety. The second ornament of the city is a temple of a peculiar structure, the art and beauty of which was extremely admired by the *Dutch*. It is raised upon pillars of wood varnished (F), with foliage and reliefs gilded. The pavement itself is precious, and preserved with magnificent mats and carpets. In it there was a tomb built with brick in form of a pyramid, all gilded likewise; as were five great images and five small ones, which were on the south side of the temple [n]. This possibly was the tomb of one of their principal priests; for when any of them dies they build such a monument, which is square at the base, but goes rounding and terminates in a point, twenty or twenty-five feet in height: these are gilded and polished, but in a coarse manner [o]. *Manners, customs.*

THE city is inhabited by *Japaneses*, *Portugueses*, *Kochinchinois*, and *Malayans*. Some of these different nations are settled there, others not; but repair thither in one monsoon, and return in the other, staying so long as necessary to carry on their commerce [p]. There are of *Japaneses* seventy or eighty families [q], and of *Topasses* or *Indian Portugueses*, about 200, with their wives of the country: some of them have pretty good posts in the government, and live great after the fashion of the place. But they are without priests, nor will any venture to go amongst them: for in 1710 a poor capuchin went thither to officiate; and finding that one of his principal parishioners, who had two wives, disregarded his admonition to put one of them away, proceeded to excommunication, for which the other knocked out his brains. Since that time they wrote both to *Siam* and *Ma-kau* in *China* for pastors, but none it seems would go amongst them. *Nations settled there.* Topasses. Portugueses.

ALL the *Portugueſe* have pensions from the king of *Kamboja*; but as they are too small to maintain them, they repair to the woods, and shoot wild elephants for their teeth, which they sell to strangers. Their way of killing them is very singular.

[n] HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 361, 349. WUSTHOF, ibid. p. 290.
[o] Ibid. [p] HAGEN. p. 360. WUSTHOF, p. 290.
[q] HAGEN. ibid. p. 364.

(F) So says the relation of *Hagenaar*; that of *Wusthof* says *black*.

Manners, trade. gular. They form a piece of iron like a ſlug, and making one end ſharp, drive it into the bark of a certain tree, which is of a violent poiſonous quality. A little time after they draw the ſlug, and coming near the animal fire it into his body: the elephant being thus wounded flies, but before he has gotten out of ſight, drops down dead. They kill cattle and buffaloes, for their tongues, after the ſame manner. What is no leſs ſtrange, this poiſonous juice has the property to preſerve as well as deſtroy life; for if, while in the woods, either hunger or thirſt ſeizes them, they ſqueeze a few drops of it on the leaf of a tree, and find immediate relief by licking the leaf; but if the ſkin ſhould be broken, and the juice enter the fleſh, it proves mortal without remedy[r].

Subtile poiſon.

Natives of Kamboja. THE kingdom of *Kamboja*, though very fertile, is but thinly peopled[s]. The natives are of a light brown complexion, and very well ſhaped, their hair long and beards thin. The women very handſome, but not very modeſt (although our author gives no reaſons or inſtances to ſupport his cenſure). The men wear a veſtment like our night-gowns, but nothing on either their head or feet. The womens dreſs is a petticoat reaching below the ancle, and a frock made tight to their bodies and arms: both ſexes dreſs their hair.

Commerce and manufactures, THE *Kambojans* do not trade much themſelves by ſea; but foreigners reſort to them for ſake of the commodities which their country affords, and eſpecially proviſions, which are very plentiful and cheap, as hath been already remarked. Their chief native commodities are gold, raw ſilk, ivory, odoriferous woods, and drugs eſpecially. *Kochinchina* likewiſe abounds with the ſame; which are brought to *Kamboja*, to be diſpoſed of there[t]. This country hath ſome manufactures: the people make divers ſorts of cotton cloths, calicoes, muſlins, buckrams, white and painted dimities, and the like, exceeding the fineſt made in *Holland*, when our author wrote. They have carpets alſo (though not like thoſe which come from *Perſia*), and a ſort called *Bancales*, reſembling *Scotch* plaids. They both weave and work with the needle rich ſilk hangings, and coverings for chairs, *palekis*, and other furniture[u].

of what importance. WHEN *Hagenaar* was at *Kamboja* in 1637, the *Portugueſes* from *Malakka* brought thither cloth, and carried back with them benjamin, gum-lak, wax, rice, copper baſons, and

[r] HAMILT. ubi ſupra, p. 198. [s] WUSTHOF, ubi ſupra, p. 290. [t] HAMILT. p. 197. 207. [u] ARGENSOL. apud Stephens voy. and trav. vol. i. p. 143.

iron

iron ſtoves made in *China*. He was of opinion, that if the *Dutch* could oblige the *Portugueſes* to quit the country, the company might carry on an advantageous trade; particularly in black lack, much in requeſt, and in the ſkins of deer, buffaloes, and oxen, very proper for *Japan*; alſo in benjamin, part of which would yield a good price in *Perſia*. In exchange for theſe they were to carry thither *India* cloths of ſeveral ſorts, and cotton yarn, by which he computed they would be gainers from forty to ſeventy *per cent*. However the *Dutch* met with great oppoſition from the *Portugueſes*, and other obſtacles to their ſettling there. Among the reſt, as they were obliged to have their lodge at the end of the *Japaneſe* quarter, neither the natives, nor the *Malayans*, much leſs the crafty *Chineſes*, durſt repair thither by day to buy any thing for fear of theſe people. For this reaſon the ambaſſador deſired leave to build a lodge on the other ſide of the river: but the king did not grant it; becauſe the *Dutch* general at *Batavia* had not mentioned any ſuch thing in his letters. *Manners, trade.*

In effect the *Dutch* had a factory in the capital city of *Kamboja* at different times: but the treacherous deſigns of thoſe people, to which they ſaw themſelves expoſed, made them at length abandon the country. And the rather, as moſt of the merchandizes which come from *Kamboja* and *Laos*, are to be found in the neighbouring dominions, where they had factories already, eſpecially in *Siam*; to which the firſt of theſe kingdoms is at preſent (as it then was) tributary [x]. But it ſhould ſeem, that the cauſe of their quitting *Kamboja* was owing to ſome fault of their own, rather than of the natives, in caſe what a late author reports be fact; *viz.* that they will not ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſettle factories in their country, at the ſame time that they are very deſirous of having a trade with the *Engliſh* [y]. *The* Dutch *quit* Kamboja.

When Captain *Hamilton* was at *Ponteamâs*, an officer who could ſpeak a little *Portugueſe* came on board, and adviſed him to notify his arrival to the king, and deſire permiſſion to trade with his ſubjects. The captain did ſo; and in twelve days received an anſwer, with liberty to trade: but was deſired to ſend up ſome perſon with muſters of his goods, that the king and his merchants might ſee them. Two *Portugueſes* likewiſe were ſent for interpreters; one to remain on board his ſhip during his ſtay, and the other to accompany his ſecond ſupercargo, whom he diſpatched to court with the *The* Engliſh *invited.*

[x] Hagen. ubi ſupra, p. 363, & ſeq. Wusthof, ubi ſupra, p. 290. [y] Hamilton, ubi ſupra, p. 197.

goods,

Religion, worſhip.

goods, accompanied by twenty-five men well-armed. When they arrived at the city they were well ſupplied with proviſions, and viſited by many perſons of diſtinction. After ſome delay, the ſupercargo returned with a letter of compliment to the captain, in the *Portugueſe* language, and another to the governor of *Bombay*, inviting the *Engliſh* to ſettle in his country; with liberty to build factories or forts in any part of his dominions for the protection of trade. He would not enter into any correſpondence with the *Engliſh*, without the knowlege and conſent of his guardian the king of *Kochinchina*, who at laſt conſented to allow them commerce both in *Kamboja* and his own dominions. This was all the advantage which Captain *Hamilton* reaped by ſending to court: for the country had been laid ſo waſte by the *Siamers* whereever they marched, that the natives had nothing ready then to barter with his cargo, but in a year or two they ſaid they would be provided [z]. From this account of things the trade of *Kamboja* ſeems to be precarious enough, and not very conſiderable.

Objects of worſhip.

ACCORDING to *Da Cruz* the *Kambojans* worſhip ſeveral different gods. One they call *Probar Miſſur*, who they ſay made the earth and heavens. This power he received from another god named *Pra Lokuſſar*, with the permiſſion of a third called *Pra Iſſur*. The frier tell us, that having convinced the prieſts that *Probar Miſſur*, far from having created the world, was a very wicked man, they promiſed to worſhip him no longer, having till then adored him in conjunction with *Pra Put Pra ſar Metri* [a]. *Da Cruz* ſays no more concerning this laſt god; and indeed the whole lame account ſeems to be brought in chiefly for ſake of relating this paſſage, and how much ill-will he got of the king as well as the prieſts, for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of their gods. However, *Pra Put* is probably the *Puti Sat* of the *Siameſes*; and this ſeems confirmed by Captain *Hamilton* [b], who obſerves that the *Kambojans* worſhip the ſame gods who are worſhipped in *Siam*. They adore the ſupreme god under the name of *Tipedah*, giving him *Praw Prumb* and *Praw Pout* (G), for his ſons [c]. It may be preſumed from hence, that, as *Argen-*

[z] HAMILTON, p. 200, & ſeqq. [a] DA CRUZ apud Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 166. [b] HAMILTON, ubi ſupra, p. 203. [c] Ibid. ubi ſupra, p. 203.

(G) *Pra*, or *Praw Pout*, is *Buddah*, as hath been obſerved before, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Fo*, or the god of *Tibet*: of which name *Tipedah* hath ſome reſemblance in ſound; but we will not preſume to ſay in ſignification.

ſola

ſola obſerves, they hold the tranſmigration of ſouls. Temples and pyramids are very numerous throughout the country; ſome are built with wood, others with ſtone, and all well gilded within, as their idols are on the outſide[d]. *Religion, prieſts.*

THEY believe there are twenty-ſeven heavens or manſions one above the other, for the reception of ſouls after this life. Some of them are furniſhed with ſenſual pleaſures, ſuch as delicious food, with liquors of various kinds, and beautiful women. Hither all living creatures but prieſts do go, not excepting the flea, and ſmalleſt inſects; for they ſay, as they have ſouls, they muſt live in the other world. The next worlds above theſe are reſerved for their holy prieſts who dwell in the deſerts, whoſe felicity is to conſiſt in ſitting, and being refreſhed with cooling winds. In the heavens beyond thoſe again, the gods have bodies round like bowls; and they who aſcend thither have the privilege of aſſuming bodies ſhaped like thoſe of the gods who reſide there. As there are ſo many heavens it is but fit that there ſhould be ſeveral hells, which they limit to thirteen: theſe likewiſe are ſituated one above another; and the wicked are doomed to the higher or the lower, according as the ſins which they have committed are greater or leſſer. *Future ſtate.*

THE clergy have among them a kind of hierarchy, conſiſting of five orders. The firſt or higheſt order are named *Maſſankraches*; theſe are as ſupreme over all others, and ſit above the king. Thoſe of the next order are called *Naſſendeches*, who are like our biſhops, and ſit equal with the king. The third order is that of the *Mitires*, or prieſts, who ſit below the king. Beſides theſe there are two orders ſtill lower, named *Chaynizes* and *Sazes*. *Their clergy*

THE clergy, prieſts, and religious, were ſo numerous, that *Da Cruz* judged them to be one third of the people in the kingdom of *Kamboja*. This frier ſays, they are exceedingly proud and vain: nor is it to be wondered at, if, as he pretends, they are worſhipped for gods by the laity; and that the inferior prieſts worſhip their ſuperiors in the ſame manner[e]. *very numerous.*

ACCORDING to *Hagenaar*, they hold the firſt rank in the ſtate, and ſit before the *Oknias*, or lords of the court, very near the king, with whom they diſcourſe very familiarly[f]. Yet we are told by a late navigator into this country, that the prieſts are not much reſpected, as being generally choſen from the lower ſort of the people, and are maintained *Their power and claſſes.*

[d] WUSTHOF, ubi ſupra, p. 291. [e] DA CRUZ, ubi ſupra, p. 166, & ſeq. [f] HAGEN. ubi ſupra, p. 363.

by

Government, nobles.

by free-will offerings [g]. However they have much the advantage of the other classes of natives, who are all slaves except themselves [h]. They shave their beard, head, and eyebrows, like the *Talepoys* of *Siam*, but are not permitted to marry like those of the *Laos*. Their power extends even to civil affairs. They have a particular head or chief priest, who bears the title of *Râjah Pourson*, or *king of the priests*. This chief resides at *Sombrapour*, on the frontiers of the *Laos*, and has under him a *Tivinia*, with some inferior officers, in conjunction with whom he decides all the affairs of his district. The boats which in their passage arrive at this place, are obliged to give him an account of whatever they carry, which is always accompanied with some present [i].

Popish mission.

DA CRUZ, who calls the priests of *Kamboja Brammans*, says, in his time, the king was a *Bramman*, that is a priest; and it was to this connection between the king and them that he imputes the bad success of his mission. He observes, that their influence over the people was so great, that if, whilst he was preaching to them, any of the priests passing by only stopped, and said, *This doctrine is good, but ours is better*; they would all disperse at once. For this reason, and because the king shewed no inclination to favour his religion, after a whole year spent in the country, he neither found any fruit of his labour, nor the least encouragement for missionaries to repair thither. It must however be noted, that he places the disorderly behaviour of the *Portugueses* among the obstacles which rendered his attempt unsuccessful [k].

Government and nobles.

THERE are two ranks of state officers, who may be called the nobles or great lords of the kingdom. The first have the appellation of *Oknias*, or *Okinas*; and on them, as principal officers of the crown, is conferred the government of provinces, cities, and towns. Of these *Oknias* likewise the council of the king is composed; and all causes or suits of whatever kind are tried by them. Hereof they make report to the king, and his judgment or sentence is decisive; nor dare either party offer to complain of it [l]. The *Oknias* are known by a gold box for containing their betel; in which there are two or three lesser boxes of the same metal, filled with cardamum and other perfumes, wherewith they rub their lips; and another full of lime, with scissars to prepare their pinang or betel. This box they either hold in their

[g] HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 203. [h] DA CRUZ, ubi supra.
[i] WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 291. [k] DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 167. [l] HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 345, 352, 362, & seq. WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 290.

hand,

hand, or order to be carried before them. The officers of the second rank named *Tonimas* or *Tonimnes*, are allowed only to have silver boxes for their pinang or betel. They are placed behind the *Oknias* or privy counsellors; who, on all occasions which require ceremony, sit in a semicircle about the king, and persons of lesser rank behind them. The principal *Oknia* lays the affairs before his *Kambojan* majesty, but takes great care not to say any thing which may displease him [m]. There is a third sort of nobles called *Nampra*, but this is purely a title of honour [n]; although the lords of this rank are often sent to meet ambassadors, and on other special messages or matters of ceremony, in which alone they seem to be employed. *Government, nobles.*

When the king has a mind to confer an honour upon any of his minions, which however he never does without some considerable present, he delivers to such person two swords, which are always to be carried before him in public: one is the sword of state, the other of justice. Our author, who seems to speak of the *Oknias*, adds, that all people as he passeth with these ensigns of grandeur, must give way, and salute him in a settled form of words: but in case he happens to meet with another vested with the same dignity, they must compare patents, and he who first received the marks of honour must be first saluted. In all places where-ever they go, they hold courts of justice both civil and criminal. They have the power also to lay fines on people, which are paid into the king's treasury; but in capital cases their sentence is law, and execution immediately follows sentence [o]. The laws or sentences of these judges must be very severe, since we meet with an instance of a man being condemned to die for only breaking of a glass (H); and would have been executed but for the *Dutch*, who begged him off [p]. *Marks of honour.*

The king of *Kamboja* is so despotic, that not only the lands but the effects of his subjects, or rather slaves, fall to him upon their deaths; so that the wife and children have nothing to trust to, but what they can conceal or convey away by stealth. Nor is it very easy to do this, considering that as the meanest person may have access to the king, every body is busy to pick up news, that he may get an opportu- *King despotic.*

[m] Hagen. ibid. [n] Ibid. p. 341. 360. 363. [o] Hamilton, ubi supra. [p] Van Neck voyag. apud Rec. des Voy. vol. iii. p. 215.

(H) Mr. *Woolaston* might have brought this instance to support his position, that to break a glass is a breach of truth; or perhaps he took the hint from this passage.

King, his power. nity of ſpeaking to him; and by this means ſcarce any thing is done but what comes to his knowlege [q].

His forces. THE country not being very populous, the king's forces cannot be ſuppoſed to be very great: according to *Hagenaar*, they amount to no more than 20 or 30,000 men [r]. If ſo, his power muſt have greatly declined ſince the time of *Da Cruz*, who ſays, that the king was able to ſend 100,000 into the field [s]. It is likely that their ſtrength had been much exhauſted by civil wars, and the invaſions of their neighbours; eſpecially the king of *Siam*, by whom *Kamboja* had often been reduced to a ſtate of dependency.

His ſtate. NOTWITHSTANDING this, his *Kambojan* majeſty takes ſome ſtate upon him, and is not a little jealous of his honour. When *Hagenaar* went ambaſſador to *Kamboja* in 1637, the king took offence that the letters to him and his ſon, whom he had aſſociated in the throne, from the *Dutch* general of *Batavia*, were directed wrong; the letter which was for each being directed for the other: he was likewiſe diſguſted becauſe they were not written on gilt paper. But there was a third matter which gave moſt cauſe of diſcontent, and that was a demand which he made of four pieces of cannon, not being immediately complied with by the *Dutch*. Their heſitation upon this article occaſioned much delay and ſlight towards their ambaſſador; of whom, at one audience, the king took no notice when he went away. However they found themſelves obliged to do at laſt, what in prudence they ſhould have done at firſt, and then things went on very well [t].

Hagenaar's embaſſy. WHEN *Hagenaar* drew near the capital with his barks, the king ſent *Nampras* two or three times with preſents to ſalute him. The 16th of *June* the ſame year he landed, with a train of twenty muſketeers and two trumpets. He found at the water-ſide a very big elephant, but without teeth, and three or four chariots. The letters for the two kings were received by a *Nampra*; and being carried under an umbrella, were placed upon the back of the elephant. The ambaſſador went into the firſt chariot, which was gilded a little; the chief factor in the ſecond; and the *Tonimne*, who came to accompany *Hagenaar*, in the third; the captain of the veſſel, with the preſents, was carried in the fourth. Each chariot was drawn by two oxen, and the reſt of his people followed on foot.

[q] DA CRUZ, ubi ſupra, p. 167. [r] HAGEN. ubi ſupra, p. 362. [s] DA CRUZ, ubi ſupra, p. 166. [t] HAGEN. ubi ſupra, p. 343. 346. 356. 359.

As

As ſoon as he alighted at the palace he was conducted towards the hall of audience, where a great chair was placed for him to reſt himſelf a while, as being much indiſpoſed. The hall was full of people; and having firſt paſſed between two ranks of *Tonimnes*, with their ſilver boxes in their hands: he then entered between two rows of *Okinas*, or *Oknias*, holding their gold boxes great and ſmall before them. When he came to the middle of theſe laſt, he bowed and made his reverence to the king, who appeared in one corner of the hall, ſupported by a wooden rail twenty or twenty-five paces from him, under which there were two horſes fed with graſs. On the floor were ſpread two red carpets, whereon the preſents were placed; which conſiſted of two arquebuſſes with reſts, ten fuſees of *Spain*, two piſtols, two ſword-blades, and the remainder were in packets [t]. *King, his power. Goes to court.*

THE general's letter was preſented in a piece of gold ſtuff on a gold cup, placed in a varniſhed baſon. It contained many wiſhes for the proſperity of the king; which having firſt been repeated by the interpreter, was afterward read aloud in *Malayan*, and then tranſlated into the language of *Kamboja*. As the king obſerved the ambaſſador to be much fatigued, he adviſed him to retire into the antichamber; where they brought him a quilted bed, with two cuſhions, after that country manner, for him to lie down upon. Mean time the people being withdrawn, the king ſat and diſcourſed familiarly with the chief factor, the captain of the veſſel, and one or two more who remained in the hall. Towards evening the muſketeers were ordered to put out their matches, and the trumpets to give over ſounding: after which ſeveral ſorts of fruits, ſweetmeats, and other delicacies, with arrack, were ſerved up; of which the company eat, and then took leave. At this audience the king demanded the four cannon, and went away much diſguſted at what was ſaid on that occaſion; however he ſent certain medicines called *oubat*, which he had promiſed to the ambaſſador, while he was at the *Shah Bander*'s, where there was a great entertainment made for him [u]. *His audience*

AFTER this he had an audience of the young king, ſitting on a carpet between two curtains, as if it was a window. He was received very graciouſly, and preſented with *arrak* and *betel*, which is one of the greateſt honours done to any perſon. *Hagenaar* was deſirous of having an audience of the old queen: but the *Shah Bander* brought word ſhe was *of the young king.*

[t] HAGEN. p. 344, & ſeq. [u] Ibid. p. 346.

A. D. 1559. drunk; and that to make her presents would be throwing them away [x]. To finish this account of *Kambojan* audiences, we shall only observe further, that in 1717, when Captain *Hamilton*'s supercargo (sent to court as mentioned before), had audience of the king, his majesty, after ten days delay, received him in great state, sitting on a throne like a pulpit, with his face veiled below his eyes [y].

History of Kamboja. THE reader is not to expect much relative to the history of a country so little known, and seldom visited by *Europeans*: all which is to be met with on that subject will be comprised in the few particulars following. The first account we find of it is about the year 1559, about which time we are told it was subject to *Siam* [z]. Thus it continued for some time; how long we know not: for in 1592 *Laudara*, a *Mohammedan*, the then king of *Kamboja*, sent two ambassadors, one a *Portuguese*, the other a *Spaniard*, with a rich present, to *Gomez Perez*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippine* islands; to desire assistance against the king of *Siam*, who had marched with a numerous army to invade his dominions; offering in return to become subject to *Spain*, and embrace the *Romish* religion. This was the purport of the embassy; which was closed with a compliment, wherein the king said, that he concluded so brave a man as *Perez* would not be diverted by any other affair, from performing an action which would so much redound to the glory both of god and his prince. But *Perez*, being then very busy to recover *Ternata*, and the rest of the *Molukko* islands which had revolted, excused himself, for not having it in his power at that juncture to send the king the desired aid: however promised that, as soon as his expedition against *Ternata* was over, he would employ his forces to the relief of *Kamboja*.

Breach of faith punished. THE governor set out immediately on the first expedition, but never lived to get to that island. For having by fair promises prevailed on a great number of *Chinese* to go along with him; as soon as he got out to sea he treated them in a most audacious manner, obliging them to row in the gallies, and inflicted stripes to make them work beyond their power. He even threatened to put them in irons, and cut off their hair. This last to a *Chinese* is an affront which deserves death, and which he never forgives. To prevent the infamy they agreed to rise in the night, and destroy all the *Spaniards*. Pursuant to this resolution they mixed themselves with their task-masters when they went to sleep; and during the last

[x] HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 343, 356. [y] HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 200. [z] DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166.

watch,

watch, at the ſound of a whiſtle, all roſe, put on white frocks, that they might know one another, and lighted wax-candles: then, drawing their *katanas*, a kind of crooked ſwords, ſlew every man with ſo great expedition and little noiſe, that the very watch knew nothing of what had been done. The governor, awakening at the clamour which they made for that purpoſe, they called to him to come and pacify a quarrel among the *Spaniards*. *Perez* got up; but as ſoon as he appeared with his breaſt above deck, they ran him through with their pikes. Thus arrogance and perfidy were deſervedly puniſhed [a]. A. D. 1594.

LOUIS das Marinas, the ſon of *Perez*, ſucceeding him in the government of the *Philippine* iſlands. In the year 1594 *Lañgara* (I), king of *Kamboja*, ſent to put him in mind of the promiſe made by his father, and to require the ſuccours. This demand *Louis* thought fit to comply with; zealous to bring thoſe nations into the boſom of his church, as well as their riches and kings under ſubjection to the crown of *Spain*. With this view he fitted out three ſhips, manned with 120 *Spaniards* and ſome natives of the *Philippine* iſlands, under the command of *John Xuares Gallinato*, born in *Teneriffe*, one of the *Canary* iſlands. *Gallinato*, by ſtreſs of weather, was driven to the city of *Malakka*; but the other two ſhips reached *Kamboja*. In their way up the river they were informed, that the king had been defeated by the *Siameſe* army, and was fled with the poor remains of his forces into the kingdom of the *Laos*. The advice added, that, while he was begging aid of thoſe inhuman neighbours, the king of *Siam* had ſet upon the throne *Prâ Neär*, nick-named, *Wry-mouth the traitor*. *The Spaniards apply to.*

THIS accident did not hinder the *Spaniards* from proceeding forward: however, as the ſtate of things was changed, their commanders *James Veloſo* and *Blaſe Ruyz* gave out, that they came as ambaſſadors to the new king. Being arrived at *Chordumulo* (K), fourſcore leagues from the bar, they left forty *Spaniards* in the ſhips; and with forty others ſet out for the country where that prince then was. When they *Aſſiſt the Kambojans*:

[a] ARGENSOLA ubi ſupra, p. 135, & ſeq.

(I) Before called *Laudara*, if it be not a miſtake of the preſs. *Argenſola* ſays this king was a *Mohammedan*, and his ſubjects *Banians* and *Guzerats*; which we know not how to account for, unleſs it be that he fancied ſo, becauſe they held the tranſmigration of ſouls.

(K) Perhaps it ſhould be *Chordumuko*, or *Chordemuk* before-mentioned, p. 403.

A. D. 1594. got thither, they demanded an immediate audience: but were told, that they could not have one till the third day after; and in the mean time had good quarters assigned them. The *Spanish* commanders looking on this delay as suspicious, either that they were before acquainted with the nature of the court, or that they perceived some motions which gave distrust, they went to visit a beautiful lady of the royal family. By her they were informed, that the king being fond of her, she was admitted into his secrets; and that she knew he intended to have them all slain: she added, that the reason for putting off their audience for three days, under pretence of resting after their journey, was only to gain time to put his design in execution [b].

Kill the usurper. THE *Spaniards*, without being dismayed at the danger, returned the lady thanks for her intelligence, promising her a considerable reward; and came to a resolution to attack the king's palace the same night, notwithstanding he had his army about him. The better to succeed in their enterprize, they set fire to the house where the powder was kept, and during the confusion into which this accident had thrown the people, entered the palace. As they were acquainted with the royal apartments, they passed through them; and, after they had put the guards to the sword, forced open the chamber of the king, whom they ran through the body. The prince defended himself, and cried out for help; but before any could come to his assistance he bled to death. On the news of this action the whole city, containing more than 30,000 inhabitants, ran to their arms: presently 14,000 of them, with many elephants, came upon the *Spaniards*: but their two commanders, drawing up their little body, retired in good order, fighting and killing great numbers of their enemies in the retreat. The battle continued all the night; and next day they got to their ships, leaving the country involved in new divisions [c].

Gallinato *offered the crown*; TWO days after this strange event, *Gallinato* came up with his ship. He had been informed already of what had happened; and hasted forward, as thinking it his duty to succour the *Spaniards*. When he arrived, he found every thing in motion; while he heard the guard-drums beating, and the bells ringing, he saw the streets and the port full of trading people all in arms. These were the militia of *Kamboja* (without which necessary and natural defence no country can possibly be secure). Perceiving things in this threatening posture, he gave strict orders to those who accompanied him in the ex-

[b] ARGENSOL. p. 136. [c] Ibid. p. 145.

pedition,

pedition, to behave with the greateſt modeſty; and neither offend the people by their words, nor by their looks ſhew any ſigns of fear. He was viſited in a very peacable manner by the principal men of *Kamboja*, whom he entertained with much courteſy. He might have performed ſome great exploit if his forces had been more conſiderable; but as his ſtrength was too ſmall, and affairs had taken another courſe, he thought it beſt to return. From this however thoſe great men endeavoured to diſſuade him, promiſing to confer the crown on him; as being well affected to the *Spaniards* and a foreign government. Hence came the report that *Gallinato* became king of *Kamboja*, which was by many believed in *Spain*, and acted on the ſtage with applauſe. But that report had no other foundation than what hath been related: however, it was the opinion of perſons well acquainted with thoſe eaſtern countries, that if *Gallinato* had laid hold of the offer made him, he might have poſſeſſed himſelf of *Kamboja*, and united it to the crown of *Spain*[d].

A. D. 1594.

but prudently refuſes it.

Our author had ſeen letters from *Veloſo* and *Blaſe Ruyz* to the council at *Manilla*, wherein they ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe; and complain that *Gallinato* ſhould blame them for what they had done. Theſe two commanders ſailed from *Kamboja* to *Kochinchina*; where landing they went alone to the kingdom of the *Laos*, which lies to the weſt of it, in order to ſeek out the depoſed king *Langara*, and reſtore him to his throne. They found he was dead, but had a ſon living; who, as ſoon as he was informed that theſe *Spaniards* had killed the uſurper, ſet forward with them for his kingdom, accompanied with 10,000 men, lent him by the king of the *Laos*, contrary to all expectation. With theſe forces he attacked *Kamboja*, aſſiſted by *Ruyz* and *Veloſo*, who continued with him after the war was over. This prince ſent an embaſſy to the *Philippine* iſlands, requiring ſupplies to quell the troubles which were then on foot; promiſing not only to become a convert to the *Romiſh* faith, with all his ſubjects, but alſo to yield a conſiderable part of his dominions to the *Spaniards* for their ſubſiſtence[e].

The king reſtored.

Don *Louis de las Marinhas*, who was then out of the government of the *Philippines*, undertook the enterprize at his own coſt. He ſet out from *Manilla* with Don *James Jordano*, an *Italian*, Don *Pedro de Figueroa*, *Pedro Villeſtil*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios Coronel*, *Spaniſh* commanders. The laſt of them had been in the firſt war of *Kamboja*, and was

The Spaniards deſtroyed

[d] Argensol. p. 145. [e] Ibid.

A. D. 1600. at this time a prieſt. But they had not been long at ſea before they were ſurpriſed with a furious ſtorm which continued three days, and drove them toward the coaſt of *China*. There two ſhips ſunk to the bottom men and all. Of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, on board the vice admiral, only five got on ſhore by ſwimming; ſome ſoldiers likewiſe were ſaved out of the admiral, which foundered, and among the reſt the military prieſt. The other ſhip, after many dangers ran, got to *Kamboja*, almoſt ſhattered to pieces. She found in the river eight junks of *Malayans*; and the *Spaniards*, perceiving that they deſigned to carry away certain ſlaves belonging to the prince whom they came to aſſiſt, inconſiderately boarded them: but the *Malayans*, by means of their fireworks, with which they were well provided, ſoon burnt their ſhip, and moſt of the *Spaniards* periſhed in the flames. Not long after *Blaſe Ruyz* and *Veloſo*, who ſtill continued about the king, were beſet in the houſe where they dwelt, and murdered by the natives. The few *Spaniards* who eſcaped got into the kingdom of *Siam*, and from thence to *Manilla*[f].

by the natives.

Kamboja *conquered:*

THE *Kambojans* being thus deprived of all further ſuccour from the *Spaniards*, ſtruggled with their war for ſome time; but at length, about the year 1600, were ſubdued by *Râjah Âpi*, king of *Siam*[g]. But during the troubles which aroſe on the death of his brother the white king in 1610, *Kamboja* and *Lanjang*, or the lower *Laos*, revolted. In 1637, when *Hagenaar* was there, we find it in rebellion againſt *Siam*; having, it may be preſumed, newly thrown off the yoke[h]. Beſides the misfortune of being ſo often ſubdued by its neighbours, the reſtleſs ſpirit or ambition of the princes of the blood frequently involved the country in civil wars, which rendered it a more eaſy prey to invaders. We are told that it was in this diſtracted ſtate from the year 1628, or thereabouts, till 1680; when, on the death of *Nak Shân* the king, new troubles aroſe by one prince aſſaſſinating another. The murderer applied to the king of *Kochinchina* for his conſent to reign; but that prince divided the dominions between him and the adopted ſon of the late king. The uſurper, diſſatisfied with this partition, put himſelf under the protection of the king of *Siam*; the other applied for ſuccours to him of *Kochinchina*: but having been defeated by the uſurper's ſon, who ſucceeded his father, fled thither for ſhelter. Three years after he returned with forces and drove the former out. In 1685, this latter, being powerfully aſſiſted both by ſea and

Involved in civil wars:

[f] HAGEN. p. 147. [g] FLORIS, apud Purchas Pilgrim. vol. i. p. 319. [h] See before, p. 301.

land,

land from *Siam*, made another attempt to recover the kingdom, but did not prove ſucceſsful [i]. A. D. 1717.

Tributary to Kochinchina.

HOWEVER the war continued between the princes of the two contending branches, ſupported by their neighbours, who at firſt eſpouſed their quarrel. But we know little of what occurred till the year 1717, when we are informed that the king of *Siam* invaded *Kamboja* with an army of 50,000 men by land and 20,000 by ſea. He gave the command to his *Barkalong* (or firſt miniſter), a *Chineſe*, who, being altogether unacquainted with war, could willingly have declined the charge: but the king would needs oblige him to undertake it. Yet the ill ſucceſs of this expedition made it appear, that he was a better judge of his own abilities than his maſter [k]. On the news of this great power coming againſt his country, the king of *Kamboja*, knowing himſelf unable to withſtand it, firſt ordered his ſubjects who lived on the frontiers to withdraw with their effects towards the capital city, and to deſtroy whatever they could not bring away; by which means the country for fifty leagues together was turned into a deſert. He next applied for ſuccours to the king of *Kochinchina*, who, on condition that he ſhould become tributary, agreed to protect him. He accordingly ſent an army of 15,000 men to his aſſiſtance by land, and 3000 more in nimble gallies, well-equipped, to defend the coaſts.

The Siameſe ill ſucceſs by ſea and land.

THE army of *Siam*, though three times more numerous than that of *Kamboja*, finding all the country deſolate before them, ſoon began to be in diſtreſs for want of proviſions. This obliged them to kill their carriage beaſts, elephants, and horſes, for which they could get no ſuſtenance; and the ſoldiers being obliged to eat their fleſh, a diet which they had never been uſed to, an epidemic flux, as well as fever, ſeized the whole camp; ſo that in two months time the army was diminiſhed above one half, and they who remained were obliged to retreat back to their own country as faſt as they could, with the *Kambojan* troops continually at their heels.

NOR had the *Siameſe* navy better ſucceſs, although more than four times the number of the *Kambojan* fleet. As ſoon as they arrived at the port of *Ponteamâs*, they ſent their ſmall gallies to plunder and burn the town. This indeed they did effectually; and of elephants teeth only they conſumed more than 200 tons: but the *Kochinchineſes*, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked the large junks and ſhips of burden, which lay in the road above four miles from the town, whilſt

[i] See before, p. 321, & ſeq.

[k] HAMILTON, ubi ſupra, p. 181.

Extent, situations. the gallies of the enemy were in a very narrow river, and could not come to their assistance for want of high water to bring them out. The *Kochinchineses*, who did not care to engage such a superior force, having done what they came about, retired; and the *Siamers*, fearing a famine in their fleet, steered their course homewards with disgrace [m].

CHAP. XIV.

Kingdom of Champa.

Extent and situation. THE country of *Champa* (L) is so small, and perhaps inconsiderable in the way of commerce, that it is scarce minded by navigators. It is commonly supposed to begin at the mouth of *Kamboja* river, and to end at *Kochinchina*, although that coast is frequently ascribed to *Kamboja*; in effect they are often confounded together. Mr. *De L'Isle* gives *Champa* but a small extent of coast bending north-east from *Kamboja*: but makes it run northward at the back of *Kochinchina*, between it and the said river [n]. Mr. *Danville* commences it in 10° 30′ north, and terminates it in 12° 13′, where it joins *Kochinchina* on the north-west, bounding both countries on that side by the same chain of mountains; so that their breadth from south-east to north-west is equal, about seventy *English* miles, or sixty minutes of latitude; and the length of *Champa* from south-west to north-east, either along the coast or the western borders, about 140 miles.

Islands and banks. OFF this coast there are several islands and shoals: the most remarkable are *Pulo Sefir do Terra* and *Pulo Sefir do Mar*. The first lies near the shore at the north point of *Sefir* bay; and the other far out at sea, about sixteen leagues to the south by east. There is a third called *Tiger* island, towards the south point of *Sefir* bay. The shoals are, the bank of *Brito*, at the entrance of *Sandy Bay*; the *Garden of Holland*, five leagues to the east of the former; with the *Rabo de Lakra*, or the *Scorpion's Tail*, which begins about the same distance more to the east, and runs in a ridge twenty leagues north-east. To these may be added the shoals

[m] HAMILT. p. 196, & seq.

[n] See his map of Asia, 1723.

(L) The *Portugueses* write, as the *English* do, *Champa*; the *Italians*, *Ciampa*. Hence possibly the *French*, and others, have made *Tsiampa* and *Tsiompa*, as wanting the *ch* in their alphabets.

adjoin-

adjoining to the *Sefirs*, beſides thoſe of *Pulo Sapata*, *Middleburgh*, *Pedro de Andrada*, and *Baſſe Iſle*, at a great diſtance from ſhore, yet to be avoided by navigators. *Ports, towns.*

CHAMPA ſeems to be furniſhed with ſeveral good bays and harbours, into which fall many rivers: but theſe laſt are neither large, nor of any great length, as deſcending from the mountains which bound it on the north-weſt. The bays are the *Sandy Bay*, with thoſe of the *Tiger*, *Sefir*, *Padaran*, and *Buil*, which has an iſland of the ſame name within it. The iſle of *Vache*, or *Bache*, is incloſed with the bank of *Brito*, and lies at the point dividing *Sandy* from *Tiger Bay*; at the eaſt point of which lies the iſland called *Tiger iſle*. In the cod or bottom of the bay falls the river *Baria*, by ſome named *Peri*°. *Bays and harbours.*

THE ſtate of *Champa* within land is very little known to *Europeans*. It ſeems to contain few conſiderable places; nor are they acquainted with the names of any except the capital or chief town, named *Feneri*. The moſt that we can learn about it is, that there are villages on the ſides of the rivers near the coaſts; ſome larger than others, which may paſs for towns: and the kings or princes of the country ſeem to have no better places of reſidence. *Feneri* is the principal town of *Champa* (M), where the king keeps his court. His palace (N) hath nothing in its proſpect which may be termed ſumptuous; nor doth magnificence appear about the prince himſelf. *Towns and villages.* Feneri *the capital.*

THE natives of *Champa* are called *Loys*, and a very different people from the *Kochinchineſes*, who are at preſent their maſters. Theſe latter came from *China*, at the time when the *Tartars* conquered it; and reſemble the *Chineſes* in their features, beard, and dreſs, excepting that they do not cut their hair. They wear on ceremonious occaſions a large black gown, like the officers of juſtice in *France*. They Kochinchineſes *of* Champa.

° See DAPRES Neptune Orientale, p. 79, & ſeqq. DANVILLE's map of Aſia. Second part Engliſh Pilot. DAMPIER. HAMILTON, &c.

(M) *Feneri* ſeems to lie to the weſt or ſouthweſt of the village from whence they ſet out, and not far from the coaſt: for in the way to it they were ſometimes led back a while, and brought to the coaſt under pretence of ſending orders on board the ſhip.

(N) This ſeems to be ſpoken of his palace, or place of reſidence in *Feneri*: but the palace where he uſually reſided ſtood about three quarters of a mile from the city. Which the king invited the *French* officers to go ſee; but they declined it, as will appear afterwards.

value

Inhabitants, manners.

value themſelves much above other nations, and think themſelves more learned and ſkilful, although they have but very narrow capacities, ſince they are entirely ignorant of commerce, or even agriculture.

THESE *Kochinchineſes* are very poor. Their forces conſiſt in ſome gallies, each having on board forty or fifty men, and mounting two ſmall guns. Their arms are muſkets, pikes, ſabres, and ſagays, which they handle with ſkill. Their officers wear a gown of black ſilk open on the ſides, and on their head a hair bonnet of conic ſhape, with a tail hanging behind. The ſoldiers have the ſleeve ſomewhat leſs; and the bonnet of buffalo's hair, like a collegian's cap, which is ſaid to be ſabre proof.

The Loys *tributary.*

THE *Loys*, or natives of *Champa*, after a long war carried on againſt them by the *Kochinchineſes*; at length became their tributaries, by a treaty of peace, made in the beginning of the preſent century. The conditions were, that the king of *Champa* ſhould remain in peaceable poſſeſſion of his territories, but that he ſhould render homage to him of *Kochinchina*; and that a Mandarin of this laſt kingdom ſhould have the ſecond place in the royal council of *Champa*, where nothing can be determined without his conſent [P].

Perſons and dreſs.

THE *Loys* are large brawny people, and better made than the *Kochinchineſes*. Their complexion is ruddy (O), the noſe a little flat; they have long black hair, ſmall whiſkers, and little beards. Their dreſs is a ſhirt and cloſe breeches of calico. Their outer garment is a white paigne (P), in form of a petticoat, with a gold or ſilk fringe, according to the quality of the perſon. The king's guards and the Mandarins are cloathed differently from the *Kochinchineſes*; having, inſtead of a gown, a white veſt with the turbân: the officers wear it ſomewhat longer than the common ſoldiers.

THE people differ much alſo in character from their maſters: they are more humane and affable to ſtrangers, more laborious and rich; but not ſo ſtrong by land as the *Kochinchineſes*, as theſe latter are more numerous. However the *Loys* are ſuperior at ſea; their gallies are better built; and

[P] DAPRES, ubi ſupra, p. 83, & ſeq.

(O) Yet elſewhere the women are repreſented ſo ugly, with complexions yellow and livid, as to give diſguſt, inſtead of inclination, to men even of the coarſeſt taſte and keeneſt appetite. Perhaps this is to be underſtood of the *Kochinchineſe* women.

(P) A kind of white calico cloth, ſo named by the *Portugueſes*, and much uſed in the *Indies*.

their boats, in form of tartans, serve them for catching fish, which they have in great plenty on their coast. *Inhabitants, religion.*

THERE is among them a tribe named *Moys* (Q), who inhabit the mountains, and are employed by them in all work of drudgery as slaves. A piece of cloth to cover their nakedness is all their dress. *Tribe of Moys.*

THE two nations (*Loys* and *Kochinchinese*) have nearly the same laws. There is great subordination among them, from the king, the mandarins, and the placemen, to the commonalty. But if policy and justice reign in *Champa*, it may be said that equity and uprightness are excluded from it. A person is punished for the smallest fault whatever. The lower class of people are not allowed to keep silver in their houses: he who is discovered to have any will be condemned by the Mandarin of the place either to pay a mulct, or receive a severe bastonado. Their money, called *kash* (R), is of copper, the size of a *liard* (or *French* farthing), 100 go for an *amarad*, which is worth thirty *French* sols. *Laws severe.*

POSTS are sold here as in other parts of the world. That of Mandarin is granted to him who bids the king most for it; and the greater dues he pays, the higher he is raised in dignity. But the *Loys* have one advantage above the *Kochinchinese*, which is, that when they are not rich enough to pay those dues, they have the privilege of borrowing money, at a high interest, of the king's women, who make the most they can of this usury; and indeed it is all their revenue. Hence it happens that these principal men draw all the money they can from their respective districts, which the subjects are never the better for [q]. *Employments sold.*

ALL religions are tolerated and freely exercised in *Champa*; but those most prevailing are the *Mohammedan* and doctrine of *Konfusius*. Nor is idolatry without its votaries also. Some adore animals; others the sun, the moon, and the stars, or the heavens. One thing extraordinary found here is, that the *Mohammedans* of this country eat swines flesh, and offer their wives to strangers, excepting their legal one; whom they cannot divorce without convicting her of incontinence. Their marriages are made without any ceremonies, and at small expence: the consent of the parties is sufficient, after which *Religions tolerated.*

[q] DAPRES, ubi supra, p. 83, & seq.

(Q) These *Moys* seem to be the same with the *Ke-moy*, who inhabit the mountains, which run from *Champa* along the west borders of *Kochinchina* and *Tonking*, between that country and the *Laos*.

(R) It is more likely our word *cash* comes from hence, than from the *French caisse*, a chest.

they

Inhabitants, trade. they chew betel, and all is over. Indeed for the general their diet is nothing but rice and dried fish, sometimes half-rotten; but to make themselves amends they drink much arrack, and often get drunk.

Produce and trade THE south part of this kingdom produces a little cotton, some indigo, and bad silk: so that the inhabitants have no trade but what is carried on at home among themselves; and that of fish is the most considerable.

SHIPS come from *China* every year loaden with tea, ordinary silk, china-ware, and provisions: they in exchange take gold, which is finer than that of *China*; and a certain sweet-scented wood (R) which grows on this coast, in order to burn on the tombs of their parents, and in honour of their images (S). This commerce was interrupted for about twenty-five years by the bad treatment which these people gave to the *Chinese*; some of whose vessels they plundered *in bad condition.* and burned, without making them any satisfaction. Ever since that time the *Chinese* have traded here with great precaution: and the others, to be revenged, have invented new duties of anchorage to lay on the merchandizes, which they oblige them to pay before they will allow them to traffick. Their Mandarins, under pretence of measuring the vessels, visit the chests of the people, and take what they think fit. Commerce cannot long subsist where the exactions are so enormous: and if they use their neighbours so ill, no wonder they should abuse *Europeans*, whom they know so little of, and see only by accident[r].

Some French surprised THIS account of the inhabitants of *Champa* we have from the *French*; who, putting in there some years ago, were detained, and obliged to ransom themselves. A succinct relation (T) of this affair will give our readers a farther insight into the nature and disposition of the people.

[r] DAPRES, ubi supra.

(R) This is the kalamba, which is reckoned better than that of other countries.

(S) This is to be understood only of the idolatrous sect of *Fo* among the *Chinese*, who make use of images in their worship; and not of the *Konfusian* sect, who use none.

(T) The relation, of which this is an abstract, was sent to the company by Capt. *Gravé*, one of those detained, who therein inserted the preceding account of the inhabitants. The substance of this relation was, for its curiosity, inserted by Mr. *Dapres* in his great *Neptune Orientale*; containing the best charts and instructions for navigators, as to the *East Indies*, hitherto published.

IN

In 1720 the *Galathée* frigate belonging to the *East India* company, commanded by M. *Le Gac*, put into the river *Baria* in *Tiger Bay*, to seek refreshments. The inhabitants appeared in great numbers, on seeing the boat approach the shore with two officers, sent to require liberty to take in water. Here they found many pirogues or boats, and little gallies. They landed at the motion of the inhabitants; who carried them to a village on the river side, consisting of several huts or houses of the country. There they were disarmed and stripped. Next day the natives attempted, with two armed pirogues, to surprise the boat which brought the officers; but the person left in charge with it made his escape. *Inhabitants, trade. on shore.*

Two days after arrived a missionary named *Gouge*, who went to *India* with Mr. *Chaumont*, and had been in *Champa* ever since 1685. He was sent by the king to know the occasion of the ship's arrival. Next day the king's son came to the village. They complained to the prince of the ill usage received; and he promised redress as soon as he should see the captain or his second. Accordingly M. *Gravé de la Belliere*, second captain, going ashore, was honourably received, and carried to a Mandarin's, where he had a dinner, followed with a comedy. From thence they were brought to the prince's lodging, to be witness of the punishment inflicted on those who had injured them. They were produced with the *cep* (U) about their necks, and their backs towards him, as unworthy to look on him. After a severe reprimand for their breach of faith, he condemned them to pay 50,000 *cash* (X), and receive fifty bastonados each on their backs. *The aggressors punished.*

After this *Gravé* was permittted to take water and return, on promise to come again next day; in which case the prince declared he would release the two officers, and let them have provisions. *Gravé* thought it best to comply; and returning next day, was invited with those officers by the prince to dinner. The comedy, which succeeded, was interrupted by a *Madoy*, or courier, with a letter from the king to the prince, signifying his pleasure that the ship should repair to a great river in a better port, eight or nine leagues from thence; and that the officers should be conducted to *Fenere*. They had leave to give notice of this to the captain of the ship; to whom the prince sent two buffalos, some hogs, and other refreshments[s]. *The French still detained.*

[s] Dapres ibid. p. 79.

(U) Called *kanghé* by the *Chineses*. A sort of pillory-board, with a hole to inclose the neck.

(X) These make about 25 *French* crowns.

LE

Inhabitants, trade. LE GAC, who saw the design was to seize his ship, excused himself from removing elsewhere, under pretence of the wind being contrary, and other inconveniencies: but there was no staving off the journey of the officers to court, whither the prince accompanied them. They underwent excessive fatigues; the roads were almost impassable, and the heat intolerable: but the insolence of their conductors was still less supportable, and made them complain to the prince. They were nine days on the journey, carried round-about ways, seemingly to make the distance appear greater. They alighted at the missionary's; where several christians of the country came to visit, and brought them provisions during their stay.

Sent for to court.

The king described. NEXT day, by the king's order, they went to court, crossing a narrow river ten feet deep on horse-back. On the other side a multitude of people was gathered to see them. The hall of audience consisted of two great piles of building, all on a floor, supported by pillars of red wood, very plain. The throne where he sat was nothing more than a foot-stool, raised and covered with a carpet: behind was a screen of *China* varnish. His dress was a robe of black damask embroidered with gold, mixed with mother of pearl, and furnished with clasps; and over that a very fine piece of calico, adorned at the bottom with gold fringe, and a narrow gold galloon above it. His crown was of red cloth, without any precious stones, and edged only with a narrow gold lace of *Japan*. He wore on his legs little buskins or boots; nor is any body else permitted to go shod.

His guards and train. HIS *Champa* majesty's guard consisted of twelve men clad in red silk, with turbans of the same colour; and armed with sabres, whose handles were garnished with gold. On his left were four *Loys* Mandarins, dressed in the same manner as the king, excepting the buskins. They had their guards also. On his right-hand was a Mandarin of *Kochinchina*; then followed several other Mandarins, placed according to their respective ranks, and about 206 officers disposed in a proper manner. The strangers and missionary were posted at the entrance of the hall. The king, after surveying them for a while, ordered *betel* to be presented them; and expressed his joy to see the subjects of a prince whose fame had reached the *Indies*. Having in their answer acknowleged his favours; he testified his satisfaction by an inclination of his head, and withdrew with his train [t].

[t] DAPRES ibid. p. 80, & seq.

SOON

SOON after they were conducted into the hall to dinner, where the king and his court were already seated at another table laid for them. There were served up the four quarters of a hog, two roasted and two boiled, with some fowls, and other meats after the fashion of the country. After this first course came another, consisting of the white flesh of pullets hashed with some confections. The king ordered them some of his own drink, which was agreeable; and the entertainment was concluded with a comedy. *Inhabitants, trade.* *Entertains the French.*

WHEN the play was over, one of the principal Mandarins sent to demand of Mr. *Gravé* 30 *nekûns*, which make 420 *Spanish* piasters. He alleged that this sum was for supplying the ship with refreshments; and that it was the custom among them to pay it before-hand. As that sum was represented exorbitant, he reduced it to one-fifth, or 70 piasters, and an officer was permitted to return on board to get the money. Mean time the king sent to ask, if he had a mind to see his palace, which was but three quarters of a mile from thence? *Gravé* thanked him for the honour intended, and retired with the rest. *Demands a large duty.*

WHILE these pretended courtesies were going on, the Mandarins resolved to send to *Kamboja* for an officer experienced in war, and give him the command of several gallies to take the *French* ship. For this purpose they caused troops to march towards the place where they were to embark; of which certain converts gave notice to *Gouge*, who, being sent along with the officer for the 70 piasters, informed the captain. *Le Gac* was at a loss how to act. If he staid, he ran a great risk; if he went away, he exposed both his officers and the missionary to popular fury. On the return of *Gouge*, *Gravé* and his companions made new efforts to obtain their liberty from the king; to whom they represented the injustice of their detention. That prince received them with much freedom, made them eat and drink with him, and carried his gallantry so far as to offer them women: to whom, it seems, they could have had no stomach, if they had been ever so much at ease [u]. *Design on the ship.*

THE same evening *Gouge* was ordered by the prime Mandarin to go aboard the vessel and fetch the 30 *nekûns*, or 420 piasters which he had at first demanded; and to urge the captain to bring his ship to a place a league above the mouth of the river *Baria*. The *French* captives, despairing of liberty, desired that *Le Gac* might depart as soon as he thought fit. The captain intreated *Gouge*, to propose the *A new demand.*

[u] DAPRES, p. 81.

release

Inhabitants, trade.

releaſe of the priſoners for the ſum demanded; and to tell the Mandarin he would wait his anſwer four days only. On this the Mandarin repaired to the village where the ſhip lay, to conſult the other Mandarins. *Gouge*, and the *French* officers, being alſo ordered thither; the latter were in hopes it was to ſend them on board: but ſome converts ſaid, the Mandarins deſign was to attack the ſhip, and, on the leaſt reſiſtance, to ſacrifice both the miſſionary and the officers. Alarmed at this, they implored the protection of the king's ſon, who promiſed to aſſiſt in council, and eſpouſe their cauſe. *Gravé* made him a preſent of his ſword, which he ſeemed to deſire; but the prince bid him not ſpeak of it to the Mandarins, becauſe he had meaſures to obſerve with them.

The French ranſomed.

NEXT morning early, a gun being fired from the ſhip, the council ſent to *Gravé* to know the meaning of it. As ſoon as they heard it was the ſignal to ſet ſail, the Mandarins entered into compoſition; and at laſt it was agreed, that *Gouge* ſhould accompany the three officers on board to receive the 420 piaſters. Their boat was followed by another with ten or twelve armed men, under pretence of an eſcort; and thus the *French* were releaſed after thirty days detention. Next morning the miſſionary returned from the Mandarins, deſiring that the ſhallop might be ſent aſhore for buffalos, hogs, fowls, and other refreſhments which they made an offer of. *Le Gac* ſaid he was willing to receive them if the Mandarins would ſend a boat of the country: but that, for his part, he would not truſt either his boats or his men in their hands a ſecond time; and forthwith ſet ſail [x].

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Kochinchina.

Kochinchina *deſcribed*;

IT was called by that name, which ſignifies *Weſtern China*, by the *Portugueſe*, to diſtinguiſh it from the kingdom of *Cochin*, on the *Malabar* coaſt. This kingdom was once ſubject to that of *Tong-king*, tho' at preſent independent of it.

whence ſo called.

By what means it ſhook off that yoke, and came to be governed by its own kings, will be related in the next chapter. Nevertheleſs, they have ſtill continued as much tributary to the *Chineſe* as they were before, when under the *Tong-kineſe*.

Its boundaries.

COCHINCHINA is ſituate under the *Torrid Zone*, and extends, according to ſome authors [a], from the 12th to the

[x] DAPRES, p. 82.

[a] F. ALEX. DE RHODES in collect. voy. F. BORRIS, & al.

18th,

18th, but according to others, from the 8th to the 17th degree of north latitude [c], or about 500 miles in length; but is much leſs extenſive in its breadth from eaſt to weſt. It is bounded by *Tongking*, on the north; on the ſouth, by the ſmall kingdom of *Champa*, or *Chiampa*; on the eaſt, by the *Chineſe* ocean; upon whoſe coaſts it hath a good number of ſea-ports, both ſafe and eaſy of acceſs; and the bays ſo deep, even near to the ſhore, as to contain between 50 and 80 fathom water; beſides ſeveral iſlands, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; and on the weſt, by the kingdoms of *Laos* and *Camboja*; both which are tributary to it, as well as that of *Champa*, and ſome others; of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place.

Diviſion.

THE whole country is divided into ſix provinces; the moſt conſiderable of which is that which is called *Sinuva*, or *Shanoa*, and borders upon *Tongking*; the other five are *Quam-bin*, on the north, *Cham*, *Kangtia*, and *Kinhin*, along the coaſts, and *Rau-van*, on the inland [d]. They are all very well peopled, as well as the country, and have ſome large towns, tho' none of them conſiderable for any thing elſe, except that of *Kehue*, which is the reſidence of the *Chova*, or king, and is ſituate in the province of *Shanoa*, lately mentioned [e]. And even this is nothing ſo remarkable for the beauty and elegance of its edifices, which are moſtly of wood, and ſupported by painted pillars, to raiſe them above the land-floods, as for the numerouſneſs and ſplendid appearance of its court, and the vaſt crouds of people which inhabit or reſort to it [f].

Populouſneſs.

THESE inundations, which happen regularly every year, as we have ſeen them in *Siam*, and other neighbouring kingdoms [g], towards the middle of autumn, and continue two whole months, render the country exceeding fertile, eſpecially in rice, by the great quantity of mud they leave behind. But we ſhall ſay the leſs on the fruitfulneſs and product of this kingdom, it being much the ſame in moſt reſpects with thoſe of *Pegu*, *Siam*, and others already deſcribed; the warmneſs of whoſe climate, and richneſs of the ſoil, occaſioned by the mud with which the land-floods cover the low-grounds, naturally occaſion a great plenty and variety of eſculents, whilſt their warmer ſun gives them, eſpecially the fruits, the moſt exquiſite taſte and flavour.

Fertility from its yearly inundations.

[c] DAMPIER, ſuplim. ch. i. Martini. [d] DE RHODES, ubi ſup. [e] Ib. & al ſup. citat. [f] DE RHODES. [g] See before, p. 40. 201, & ſeq.

A peculiar tree and fruit.

AMONG the fruit-trees which our author affirms to be peculiar to this country (A), there is one which he tells us resembles a sackful of chesnuts, one single one being a sufficient load for a man; the weight of which, the branches not being strong enough to bear, the divine providence ordained to grow close to the root, in large bunches. The rind of it is very thick, and when opened, is found to contain some 500 chesnuts; and larger than those we have from *Spain*: but what the natives value most in them, is a white well-tasted skin, which covers them, and which they peel off before they roast them [h].

The incorruptible tree.

Another, no less extraordinary for the excellent use of its wood, is that which they stile the incorruptible tree, it not being liable to rot or corrupt under earth or water; and is of so tough and solid a nature, that they make anchors of it for their shipping. This tree grows chiefly, and in great plenty, on the mountains; is exceeding tall; and so thick, that two men can hardly fathom it; they have it of two colours, one black, the other red; the former much like that which the *Siamese* and *Chinese* call the iron-tree, and put to much the same use [i].

Mountains, Quarries, Mines.

THE same mountains produce the aquiline or eagle-wood, aloes, calambac, and others of the same rare and odiferous nature: they abound with quarries of several sorts of marble, gold and iron mines. The natives have learned the art of fusing and working the latter into several branches, from the *Chinese*; but are still ignorant in the art of casting it, especially into cannon, bombs, mortars, and other artillery. Those mountains abound likewise with vast quantities of wild beasts, particularly the rhinoceros and the elephant; the latter of which, if we may credit Father *Borri*, exceeds all the rest in *India* in bigness; the feet of the male being full half a yard in diameter, and their teeth between four and five yards in length [k].

Large elephants.

A wild people called Kemois.

THE most remarkable of all their mountains, is a long ridge of them, which extends itself along the western frontiers from north to south, and is inhabited by a wild lawless

[h] DE RHODES, ubi supr. [i] BORRI, ubi supr. See also before, p. 200. vol. viii. p. 190. [k] BORRI, ubi sup. Chevrier's hist. of Cochinchina, & al.

(A) This we would not, however, warrant upon his authority, it being likely he may be as much mistaken as he is when he affirms the same thing of the bird's nest so famed all over *India* for its exquisite taste; but which, by the concurring testimony of writers, is found in many other countries besides this.

sort

ſort of people, called *Kemoy*, who pay neither tribute, nor ſubjection, to any government; being exempted from it by the inacceſſibility of their rocky habitations; which afford no leſs ſafe an aſylum to the runaway *Chineſe*, *Tonquineſe*, and other nations, that flee thither for refuge; and being once incorporated with the mountaineers, learn to live like them, by hunting, or making of inroads into the low-lands[1].

No walled cities, but large towns.

THE reſt of the country being moſtly low and flat, and as was lately hinted, yielding plenty of all neceſſaries for life, is extraordinarily well peopled. Their open towns, they having no walled cities, are in great numbers, and very large. *Borri* mentions ſome of them four or five miles long; and moſt of them are ſaid to ſwarm with inhabitants. The villages ſeem almoſt contiguous to one another. Their fairs are frequent, and well crouded both with men and wares for all uſes. But the moſt conſiderable are thoſe which are kept during the time of the inundation, when the whole country lies under water, and looks like a ſea covered with variety of boats, barges, and other veſſels, going from one province to another, with great eaſe and expedition, and all carrying on ſome uſeful branch of inland commerce. But what the natives eſteem the moſt profitable manufacture, is that of ſilk, which they weave into great variety of ſtuffs; which, tho' not of ſo fine a nature as thoſe of *China*, and other parts of *India*; yet their ſilk is produced in ſuch plenty, that the ſails, cordage of their ſhips, fiſhermens nets, and other ſuch mean implements, are made of it; not but they have ſome of a much finer ſort, which they manufacture amongſt them in different ways, and which greatly exceed thoſe which are wrought in the kingdom of *Tong-king*; but theſe are few in compariſon of the reſt. Pepper, ſugar, honey, wax, and an oil which they make in great plenty from their numerous land-tortoiſes, are other branches of their commerce; great quantities of each of them being conveyed from their ſea-ports into various countries of *India*, in foreign bottoms. The author of the *New Atlas* tells us, on what authority we know not, that the kings of this country formerly gave the *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe* leave to build a city on a bay, not far diſtant from the town of *Faifo*, or *Farfo*, which he ſeems to intimate was his capital, and where the moſt conſiderable fairs were kept. The bay, which he places in 16, gr. lat. and 108 ½ E. long. is very ſafe and commodious for all ſorts of ſhips, and much frequented by the two nations above-mentioned, and other foreigners, who import wrought plate, ſilks, and other rich

Travelling by water.

Silk, and other manufactures.

Commerce.

Emporium at Faifo.

Imports, exports, and cuſtoms.

[1] BORRI, ubi ſupr. Chevrier Cochinchina, & al.

merchandizes, during the four months which the fair laſts; the duties and cuſtoms of which make a conſiderable branch of the king's revenue, and of the peoples commerce. *Borri* adds, that the bay the town ſtands upon hath two inlets from the ſea, about three or four leagues from each other; the one called *Pullo Campelo*, and the other *Turan*, or *Tauran*; but approaching nearer to each other, join at laſt into one ſtream, ſo that veſſels inward-bound, after five or ſix leagues ſailing, meet again at one point (B). The *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe*, which inhabit the city, are each governed by their own laws, and chuſe their own magiſtracy from among themſelves; and are the chief factors and managers for all merchandiſes imported and exported between the natives and other *Indian* nations who trade thither. Their exports, however, are not conſiderable, conſiſting only of their ſilks abovementioned, cottons, aloes, caſſia, wax, ſugar, and betel-root, all which are chiefly bought by the *Chineſe*. They have no

Two inlets into the bay.

(B) Our author adds, that the *Dutch* having made ſome attempts to obtain the like liberty of commerce as the *Portugueſe* had, theſe immediately ſent an embaſſy from *Macaw* to the king, to beg that he would not grant them any admittance into his dominions, as being profeſſed enemies to their nation. But before his majeſty could come to a reſolution, the *Dutch* had found means to land, and convey ſuch valuable preſents as eaſily determined him in their favour; of which the ambaſſador was no ſooner appriſed, than he haſted to court, and, in a haughty, inſolent manner, accompanied with ſome indecent geſtures, charged his majeſty with breach of promiſe and friendſhip; the conſequence of which was, that the *Dutch* were immediately ordered to come and land their goods, to be ready againſt the enſuing fair. They put them accordingly on board their long-boats; but whilſt they were ſailing up the river, the king's gallies deſtroyed the greateſt part of them, under pretence that the *Dutch* were notorious pirates; and preſently after, an expreſs order was ſent from court, for them to depart, and never more to come into his dominions.

Our author adds, that as a farther mark of his friendſhip to the *Portugueſe*, the king granted them a large convenient ſpot whereon to build a city for the ſecurity of their fleet, in their way to and from *China*, and for the annoying thoſe of the *Dutch* in theirs to and from *Japan* (1). Theſe facts, if fairly told, plainly ſhow what an extraordinary aſcendant the *Portugueſe* had gained over that monarch, and what advantage they could make of it, in prejudice of other *European* traders.

(1) *Borri, ubi ſupr. Ath. ſup. citat. Syſt. of geogr. vol. i. p. 279.*

current

current coin, but that brafs or copper fort which comes from *China*, and will be defcribed in its proper place.

THE *Cochinchinefe* are a ftout, robuft, and induftrious nation, and differ not much from the *Chinefe* in nature and complexion, except that the coafters are of a deep olive colour. Father *De Rhodes*, who lived amongft them, doth highly extol their affability, juftice, good-nature, and hofpitality: but the *Dutch*, who have been worfe treated by them, as we fhewed in the laft note, repref ent them as proud, treacherous, faithlefs, thievifh, lying, ungrateful extortioners, *&c.* Both characters are very probably exaggerated, the one thro' favour, the other thro' refentment; but in the main, they are generally allowed to be a fober, courteous people, temperate in their diet, drefs, and way of living; of a calm and patient temper, not eafily ruffled into an indecent or paffionate behaviour. *Character of the people.*

THEIR chief food is rice and pulfe, variouſly dreſſed, and feafoned, and fifh, of which they likewife have fuch plenty and variety, that a man may make a good meal of two or three rich difhes for value of three half pence or two pence. They obferve great neatnefs in dreffing and ferving up their meats, each perfon fitting at his own little round table, with his victuals ready carved into little mouthfuls, and taking it up with their ivory fticks, as is done in *China*. But here they venture not to drefs any thing within their houfes, which being built of dried and painted wood, would be liable to be fet on fire; but have their kitchins and ftoves without-doors. Their common drink is a fort of tea, which they cultivate among them, but which hath neither the fine taſte or flavour of the *Chinefe*; in lieu of which, we are told, that it hath fuch a fpecial fattening quality, that the king forbids his foldiers the ufe of it, leſt they ſhould become too corpulent. They have fcarcely any vines, and conſequently no wine; inſtead of which, they make themſelves ſome ſtrong liquors of rice, either brewed or diſtilled; but are generally very abſtemious of the latter, unleſs on their weddings, and other feſtivities. The better ſort mix with their common drink a water diſtilled from their calambac, which gives it a fine flavour and taſte, and is, beſides, an excellent ſtomachic and carminative. They all chew their betel, and preſent it to their friends, like all other neighbouring kingdoms, as a compliment and token of friendſhip. *Their food.* *Drink.*

THEY all affect to wear their hair at full length, in token of liberty, tho', like the *Tonquineſe*, they are tributary to a foreign power, and in reality no better, like them, than to a couple of deſpotic uſurpers, who hardly allow them either liberty or property. In other reſpects, both ſexes dreſs much after *Long hair.*

the *Chineſe* manner. Their grandees and courtiers do not come behind them, either in the richneſs or brilliancy of their attire; only we are told, that they are much fonder of pearls than of diamonds. The women appear always veiled abroad, but uncover their faces when they receive or return a ſalute. The garment which is next their body is always long enough to trail about a ſpan behind them; the others are each half a ſpan ſhorter than the other.

Dreſs of the women, and learned.

THEIR literati affect to wear high caps, in the ſhape of a mitre; they never cut their nails or beards, nor flaſh their gowns ſo low as the reſt. Their upper garment is commonly of black damaſk, with a ſtole about their necks, hanging down to their knees, and a blue handkerchief twiſted a little above their wriſt [m].

Houſes neat and plain.

THEIR houſes are neat and convenient; the pillars on which they ſtand, and other ornaments about them, are nicely painted and carved, and ſome of them gilt; but their furniture within is rather plain than ſumptuous; yet the meaneſt of them have three ſorts of ſeats, with which they accommodate their viſitors; the one a mat, or cuſhion, laid on the floor, for thoſe of the lower rank; the ſecond, a ſquare or round tabour, about ſix or eight inches high, and more or leſs rich, according to their rank or circumſtance, and deſigned for thoſe of a middle rank; the laſt kind of chair, about 12 or 15 inches high, without back or arms, for thoſe of the higheſt quality. Their treats to their viſitors are uſually the betel, a diſh of tea, and ſome tobacco; to which thoſe of the better rank add ſome perfume, and a good deal of formal ceremony at meeting and parting; tho' the viſit, unleſs upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, ſeldom laſts above half an hour from firſt to laſt [n]. Their marriages, burials, feſtivals for the dead and and living, arts, ſciences, particularly phyſic and ſurgery (C), learning,

Threefold ſeats.

Viſiting.

Cuſtoms received from the Chineſe.

[m] BORRI, TAVERNIER, DE RHODES, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. ſup. citat. [n] Idem, Ibid.

(C) With regard to thoſe two points, if we may believe Father *Borri*, who converſed ſo long among them, the practitioners, tho' equally boaſting of their great ſkill in pulſes, and other branches of their art, with the *Chineſe* quacks and mountebanks, are, however, ſo far honeſter, that they will not undertake a patient, if, after mature enquiry, they think his diſtemper likely to elude the power of their medicines. If they take it in hand, it is always with the uſual caution, of no cure no pay; and of naming the preciſe time it will take them in performing it. He adds, that tho' there are ſeveral

European

learning, language, writing, arithmetic, and other such subjects, being much the same with those which are used in *China*, as the greatest part was brought hither from thence, we shall not trouble our readers with an anticipation of them here. Nor must we suppose the sciences to have met with the same encouragement, or to have made as great a progress here as they have there, where every town of note hath its academies and professors, richly endowed, public exercises, examinations for bestowing of degrees, which are the only way to preferment, are yearly performed with a kind of impartial accuracy. Here are indeed some few schools and halls for that purpose, some maintained by the king and presumptive heir; but what is chiefly taught in them is astronomy, or rather astrology, and this merely for the sake of prying into future events.

Their progress small.

Astronomy very little known.

Some of their head professors have so much of the former, as to be able to foretel eclipses, that is, to foresee that there will be some such defection in one or other of the luminaries, whenever the lunations happen to be near what we call the moon's nodes, which is no difficult matter to do; but as to calculating exact time, quantity, duration, and other such nice particulars, they are still so much in the dark, for want of proper tables, and such other helps, as the jesuits introduced in *China*, that they often mistake in one or other of those particulars, if not in all; tho', in such case, they are sure to have their lands or appenage resumed by the king, in whose presence, as well as before numerous crouds of grandees, who are timely summoned to attend, the scrutiny is carefully made, how far the phænomenon doth or doth not answer to the astronomer's calculation, either in point of time, length, digits, *&c.*

Calculation of eclipses imperfect.

Astrology in great vogue.

In these and the like phænomena, they not only follow, but outdo, the other *Indians*, in superstition; and as they have been taught to look upon them as portending some great and threatning event, so their superstitious fear makes them accumulate

European physicians of eminence in that kingdom, yet their own cure many stubborn distempers with their drugs and simples, which these cannot remove with their more elaborate medicines. Their way of bleeding is not unlike ours, except, that instead of a lancet, they make use of a sharp piece of broken china, fastened into a goose's quill (2).

(2) *Borri, ubi supr.*

every extravagant expedient used not only by the *Chinese*, but by their other neighbours, to avert the omen [o].

Religion, three sects;

THEIR religion is almost the same with that of the *Chinese*, and was doubtless introduced amongst them, whilst they were under their dominion. The chova, or king, and his court, the *Mandarins*, and generality of the grandees, and literati, follow the sect and doctrine of *Confucius*, whilst the rest of the people follow those of *Fo* and *Lao-kiun*, and are wholly given up to the most profound ignorance, and the most stupid idolatries and superstitions. The former have neither temples, priests, nor settled worship, but as in *China* [p]; so here they address the great *Tyen* in various ways, as their reason, education, or the example of their betters, direct them. The latter, or idolaters, have their temples, and bonzas, or priests, which, if we may believe Father *Borri*, are divided into various classes, or ranks, answering to our primates, bishops, abbots, and common priests. The latter, likewise, are divided into secular and regular; the former of whom have either lands or fish-ponds for their maintenance; the other live wholly upon the alms of the superstitious people, and live in communities, under a superior, like the monks in the *Romish* church. They have some temples that excel the rest in beauty, largeness, and ornamental finery; but those are very few, in comparison of the rest, which are mostly built of wood and mud, thatched with straw, and many of them left to go to ruin; the idols, altars, and other idolatrous implements, displaying either the extreme poverty, or neglect of their priests and votaries [q].

Sect of Confucius,

of Fo, &c.

Bonzas.

Temples mean and decayed.

Probably owing to the missionaries.

THIS may be probably owing to the success which the missionaries met with in this kingdom (D); where, according to their

[o] BORRI, TAVERNIER, DE RHODES, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. sup. citat. [p] BARON, CHEVRIER, & al. sup. citat. [q] BORRI, ubi supr.

(D) Besides this Father *Borri*, often quoted, two other *Italian* jesuits entered this kingdom about *Anno* 1615, and met with such success, that they sent for a fresh supply from the society. Five others, and among them father *Alexander de Rhodes*, came accordingly to their assistance, about nine years after, and greatly augmented the number of converts, as did likewise their successors.

We shall not repeat here the various accounts they sent from thence into *Europe*, of their surprising progress (3), which may be liable to be exaggerated, and only

(3) *De his vid. lettr. edif. & curieus. pas. fath. De Rhodes relat, ubi supr.*

their accounts, they had made some myriads of converts in the several provinces of it. Nothing, indeed, could be more easy to these good fathers, than the discovery of the many juggling tricks and knaveries of these idolatrous priests, and to convince their deluded votaries of the superior excellency of the religion they preached among them, and so dexterously accommodate it, as far as they dared, to their old notions and prejudices, especially whilst they were tolerated and encouraged by the men in power; who being of the sect of *Confucius*, might be pleased enough to see the whole tribe of juggling bonzas, and their extravagant superstitions, fall into contempt among the people. So that tho' the government hath since thought fit, after the example of the *Chinese* and *Tonquinese*, to persecute and banish those missionaries, and to proscribe their religion; yet the laity, once convinced of the stupidity of their former superstitions, and the crafty artifices and impostures of their bonzas, might not be easily induced to become their dupes again. This general decay of their temples shews at least how much of its pristine grandeur this idolatrous sect hath lost since the time of Father *Borri*, one of the first Christian preachers among them; who tells us, that, at his first coming thither, their temples, idols, and priests, appeared in the greatest splendor; and that the latter, especially the dignitaries among them, never officiated or went abroad, without some kind of insignia of their rank either about, or carried before them [r].

Bonzas become contemptible.

Teach the immortality and transmigration of the soul.

They believe the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another: and tho' they are, on that account, very averse to killing or hurting any living creatures, like the generality of the *Indians*, they make no scruple to offer great quantities of hogs in sacrifice to their gods, and to the manes of their ancestors and near relations, as we shall find it also practised in *Tonking* [s]; that creature being, by what we can find, the only one that is used upon such occasions. They have likewise a notion, that some of the souls of men, not being permitted to pass into other bodies,

Apparitions and evil spirits.

[r] Borri, ubi supr. [s] Borri, ibid. & al. ub. sup.

only add, that some *Hollanders*, who were since cast upon these coasts by a storm, about *Anno* 1714, had the same confirmed by several other missionaries, both *French* and *Portuguese*, one of them a bishop, from whom they met with an hospitable reception, and by whom they were told, that in one single province of that kingdom, which they called *Hoe*, they had no less than 40 churches, and above 10,000 converts (4).

(4) *Dutch Travels, vol.*

become

become maleficent ghosts, and, in time, degenerate into evil spirits, or devils. Their juggling priests generally fill the common people with superstitious notions of these, and other such evil demons, as incubusses, succubusses, and other frightful apparitions; by all which they never fail of drawing some considerable gain from their credulous votaries [t].

Arbitrary government. THE government here is altogether despotic, the king having an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, to make or abrogate the laws, to make peace or war, and to dispose of all dignities and offices, both civil and military, in the kingdom, without consulting any of his ministers. He governs his provinces by his mandarins, appoints the severer members of their respective tribunals; and if any of them be found guilty of mal-administration, he immediately condemns them to some capital punishment, at his pleasure. The misfortune is, that the complaints of his subjects find always so very difficult a passage to the throne, that they seldom or never are able to reach it, tho' he is often pleased to give public audience to them at the gates of his palace, the place where he commonly sits for the administration of justice.

The king's manner of giving audience, THERE he always appears, mounted on a stately elephant, and seated in a kind of tower, sumptuously adorned; but which none, not even those who are admitted to prefer their suits or complaints, must approach nearer than at the distance of 80 paces, and convey their petitions to him by the hands of his eunuchs, either in writing, or by word of mouth. Whenever he appears in public, upon any other occasion, which happens but seldom, every one is obliged to fall flat with their faces on the ground. Whatever sentence he passes from his tribunal of justice, is immediately executed, whether it be death, amputation of a limb, imprisonment, slavery, or other punishment. High-treason and rebellion are not only punished with the most severe death, but often affects all the condemned person's relations with loss of life, as well as fortunes, tho' perhaps they may come off with a less severe death, or with banishment, or perpetual imprisonment.

and appearing in public.

Severe punishments. THESE monarchs in general are very severe in the execution of their laws, whenever the delinquent's cause comes before them; but in the more remote provinces, where presents operate as efficaciously, a capital punishment is as often committed for a lighter [u].

False witness. FALSE witness is punished according to the nature of it; and if the accusation be capital, the accuser is capitally pu-

[u] TAVERNIER, BARON, DE RHODES, & al. ubi supr.

nished.

nished. Adultery is also capital; the woman is here condemned, as in *Tongking*, to be trodden to death by an elephant, and her paramour to some more gentle death[w]. Theft is punished with the loss of a finger, for the first and second fact; of an ear, for the third; and of the head, for the fourth. If a criminal flies to *Tongking* for shelter, he is not only protected, but caressed; but if a *Tonquinese* come hither, on the same errand, he is condemned to perpetual slavery, unless he can obtain a pardon from the king of the former, and pay his ransom to the latter[x]. *Adultery.* *Fugitives, how treated.*

The kings of *Cochinchina* are very rich and opulent, having several princes tributary to them, tho' they, like him, assume the royal title. That of *Thiem* pays him a certain number of elephants, and a certain quantity of calambac, wax, ivory, and other products. Those of *Camboja* and *Chiampa* pay him a certain tribute for his protection (E); and even the wild people, called *Ka-moy*, are forced to send him some wax, betel, and other produce of their high mountains. He hath a vast quantity of odoriferous wood, of various kinds, of gold-dust, and all the elephants teeth; all which he sells to the foreign traders. He claims one-third part of all the rice of his kingdom; and the governors of his province are allowed a ninth part of all the rest. Some provinces, which, by reason of their high situation, and dryness, do not abound with that grain, are indeed exempted from this tribute; but are obliged, in lieu of it, to furnish him with a certain number of horses, slaves, odoriferous woods, or other products of their land. And for these, and especially for the rice, he has large magazines in every province. *King's opulence, and revenue.*

Over and above these yearly tributes, every man, from the age of 18 to 60, is obliged to pay him six crowns *per* year, and to work for him eight months in the year; the other four, which they call the harvest months, being all they can claim for themselves. The sale of mandarinats, governments of sea-ports, and other places, are, in some mea- *Tribute and presents.*

[w] See the hist. of that kingdom in the sequel. [x] Hamilton, ubi supr. vol. ii. ch. xlix. p. 212.

(E) The latter in particular, who had been restored to all his dominions by the king of *Cochinchina*, doth pay him yearly, we are told (5), a tribute of 200 elephants, 100 buffalos, 100 bevers, 500 pieces of linen, and all the aquiline and ebony wood, and ivory, in his country.

(5) *Choisi journ. of the ambass. of Siam. De Rhodes, & al.*

sure,

ſure, ſold by him to the higheſt bidder; and the price of them commonly runs very high; beſides which, he receives conſiderable preſents from them at certain times of the year, as well as upon other occaſions, eſpecially when they have cauſe to fear his diſpleaſure; all which amount to vaſt ſums yearly; and being added to the impoſts which he lays on the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and other foreign traders, bring him an immenſe yearly revenue. Over and above which, he is heir to all the princes and nobles of the kingdom; and at their deaths takes poſſeſſion of all their land; leaving only their effects to be diſtributed among their children [y].

Inherits the lands of his nobles

THIS kingdom having, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to hint in the ſequel, been eſtabliſhed at firſt by force of arms, the ſucceſſors to it have not failed to maintain themſelves in it by the ſame method: and to this it is chiefly owing, that their troops, tho' not quite ſo numerous, are ſo much better diſciplined than thoſe of any of their neighbours. Their ſtanding land-forces, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head, amount commonly to above 30,000. As to their naval, they have no men of war, but only gallies, of which the preſumptive heir hath always the chief command. His whole naval force conſiſted in the year 1679 of 131 ſail. Each galley hath 30 oars on each ſide, three officers, ſix gunners, two ſteerſmen, and two drummers. The ſoldiers are placed at each oar, and the officers at the head and ſtern. Each veſſel is finely varniſhed on the outſide with black, and the inſide with red, and the oars are commonly gilt. The men row ſtanding, and without ſpeaking, their eyes being fixed on the commander, who ſits at the head, and receiving the ſignal from him by the motion of his wand, as if he was beating time to a band of muſicians, which is as exactly kept by them. Every rower hath his arms by him, which are a muſket, a dagger, a bow and arrows, and know when and how to make uſe of them by the motion of the wand; ſo that every thing is executed with the utmoſt ſilence, order, and harmony; and tho' theſe gallies are not publicly exerciſed above three or four times a year, yet each captain hath always one of them before his gate, where his company comes every day to be exerciſed by him. And this is the more carefully obſerved, becauſe, if any of them ſhould be found defective at the general review, either in the command, or execution, they are ſure to be caſhired, or reduced to the rank of a common ſoldier [z].

Troops well diſciplined.

Their navy chiefly gallies.

Their weapons, &c.

Strict exerciſe.

[y] DE RHODES, BARON, & al. [z] Idem, ibid.

THESE

THESE gallies are easily and speedily manned, every family in the kingdom being bound to furnish one man; and these are always ready and eager to be called to the service, because they are well used whilst they are on board, and their family maintained in their absence. *Why quickly manned.*

EACH galley hath a cannon fixed at its courses, and two small pieces on each side. There are a good number of expert gunners belonging to the navy, and the soldiery are said to be no less so at their fire-arms, though they have not as yet learned the art of casting the one, or fabricating the other, like the *Tonquinese*[a]. Their mariners all wear the same garb, and of the same colour; *viz.* white silk trousers, and hair caps. But when they are going to engage, they put on a gilt head-piece, and a waistcoat, so contrived that their right arm, shoulder, and side are always bare. Besides these royal gallies, which are commonly built very long and narrow, and seldom amount to less than 100 or 150, all beautifully varnished and gilt, and otherwise embellished with sails and masts, after the *Indian* manner, they make use of large sort of them, to which our *English* have given the name of *millepedes*, from the vast number of their oars: these are chiefly employed in transporting of forces, heavy artillery, and other military stores: to all which we may likewise add a number of others, belonging to the governors of the maritime provinces; of which that of *Sinuva*, or *Shanoa*, which borders upon *Tongking*, hath 30; that of the province *Kham* hath 17; and that of the province of *Niavouel* 15. This is all that we meet with concerning his naval force; to which we can only add, that, in cases of necessity, he can order all subjects to appear in arms, that are fit for service; and at such times, all the gallies belonging to his governors, and other subjects, are obliged to join themselves to the royal navy[b], as if they belonged to it. *How treated.* *The millepedes.*

HIS court, which usually resides at his capital of *Kehue*, is commonly very brilliant; and the officers and ministers belonging to it affect to make the finest figure they can, both in their apparel and retinue, but without the gaudy addition of silver or gold; which are so scarce there, that a man who should be found to have of either, to the amount of 4 or 500 piasters, would be liable to be called to an account for it. And so little esteem do they shew for that kind of finery, that if an embroidered suit, or a gold or silver tissue, should fall *The king's court.* *Gold and silver scarce, and not worn.*

[a] See the hist. of that kingdom in the sequel. [b] DE RHODES, CHEVRIER, & al. ubi supr.

by

by chance into their hands, they immediately throw it into the fire, without regard for the workmanship, or any thing, but the metal. But whether this is owing to any royal prohibition, or to their natural indifferency for that kind of luxury, we are not told [c]. All the officers and ministers, both civil and military, or at least the far greater part of them, are eunuchs, as they are at most *Indian* courts; and upon the same politic account [d], namely, that they having no children, the king may inherit their effects, as well as their lands.

Ministers all eunuchs.

Palace described.

THE palace is a large, square pile of building, surrounded with a double wall, the first of timber and earth, and the other of stone. It hath, besides, several distinct courts within its cincture: so that one must pass thro' six or seven gates before one can come to the royal apartments; each gate being kept by a strong guard, and the outermost of all defended by three middling pieces of cannon, each covered over with a piece of yellow silk, richly embroidered. The structure is flanked on the right and left with sundry bulwarks, bordered with 400 pieces of artillery of different sizes, some of brass, and others of iron, four of them cast at *Amsterdam*, *Anno* 1656, and the rest brought thither from *Portugal*. The king hath another palace, or rather pleasure-house, not far from this, to which he frequently retires. This last is surrounded only with a palisade, and the edifice is built in the form of a large *Chinese* ship, but with very spacious apartments, all commodious, and elegantly furnished after the *Indian* manner. All the lodgings and apartments are built of wood, but exquisitely painted, carved, and gilt, and supported by stately columns, no less beautifully wrought [e].

Artillery.

House of pleasure, oddly built.

King's household.

THE royal household, including the guards, is said to consist of 9000 men, that of his eldest son, of 5000; that of the next to him, of 3000; and the third, 2000. We have already hinted, that the land-forces amount to 30,000, of which the second son hath the command, as the eldest hath of the naval; but as they both reside most of their time at court, with the king, the chief management of each is committed to two favourite eunuchs, or lieutenants, who have, nevertheless, the title of generals.

Army, by who commanded.

Officers of it.

NEXT them are the tyammetoos, which are the mareschals of the kingdom, and commonly but three in number; and to these is committed the government of the chief provinces, under that of viceroys, when there, and under that of general when with the army. The kayvats answer to our brigadiers,

[c] See hist. of Tongking in the sequel. [d] DE RHODES, CHEVRIER, & al. [e] DE RHODES, ubi supr.

the kaydoi to our colonels, and the kay-dins to our captains. These last never are absent from their companies, but are obliged to exercise them twice a day, like the naval forces. The king is not only present at their general musters and exercises, but gives audience to all the officers, both army and navy, twice a day, that is, early in the morning, and about five at night. So that every captain is obliged to be early with his colonel, this with his brigadier, he with the generals, and they with the two young princes, whence they march in a body to pay their duty to the king; after which each of them march off, at the head of their respective troops, before his majesty, according to their ranks: those of the soldiery, that behave well, are promoted to be his life-guards; whilst others, of a different character, are sent to the public works at all spare hours; and both officers and soldiers are kept in full employ, to prevent revolts and rebellions from the one, and mutinies and disorders from the other.

Dreadful punishment for high treason.

BOTH army and navy are not only kept under a strict discipline, but are more severely punished than other subjects for every misdemeanor; and if any of them are found guilty of revolting, or any other treasonable crime, they are condemned to be tied naked to a post, at the head of all the forces, and every soldier is obliged to come and cut off a piece of his flesh, as long as he hath any left [f]. And this is such a determent to them, that there are hardly any more loyal and obedient subjects any-where in *India* than they are [g].

Their pay.

THEIR common pay is about 6*s.* in money, a bushel of rice, a certain quantity of fish, *per* month, which, together with their cloathing and accoutrements, is paid to them regularly by the king.

Weapons, Dress, &c.

Their chief weapons are the musket and sword; and the country furnishes them not with powder and ball, but with the materials to make them, which they must afterwards fabricate for themselves.

No cavalry till of late.

They had no cavalry in their wars, till within these 50 or 60 years, when one of their kings took it into his head to raise two companies of them, of 50 men each, by way of trial, and afterwards raised them into a regiment; since which, we hear that he gave orders to look out far and near for proper horses for that service; and hath men hired on purpose to break and fit them for it.

The splendid appearance of the foot.

As for the foot, their dress makes one of the gallantest appearances on their reviews; and against an engagement, every common soldier is cloathed in red, yellow, or green sattin, according to the colour of his regiment. The guards belonging to the king, and princes of the blood, appear in velvet,

[f] DE RHODES, & al. sup. citat. [g] Idem, Ibid.

of

of divers colours, with their arms gliſtening with ſilver and gold; and the generals, and other officers, are at ſuch times allowed to have their clothes embroidered with the ſame, more or leſs richly, according to their rank. The king takes likewiſe care to have the ſoldiers male children well brought up; and according as they prove, either tractable, ſtubborn, or lazy, the officers to whom they belong order them to be cloathed in ſilk, or coarſe linen; and thoſe who come home to their parents in this laſt garb, are ſure to be well threſhed by their parents; and, if they do not mend their manners, are turned out to beg their bread for ſome time, in order to ſhame and ſpur them up to greater diligence and application [h].

Soldiers children educated.

Manner of fighting very imperfect.

But the reader muſt not ſuppoſe, from all that we have hitherto ſaid of their martial diſcipline, and ſumptuous appearance, that they are ſuch adepts in the art of war, or engage their enemies, whether in a ſiege or battle, with that conduct and regularity that our *European* forces do. Their fighting is little elſe than ſudden occaſional incurſions, accompanied by ſome fierce, but haſty, ſkirmiſhes between oppoſite parties, whenever chance, more than deſign, brings them together; in which the *Cochinchineſe* have only this advantage, that being better trained up, and uſed to them, they are not ſo eaſily diſconcerted, or put to the rout, as their enemies, who commonly betake themſelves to flight after the firſt onſet, unleſs they ſee their antagoniſts flee before them: but as for any ſet or deciſive battles, they are ſeldom or never heard of among them, notwithſtanding their having been ſo many centuries at war with the *Tonquineſe* [i]. This defect, however, is ſo common among the forces of all the neighbouring princes, that inſtead of affecting thoſe of *Cochinchina*, or rendering them inferior to any, it hath gained them a great advantage over the reſt; inſomuch, that they have not only ſome conſiderable ones who pay homage and tribute to them; but bear ſuch ſway among all the reſt, that even their bare interpoſition hath often been ſufficient to ſuppreſs any attempt or occaſion they might take of encroaching upon one another. And if they have not hitherto aimed at enlarging their own dominions, by new conqueſts, it is no ſmall credit and honour to them that they have never wanted either power or valour to preſerve them entire, and to convey them unmaimed to their deſcendants, until this day.

Their ſway over their neighbours.

[h] De Rhodes, & al. ſup. citat.

[i] Vid. Chevrier, Baron, & al.

We

We shall in the sequel give an account how these monarchs came to shake off their subjection to those of *Tong-king*, at the same time that these rebelled against their lawful sovereigns; and have ever since kept them in a state of inactive obscurity, and without any other mark than the bare shadow and name of royalty, according as we find this twofold revolution recorded in the *Tonquinese* annals [e]. But as those of the *Kochinchinese* relate that remarkable transaction somewhat differently, we shall, in justice to them, subjoin here the account which they themselves give of it, and of the foundation of their new monarchy. *Origin of their new monarchy from their own records.*

It happened, according to them, about four centuries ago, when one of the *Tonquinese* monarchs dying without issue, divided the kingdom between a brother and a sister, both highly in his favour for their excellent qualities; ordering his brother to reside in *Kochinchina*, as the most remote from court, and to take care of that government, whilst the sister did the same at *Tong-king*; enjoining them at the same time to have a meeting once a year to compare notes, and consult on the propereſt means for the good and preservation of both states. They had not gone long in this harmonious way, before the princess, who was young, and had perhaps taken some umbrage at her brother, thought fit to marry an ambitious nobleman, who quickly inspired her with a desire of engrossing both governments into her hands; and whilst he outwardly shewed the greatest regard to the brother, he privately used all the art he was master of to persuade her, that she having the greater title to both crowns, it was her interest, as well as her safest way, to rid herself of him; engaging himself to get him cut off without their being suspected of having a hand in it. *The cause of their revolt from the Tonquinese.* *Treachery of a nobleman.*

The queen's brother was then, as usual, at the court of *Tong-king*, not dreaming of any such deep-laid treason against him. But, happily for him, his sister, young as she was, had prudence enough to conceal her abhorrence of it under the outward show of acquiescing with, and approving of it: but immediately apprised her brother of his danger, and easily persuaded him, under pretence of going a hunting for a few days, to hasten with all possible speed to *Kochinchina*: where he was no sooner safely arrived, than he assembled the states of that kingdom, and laid before them the treacherous designs which his unworthy brother-in-law had laid both against his life and their liberty. There needed no more to inspire *Betrayed by his wife.*

[e] See the next chapter.

the *Kochinchineſe* with utmoſt abhorrence againſt the ambition and treachery of the *Tong-kineſe* uſurper and tyrant: they all took up arms in defence of their prince and his government; and ſwore never more to ſubmit to the *Tonquineſe* yoke, and to acknowlege the worthy brother and ſucceſſor of the late king, as their lawful and only ſovereign. A bloody war immediately enſued between the two competitors, in which each brought an army of between 40 and 50,000 men, towards the banks of the river *Kam-bin*, which is the frontier between the two kingdoms. What the ſucceſs of it was we are not told; only it appears not to have been of conſequence enough to have given any great advantage to one ſide above the other, ſeeing both have ſince kept their own dominions to themſelves; though there ſcarcely paſſes a year in which they do not make ſome incurſion into each other's territory, accompanied with fierce ſkirmiſhes whenever they meet, yet it doth not appear that one ſide hath gained a ſingle province over the other. The mutual hatred of the monarchs quickly ſpread itſelf among all their ſubjects, who ſince that rupture have broke off all friendſhip and commerce with each other, and affect to diſplay a ſingular contempt for each other; and if the *Tong-kineſe* uſe the fugitives of *Kochinchina* with more ſeeming kindneſs than theſe do theirs, it is rather done out of reſentment againſt their king, than out of any regard to their ſubjects[f].

A war enſues.

Mutual hatred of both nations.

The iſles along theſe coaſts dangerous to the mariners.

BEFORE we leave this kingdom, we muſt not omit to give a ſhort account of ſome of the moſt conſiderable iſlands belonging to it: the natives give them the name of *Pullos*, and there are a good number of them along the coaſt. As 1. *Pullo Sicca*, which is barren and uninhabited, and looks like a group of parched rocks, without trees or one blade of graſs. 2. *Pullo Secca de Mare*, a chain of other barren and rocky iſlands, ſtretching themſelves from the dangerous ſhallows called *Paracel*. 3. *Pullo Cambir*, fifteen leagues off the ſhore, but near the ſhallows above-mentioned, and which, though large, is alſo uninhabited. 4. *Pullo Canton*, lying near the ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance from that of *Cambello*, from both which the currents, which run to the ſouthwards in the northern monſons, oblige the pilots to keep off as far as they can, and to ſail cloſe to the coaſts. Theſe we mention on account of their dangerous nature.

Thoſe of Pullo

PULLO KONDORE, or *Condore*, is another cloſe group, ſituate under the eighth degree of north latitude; the moſt

[f] DE RHODES ubi ſupra. TAVERNIER, BARON, DAMPIER, CHEVRIER, HAMILTON, & al. ſupra citat.

conſider-

considerable of which is about five leagues in length from east to west, and about one in breadth where widest. The next to it is about two leagues long, and half of one broad; and is so advantageously situated, that it forms a kind of haven in conjunction with the other, but which, as one advances more southward, grows so narrow that none but small vessels can sail through it. These two islands are reckoned very conveniently situate for those who sail to and from *China*, *Japan*, *Manilla*, *Tong-king*, and *Kochinchina*; and are chiefly inhabited by original natives of the last of those kingdoms, though since somewhat dwindled in their size, and are still subject to it. They are very poor, their chief employment being drawing of pitch or turpentine from the trees called *damar*, and selling it to the strangers that come, or carrying it to *Kochinchina*, in baskets made for that purpose; others get their living by catching of tortoises, and other shell-fish, of which there are great quantity and variety. All these islanders, *Dampier* tells us, are so civil to strangers, that they bring their wives on board their ships, and prostitute them to any of them for a small trifle[g]. *Kondor described.* *Their inhabitants*; *Civility to strangers.*

About the latter end of the last century, our *East India* company attempted to make a settlement upon these islands, and built a fort of earth upon one of them; which they surrounded with a palisade, and planted a small battery upon it. But some *Macassar* soldiers, whom they had taken into their pay, took an opportunity some years after to massacre the *English* that were in it, and to set fire to the fort, in the dead of the night, which put an end to that settlement[h]. *An English factory destroyed.* A. D. 1705.

To conclude this article, these islands are surrounded with such a number of shallows, rocks, and shelves, and shipwrecks happen so frequently within their neighbourhood, that the king of *Kochinchina* sends thither, at certain seasons of the year, a number of his gallies, together with some of the experest divers in his kingdom to go in search of them, and to save what merchandizes, and other things of value, they can out of the water[i]. *Wrecks dived for by the king's ships.*

[g] Dampier voy. vol. i. p. 194, & seq. [h] Dampier voy. vol. i. p. 194, & seq. & Supplement. Baron, Hamilton, in fin. vol. i. hist. Sinens. Chevrier, De Rhod. & al. supra citat. See Lockier's voy. to Canton, 1704. Mr. Cuningham's letter in Salmon's Mod. hist. vol. i. p. 59. [i] Dampier, & al. supra citat.

CHAP. XVI.

The History of the Kingdom of Tong-king.

Tong-king; THIS is the last country in the farther peninsula of *India*, which remains to be treated of: it is tributary to the *Chinese* monarchs, like that of *Cochinchina*, and is commonly called *Tunkin*, and *Tunquin* by the *Europeans*. It

Boundaries. is bounded on the north and east by the *Chinese* provinces of *Quang-si* and *Yun-nan*; on the west by the two small kingdoms of *Law-chiva*, which divide it from that of *Siam* on the south; and south-east by *Cochinchina*, and the gulph of its name, called also the gulph of *Cochinchina*, because it runs between them both. The length of the *Tonquinese* dominions

Extent. is variously computed, because it hath often varied; insomuch that some pretend it once extended 1500 leagues into the inland: that is, from the confines of the province of *Quang-ton* north-westward to the kingdom of *Chiampá*. *Tavernier* affirms it to be almost as big as *France*, whilst *Baron* will have it to be no larger than *Portugal*; but adds, that it contains four times the number of inhabitants. According to the latest accounts, it is supposed to stretch about 370 miles

Gulph described. in length, and about 240 where broadest[a]. The vast bay on which it is situate extends from the point of *Chiampa*, in north latitude 12° 14′, to the province of *Tenan* in 27° ½′. Its breadth, where widest, that is from the continent to the island of *Ho-nan*, is reckoned twenty leagues by *Dampier*, and thirty by *Marini*. It hath between forty and fifty fathoms water in the middle, and affords every-where a com-

Two bays. modious and safe anchorage. Two large rivers, *viz.* the *Rockbo* and *Domea*; the last so called from a town situate upon it about six leagues above its mouth, flow into the gulph; the one two leagues farther north-east than the other, and open an entrance into the kingdom; but the latter is that which is most frequented by the *Europeans*, its mouth being much the larger and deeper of the two. But in approaching it, great care must be had to avoid the many dangerous shoals that lie between the mouths of these two rivers, and stretch themselves in some places several leagues into the

Bar. gulph. It hath likewise a bar, near two miles broad, a-cross the mouth of; and the chanel, which is about half a mile over, hath sands also on each side. The mark by which one

[a] MARINI relat. Tonquin. See also DAMPIER Supplem. p. 1. & seq. TAVERNIER, vol. iii. BARON, & al. mult.

must

must enter it is a high ridge of mountains, called the *Elephant*, and which must be brought to bear north-west and by north. Here the sailors make towards the shore till they come to six fathom water, about two or three miles from the foot of the bar; and when *Pear Island* bears north-west from them, they cast anchor and fire a gun, which soon after brings a pilot to steer them in at spring tide [b].

Islands. The farther end of the gulph hath likewise a number of small islands; the most considerable of which is situate in 20° 18′ north latitude, and is called by the natives *Twanbene*, but by the *Dutch*, *the Isle of Robbers*, where the *Tonquinese* have settled a custom-house, which brings in about a million of rix-dollars. Near the island, which is about two leagues long, and half a league wide, are two small bays; the farthest of which hath a pearl fishery belonging to the king.

Domea *the first town.* The town of *Domea* above-mentioned is situate on the right shore of the river of its name, and is the first that offers itself to the sight. The *Dutch* chuse to anchor before it, but our *English* ships sail up a little higher, where the current is more gentle. No sooner do the *Domeans*, and villages about them, perceive an *European* ship coming up the river, than they set all hands to work in building of booths, and filling them with all sorts of provisions and conveniencies for their accommodation; not excepting, if we may believe our countryman *Dampier*, a sufficient number of females, to attend their pleasure during their stay. The *Tonquinese*, it seems, observing so little decency in that case, that they will even suffer their own wives to hire themselves to them for a certain sum, for the space of two or three months; and are so desirous to have some of the *English* breed amongst them, that those of the better sort, even their nobles, will think it no disgrace to marry their daughters to an *English* or *Dutch* sailor, and will make them handsome presents at their departure, especially those whose wives are found pregnant.

Accommodations to strangers.

Climate. The climate of this kingdom, although it be just under the tropic, is yet reckoned so mild and temperate, that the whole year appears like a continual spring, without any other material change than that of rain and sun-shine, wet and dry season. They have likewise only two winds that blow for a continuance; *viz.* the north and the south, which commonly blow six whole months alternately; the former from *June* or *July* to *January*, and the latter from *January* to *July*: but the most agreeable season in the whole year begins about

[b] Marini relat. Tonquin, & al. sup. citat.

September, and ends in *March*; during which the north wind blows almoſt without intermiſſion, and renders the climate healthy and temperate, yet without producing either ice or ſnow. The rainy ſeaſon ſeldom begins before the month of *April*, and laſts only till *Auguſt*. This is indeed the moſt unhealthy part of the whole year, not only on the account of the ſouth wind, and the violent rains that fall in great plenty, but likewiſe of the thick miſts and fogs; which the ſun, then in its zenith, draws up, and which often-times cauſe intolerable heats and acute diſeaſes. Yet all that while the country appears in its moſt elegant dreſs; the trees are covered with fruit and verdure, and the plains, if not with vines and corn fields, which this climate doth not yield, yet with plenty of rice, and variety of other products more natural to it.

No ice nor ſnow.

Weather; temperature.

THE misfortune is, that the country, moſtly low and flat, is frequently overflowed by the violent rains, to ſuch a degree as to deſtroy in ſome meaſure a whole harveſt, and at ſome times not coming down in ſufficient plenty to nouriſh the rice, which can only grow in water, a famine often enſues, that grain being the chief ſupport of all theſe eaſtern countries. So that whenever ſuch years of ſcarcity happen, the parents among the poorer ſort are forced to ſell their very children for ſubſiſtence; though this is not ſo often the caſe in this kingdom as in other parts of *India*, particularly the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*.

Subject to great floods.

THE country on the *Chineſe* ſide is defended by an impenetrable ridge of mountains, which extends from the ſea ſide above 150 leagues into the inland, along the frontiers of *Quang-ſi* and *Quey-chew*. Theſe mountains are covered with vaſt foreſts of variety of trees, and filled with elephants, deer, tigers, and other wild creatures; whilſt the reſt of the country is beautifully variegated with fertile hills and vallies, and interſected with a great number of rivers; among which Father *Tiſſanier*, a Jeſuit miſſionary, reckons twenty-eight principal ones which empty themſelves into the ſea. From theſe, and other inferior rivers which fall into them, the inhabitants cut a vaſt number of canals, not ſo much for the ſake of commerce, as they do in *China*, as to irrigate and fertilize their numerous plains and paſture grounds.

Rivers.

Provinces.

1. Eaſtern.

THE country is divided into eight provinces or chief cantons. The firſt of which, called the *Eaſtern*, is bounded on the ſouth by the *Tonquineſe* gulph, on which are a number of iſlands under its juriſdiction. The ground is moſtly flat and fertile, and abounds with rice; but the inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fiſhery. The chief town of this province is called *Heaw*, but is very inconſiderable, though

the largeſt of the whole canton, and the reſidence of its governor [d].

2. The ſecond, ſtiled the *Weſtern*, is moſtly flat, and abounds with rich paſture grounds and fields of rice, but is thinly furniſhed with fruit and other trees. 2. Weſtern.

3. The third, called the *Southern*, is formed into a kind of triangular iſland, partly by the ſea, and partly by the two great branches of the *Song-koy*, or large river (A). It is very fruitful in rice, by reaſon of its flat and low ſituation, but is likewiſe ſubject to frequent inundations. 3. Southern.

4. The fourth, ſtiled the *Northern*, is by far the largeſt of all, and comprehends the greateſt part of the kingdom on that ſide, reaching quite to the *Chineſe* frontiers on the eaſt. It is partly flat and partly mountainous; the flat yields plenty of rice, and the other abounds with woods, foreſts, and wild beaſts; and, among other trees, produces that of which they make their fine varniſh, or japan. 4. Northern.

5. The fifth, called *Tenan*, is but ſmall in compariſon of the reſt, and its chief product is rice. 5. Tenan.

6. The ſixth, called *Ten-hoa*, or *Ten-hie*, is bounded on the eaſt by an arm of the *Song-koy*, and on the ſouth by the gulph of *Tong-king*; its inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fiſhery, and drive a conſiderable commerce with their ſalt fiſh. 6. Tenhoa.

7. The ſeventh, which is called *No-ghean*, borders on *Kochinchina* on the weſt; it extends a vaſt way northwards, and breeds vaſt numbers of cattle on its fat paſture grounds, as well as great plenty of rice. Its bordering upon *Kochinchina* makes it neceſſary for the government to entertain a good number of troops, which lie cantoned along the frontiers. 7. Noghean.

8. The eighth, called *Cachao*, *Chaco*, and *Checo*, is ſituated in the heart of the kingdom, and is ſurrounded by the 8. Cachao.

[d] Dampier, & al. ubi ſupra.

(A) This is by far the moſt conſiderable river in this kingdom. It is ſaid to have its riſe among ſome of the *Chineſe* mountains lately mentioned, and, after a long and winding courſe, to diſcharge itſelf by eight or nine branches into the gulph of *Hay-nan* (1). *Dampier* indeed, in the ſupplement to his voyages (2), mentions no more than the two branches of the *Rokbo* and *Domea*; it is poſſible however that it may have a greater number, which he did not know of, ſeeing he ſays nothing of the place where it falls into the ſea.

(1) *See Baron in collect. voy.* (2) *Supplement, p.* 19.

Fertile ſoil.

other ſeven [c]. Its ſoil is fertile, and in ſome parts mountainous, abounding with variety of trees, and particularly that of the varniſh. Moſt of theſe provinces carry on ſome branch of the ſilk manufacture more or leſs, but this laſt moſt of all. It takes its name from its capital, which is alſo the metropolis of the whole kingdom; though in other reſpects hardly comparable to a *Chineſe* one of the third rank.

Metropolis deſcribed.

CACHAO is ſituate under the 20th degree of north latitude, at about eighty leagues diſtance from the ſea. Some authors make no ſcruple to rank it amongſt the moſt conſiderable cities of *Aſia*, both on account of its extent and the vaſt number of its inhabitants; but it will be found, on ſtricter enquiry, that the vaſt crouds of people which ſwarm in it are rather neighbouring villagers, that flock thither at times, but more eſpecially on market-days, with their various commodities, and who ſo croud the ſtreets that they are hardly paſſable. Upon which account ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable villages about it have been allowed to have their halls in particular parts of the city, where they bring and diſpoſe of their wares. The magiſtracy likewiſe takes care to preſerve ſuch good order among all the goers and comers, as to prevent as much as poſſible all confuſion and ſtoppage among them.

Thronged with people.

Streets, &c.

As for the town itſelf, if we except the palace royal and the arſenal, it hath little elſe worth notice; the ſtreets are neither regular nor handſome; the houſes are low and mean, moſtly built of wood and clay, and not above one ſtory high. The magazines and warehouſes belonging to foreigners are the only edifices which are built of brick; and which, though plain, yet, by reaſon of their height and more elegant fabricature, make a conſiderable ſhow among thoſe rows of wooden huts.

Royal palaces.

THE chief palace of the Chowa, or king, is more a vaſt than a ſuperb ſtructure. It is ſituate in the center of the city, and ſurrounded with a ſtout wall, within whoſe cincture are ſeen a great number of apartments two ſtories high, whoſe fronts and portals have ſomething of the grand taſte; thoſe of the Chowa and his wives are embelliſhed with variety of carving and gilding after the *Indian* manner, and all finely varniſhed. In the outward or foremoſt court are a vaſt number of ſumptuous ſtables for the king's elephants and horſes; the inner courts can only be ſuppoſed to be anſwerable to that, for the avenues are forbid not only to all ſtrangers but even to his ſubjects, except thoſe of the privy

[c] DAMPIER, p. 20, & ſeq. BARON, & al.

council

council and the chief ministers of state: yet we are told, that there are stair-cases by which the people may mount up to the top of the walls, which are about eighteen or twenty feet high, and walk about them, from which they may have a distant view of the royal apartments, and of the fine parterres and fish-ponds which are between the cincture and them. The front wall hath a large gate well ornamented, which is never opened but when the king goes in and out; but at some distance from it on each side there are two posterns, at which the courtiers and servants may go in and out. This cincture, which is of a vast circumference, is faced with brick within and without, and the whole structure is terminated by wide spacious gardens; which, though stored with variety of proper ornaments, yet are destitute of that grandeur and elegance which we behold in the palaces of our *European* princes.

Walls.

Ponds, &c.

Besides that vast spacious palace, one sees in this metropolis the stately ruins of a more splendid and magnificent one, said to have been formerly built by one of their monarchs, named *Li-bat-via*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, and to have been since destroyed during their civil wars. Its circumference is said to have been between six and seven miles; some arches, porticoes, and other ornaments, are still remaining; from which, and some of its courts paved with marble, one may conclude it to have been as magnificent a structure as any of those eastern parts can shew.

The ruins of an old palace.

The arsenal is likewise a large and noble building, and well-stored with warlike ammunition and artillery. It stands on the banks of the river *Song-koy* lately mentioned, and on that branch which *Dampier* calls *Domea*, which he says is much the deeper and wider of the two, and is that by which the *European* vessels come up to the town of its name; though, as we hinted a little higher, not without the assistance of a pilot of that country to steer them through its sandy and dangerous meanders, who always chuses calm weather and the benefit of the tide for that purpose[f].

Arsenal.

And here it will not be amiss to mention some curious observations, communicated to our Royal Society, concerning some considerable variations between the tides of these seas and those of *Europe*, *viz.* that on the *Tonquinese* coasts ebbs and flows but once in twenty-four hours; that is, that the tide is rising during the space of twelve hours, and can be easily perceived during two of the moon's quarters, but can hardly be observed during the other two quarters. In the

A curious observation on the tides of those coasts.

[f] Dampier, p. 20, & seq.

spring-

ſpring-tides, which laſt 14 days, the waters begin to riſe at the riſing of the moon; whereas in the low tides, which continue the ſame number of days, the tide begins not till the planet is got below the horizon. Whilſt it is paſſing thro' the ſix northern ſigns, the tides are obſerved to vary very greatly, and to riſe ſometimes very high, and ſometimes to be very low; but when it is got once into the ſouthern part of the zodiack, they are found to be more even and regular [g].

No walls or fortifications.

To return to the metropolis of this kingdom, all that we need obſerve further concerning it is, that it hath neither walls nor fortifications, tho' it be the conſtant reſidence of the *Tong-kineſe* monarchs, who have other two palaces, ſuch as they are, in it, beſides that already ſpoken of. The principal ſtreets are airy and wide, but the reſt narrow, all of them paved, tho' few of them otherwiſe, than with ſmall ſtones, clumſily put together; which makes it very unpleaſant to walk thro' them, eſpecially in wet weather, when they are extremely dirty, for want of a proper current for the water. Even in dry weather there are here and there ſome ditches of ſtagnated water and ſtinking mud, which are very offenſive to ſtrangers; yet upon the whole, its airy ſituation, and ſerene air, renders it healthy, and to the natives pleaſant enough; ſo that it is ſeldom, if ever, viſited with ſuch peſtilential diſeaſes, as are common in large cities of theſe eaſtern climes.

Streets poorly paved.

Subject to frequent fires.

One ſad diſaſter it is liable to, from the combuſtibility of its edifices, and the thatching of their houſes, that it frequently ſuffers dreadful conflagrations; which ſpread themſelves far and wide, with ſuch ſurpriſing velocity, that ſome thouſands of houſes are laid in aſhes before the fire can be extinguiſhed. To prevent the ſad conſequences of which, every houſe hath, either in its yard, or even in its center, ſome low building of brick, in form of an oven, in which the inhabitants, on the leaſt intimation of a fire, convey their moſt valuable effects. Beſides this precaution, which every family takes to ſecure their goods, the government obliges them to keep a ciſtern, or ſome other capacious veſſel, always full of water, on the top of their houſe, to be ready on all occaſions of this nature; as likewiſe a long pole and bucket, to throw water from the kennel upon the houſes. If theſe two expedients fail of ſuppreſſing the flames, they immediately cut the ſtraps which faſten the thatch to the walls, and let it fall in, and

Precaution againſt them.

[g] De his variat. vide Philoſoph. Tranſact. Dampier, Hamilton, &c.

waſte

waſte itſelf on the ground (B). By this means alſo the neighbouring houſes are ſoon uncovered, and the flames prevented from catching at them; or if they do, they may be the more eaſily quenched by the water kept in reſerve, and by the ſupply which they get by their poles and buckets from the kennels; for ſo ſtrict are they to oblige every houſe to be provided with thoſe two expedients, that if any are found without them, they are very ſeverely puniſhed for their neglect: notwithſtanding all which cautions, this city is frequently damaged by ſuch conflagrations [a].

THE houſe belonging to the *Engliſh* is ſituate on the north ſide of the city, fronting the river. It is a handſome, low-built houſe, with a ſpacious dining-room in the center, and on each ſide are the apartments of the merchants, factors, and ſervants. At each end of the building are ſmaller houſes, for other uſes, as ſtore-houſes, kitchen, &c. which form two wings, with the ſquare in the middle, and parallel with the river, near the bank of which ſtands a long flag-ſtaff, on which they commonly diſplay the *Engliſh* colours on *Sundays*, and all other remarkable days. Adjoining to it, on the ſouth ſide, is the *Daniſh* factory, which is neither ſo large nor ſo handſome; tho' the *Danes* were ſettled in it long before the *Engliſh*, who were but lately removed thither from *Heau*, in our author's time. On the ſame ſide of the river runs a long ſtout dike, whoſe timber and ſtone are ſo ſtrongly faſtened together, that no part of it can be ſtirred, without moving the whole. This work was raiſed on thoſe banks, to prevent the river, in the time of their vaſt rains, from overflowing the city, and carrying all before it; and has hitherto anſwered its end; for tho' the town ſtands high enough to be in no danger from the land-floods, it might yet have been otherwiſe frequently damaged, if not totally laid under water by the overflowing of that river [b].

Engliſh factory-houſe.

A ſtout dike on the river.

[a] DAMPIER, ubi ſupr. p. 45, & ſeq. [b] Idem, ibid. p. 49.

(B) This is the more eaſily done, as the thatching is not faſtened to the rafters in ſmall parcels, as it is in other parts of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, but in large panes, about ſeven or eight feet ſquare; ſo that five or ſix of them will cover one ſide of a houſe of a moderate bigneſs. Theſe panes may the more ſpeedily be looſed from the rafters, or ratans, by cutting their bands; upon which they immediately fall on the ground; and in caſe they ſhould alight too near the oven where the goods are ſecured, may be the more eaſily removed farther (2).

(2) *Dampier's ſupplement, p.* 45, *& ſeq.*

CACHAW

No cities in the kingdom.

CACHAW is the only city, if it may be dignified with that title, in the whole kingdom. That of *Domea*, formerly mentioned, tho' the next in rank, is hardly worth notice, being a large ſcattered town, or rather village; and ſo we may ſay of all the reſt, even of thoſe which are ſtiled the metropolis of a province, and reſidence of a governor. The town of *Heau* above-mentioned hath nothing remarkable but a palace belonging to a popiſh biſhop, who is a *Frenchman*, in which are alſo lodged ſome miſſionaries, of the ſame nation. It is a low, but handſome building, encompaſſed with a high and ſpacious wall, and hath a large gate to enter in, which is open all the day, and ſhut up at night; near it is a neat, but ſmall apartment, ſeparate from the reſt of the building, which is deſigned for the entertainment of ſtrangers. The biſhop, who is interdicted from ſettling at, or even coming to, the city of *Cachao*, commonly reſides in this town, which lies in the road to that metropolis, and hath ſeveral wherries conſtantly going up to it with the tide, and containing ſome 10, ſome 20, paſſengers, beſides the rowers, and other lading[c].

Heau town.

Popiſh biſhop's palace.

We have already hinted, that the greateſt part of this country is well watered by rivers, and canals cut from them; and the warmth of the climate is no leſs aſſiſting to the fecundity of their ground. It were indeed needleſs to enumerate the various products of this kingdom, they being much the ſame that we have mentioned in our hiſtory of *China*, and other parts of *India*. And we ſhall only add, that the greateſt part of their fruit-trees are affirmed to exceed all the reſt of *Aſia* in the flavour, beauty, and excellency of their fruit, but eſpecially the palm and orange-tree, of the large kind. But thoſe of the ſmall kind, as well as their citrons, are reckoned very unwholſome; eſpecially the latter, the juice of which, in ſome caſes, is uſed inſtead of *aqua fortis*, for dying of callicoes. They are likewiſe careful to furniſh their gardens with plenty of potatoes, yams, onions, &c. and their orchards with plantans, bananas, mangos, limes, coco-nuts, pine-apples, and other ſuch eſculent fruits. Their woods do likewiſe abound with timber-trees, for building of either ſhips or houſes, and with ſtately pines, to make maſts of[d].

Variety of trees.

Some excellent fruits.

Garden ſtuff.

The betel much in vogue.

The betel, in ſuch vogue all over *India*, in the leaf of which a ſlice of areck-nut being wrapped up, is chewed with ſo much delight, is here found in great plenty, and offered as a great compliment, even to ſtrangers. Every man

[c] Dampier, ubi ſupr. p. 99, & ſeq. [d] Dampier, Baron, Hamilton, & al.

carries

carries his box full of thoſe leaves, ready for uſe; and it would be looked upon as a high affront to refuſe it when offered, as it would be likewiſe to take it with the left, inſtead of the right hand. They commonly ſend it as a proper preſent, when they diſpatch their ſervants on any complimenting errand; for which the perſon ſent to ſeldom fails of making ſome gratification to the meſſenger. They eſteem it as a pleaſant opiate; but value it ſtill more, as a preſerver and cleaner of the teeth, and adding to the redneſs of the gums and lips. *Their diet.*

THESE woods abound with the ſame variety of wild beaſts, as other parts of *India* and *China*; and their elephants are reckoned the largeſt and nimbleſt in all *Aſia*. They have plenty, and great variety, of fowl, both wild and tame, which are their uſual food (C) at all their feaſtings, tho' at other times

(C) On ſolemn occaſions, whether they be feſtivals, weddings, burials, or anniverſaries, they commonly indulge themſelves, as far as their circumſtances will allow, in great variety of fleſh and fowl; among which buffaloes, horſes, goats, dogs, rabbets, rats, locuſts, geeſe, ducks, wild and tame, frogs, tortoiſes, crabs, and other fiſh, ſmall and great, make up the moſt conſiderable part of the feaſt; and fruit in great plenty and variety, the concluſion of it. They are likewiſe fond of pork cut into ſlices, and roaſted all together; but oftener chooſe to eat it raw, only minced and ſeaſoned, much after the ſame manner as our ſauſages are.

They ſinge their oxen as we do our hogs; and eſteem a raw beef ſtake, ſoaked three or four hours in vinegar, a dainty morſel. If an elephant die a natural death, the fleſh of it is commonly given to the poor, but the ſnout, or proboſcis, is eſteemed a piece fit to be preſented to ſome great perſon.

Among a variety of ſauces, which they uſe with their meat, one of the moſt common and admired is their ballachawn, which is made of ſmall fiſh, ſhrimps, prawns, *&c.* ſoaked in ſalt-water till reduced to a pulp. The liquor, which is afterwards drawn from it, is called newchmum, and both theſe are uſed as a ſauce both by natives and *Europeans*; and even the poor people will mix the ballachawn with their boiled rice, to give it a hautgout, rank and diſagreeable enough to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to it, but which becomes pleaſant by uſe (3).

Whatever is brought to their table is dreſſed and ſerved with the greateſt niceneſs; even their tables and veſſels, as well as victuals, are perfumed. They uſe neither knives, forks, nor table linen, but eat after the *Chineſe* manner, each perſon at a ſeparate table, and handle their ſticks with the ſame dexterity (4); but obſerve, eſpecially among the better ſort

a

(3) *Dampier's ſuplem. p.* 27, *&* *ſeq.* 30, *&* *ſeq.* *Baron, Tavernier, &c. ubi.*
(4) *De hoc, vid. inf. vol. viii. p.* 277, *&* *ſeq.*

times they eat ſparingly of any fleſh, and content themſelves with their boiled rice, herbs, roots, dried fiſh, and pickled eggs.

A ſtrange kind of mice.

THEY have here a ſtrange kind of mice, the hunting of which yields them a pleaſant diverſion, and their fleſh a dainty diſh. They are about the bigneſs of a pullet, and have wings about a foot and an half long, and commonly make their neſts on filbert, piſtachio, and other nut-trees, whoſe fruit is their chief fare, and gives their fleſh a fine reliſh. It is not the cats that here make war againſt them, but a particular breed of ſmall dogs, which hunt and drive them up to the next tree they meet with, which they climb with great ſwiftneſs; and faſtening their claws on the branches, hang all the day long upon them, with their heads downwards: they have, moreover, ſeven claws on each wing, by which they cling ſo faſt, that when ſhot dead, they continue ſtill fixed to the bough. Theſe creatures are preferred to any fowl, even by the *Portugueſe* [e].

Liquors.

THEIR common drink is a peculiar kind of tea, which they call *Chia-bang*, or *Chaw-bang*; the leaves of which, boiled in water, yield a liquor of a reddiſh-brown, not unlike the ordinary *Chineſe* bohea. There is hardly any village in which one doth not ſee, eſpecially on market-days, women with an earthen pipkin before them, ſet over ſome coals, with this kind of tea, which they ſell to paſſengers. This kind is not only ſtrong and coarſe, but very diſtaſteful to ſtrangers, becauſe they drink it without ſugar: but in their merry meetings they commonly mix a quantity of arrak with it, more or leſs; and when they deſign to make a fuddling bout of it, they drink the arrak by itſelf, and frequently burn it over the fire, as they do in *China*, eſpecially before they go to ſleep [f]. They have another ſort of tea much pleaſanter than the former, which is made not of the leaf, but the flower of the plant; which being dried and torrified, hath a very grateful flavour

Two ſorts of tea.

Arrak, and other wine.

[e] DAMPIER's ſupplem. p. 64. [f] See vol. viii. p. 279. (W).

a great decorum, and deep ſilence, all the time: tho', if we may believe their countryman *Baron*, this laſt is rather owing to their voracious attention to their victuals, which doth not permit them to loſe ſo much time as even to anſwer a civil queſtion; inſomuch, that it is looked upon as an affront, or at the beſt a breach of good manners, to ſpeak a word till the repaſt is over (5). Their cuſtom is to eat four times a day, as every-where elſe in *India*.

(5) *Baron Collect. Trav. & al. ubi ſup.*

and

and taſte, when infuſed or boiled in water; and this they call *Chaw-way*. They make ſeveral ſorts of wines, and other liquors, of rice, and other ingredients, like thoſe uſed in *China*; on which we need not expatiate [g].

Inhabitants deſcribed.

THE *Tonquineſe* are generally of a tawny colour, yet not ſo deep as other *Indians*. Their faces are oval, and moſtly flattiſh, yet graceful. Their hair is black, long and lank. They affect, both men and women, to have their teeth as black as art can make them, and are four or five days a dying of them, but ſeldom go about it till they are 13 or 14 years old. Whilſt the operation laſteth, they take no other nouriſhment than ſome *chaw*, or other ſuch liquid, and that but ſparingly, leſt ſome of the dye, which is of a poiſonous nature, ſhould mix with their food, and indanger their health; but this abſtinence they all readily comply with, to avoid reſembling the elephants and dogs in the whiteneſs of their teeth, which they look upon as the moſt odious diſfigurement. They are naturally healthy and robuſt, nimble and active, dexterous and ingenious in their ſeveral manufactures, ſuch as that of ſilk, cotton, lacquering, great quantities of all which are yearly exported. Notwithſtanding which, their country is ſo populous, that vaſt numbers of its inhabitants labour under the extremeſt poverty, for want of employment; the handicraftsmen being unable, for want of money, to ſet them to work, except when foreign ſhips, eſpecially *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, arrive, and give a new life to buſineſs, by advancing money to them, to at leaſt one-third part of the goods they beſpeak; and this frequently obliges the merchants to ſtay there five or ſix months before they can get them finiſhed. But what cauſes the greateſt obſtruction to labour and induſtry, and contributes moſt to their indigence, is the univerſal itch of gaming which reigns among them all, rich and poor, maſters and ſervants, whilſt they have any thing left to hazard; and when once money, goods, and their very cloaths, are loſt, they will ſtake even their wives and children; after which, they will not leave one trick untried, whether honeſt or baſe, to retrieve their families and fortunes; tho' it moſt frequently ends in their total ruin [h].

Manufactures.

Populouſneſs and poverty.

Vaſt itch of gaming.

IT is not improbable that the *Tonquineſe* have received this infection of gaming from the *Chineſe*, who are very numerous among them; and amongſt whom that vice reigns, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel [i], if poſſible, in a higher degree. They have likewiſe contracted, like them, ſuch a ſhameful habit of indolence and

[g] See the next vol. p. 273, & ſeq. [h] DAMPIER, ubi ſupr. p. 41, & ſeq. [i] See vol. viii. p. 250.

idleneſs,

idleneſs, that they will ſpend part of the morning in viſiting one another, and the evenings and nights either in gaming, or ſmoaking, drinking, ſinging, and other ſuch idle paſtime; and leave the care of their manufactures and trades to their women and ſlaves; inſomuch, that it is a doubt whether there is any, even among the richeſt ſort of dealers, take his whole ſtock together, that hath the value of 2000 crowns in all his warehouſes. To all this we may add, the heavy taxes which the government impoſes upon them; and which, tho' rated according to the circumſtances of every individual, commonly run as high as they can poſſibly pay, and ſometimes higher, thro' the artifice and knavery of the king's officers.

Heavily taxed.

The mens dreſs.

THEIR dreſs is not much different from the *Chineſe*, and conſiſts of a long robe, reaching down to the heels, and tied about the middle with a girdle or ſaſh, commonly embroidered, among thoſe of the better ſort, with gold and ſilver; but the habit of the ſoldiers, and common people, reaches no lower than the knees, as the breeches, and drawers do to the mid-leg, and are commonly of cotton. But the nobility, and perſons of rank, affect to go in rich ſilks, or fine *Engliſh* broad-cloaths, moſtly either red or green, and reaching to their heels; neither dare they appear at court, eſpecially before the king, but in ſuch a ſtately garb. Their heads are covered with a long cap, of the ſame ſtuff with their gowns; but thoſe of the lower rank go commonly bare-headed, except the fiſhermen and labourers, whoſe buſineſs obliges them to wear broad-brim'd hats made of ruſhes, ſtraw, or palmetto leaves, ſtarched as ſtiff as a deal-board, and tied by a ſtring under their chin.

Go bare-foot.

THEIR antient laws obliged all but the king to go bare-foot, which, as Father *Marini* obſerves [k], might the more eaſily be complied with, as their land is moſtly of the ſoft and ſandy kind, and little of it hard and ſtony; tho' one would be rather apt to wonder how they could bear the exceſſive heat of the ground. But we ſhall ſee in the ſequel in many kingdoms under a hotter ſun, and in more rocky countries, as in the empire of *Abiſſinia*, *Lower Ethiopia*, and other parts of *Afric*, the very ſame cuſtom is obſerved, without the leaſt inconvenience to the natives; tho' very painful to ſtrangers uninured to it. However, the literati, and ſince them the grandees, claim a privilege of wearing ſandals; but the greateſt ornament of both, is that of their long nails [l].

That of the women.

THE dreſs of the women differs little from that of the men, ſaving that it is rather more grave than theirs, excepting only

[k] DAMPIER, p. 42, & ſeq. [l] HAMILTON, BARON, & al. See alſo the next vol. p. 209. & (M).

on

on grand festivals, when they strive to adorn themselves with the richest habits and ornaments. On other occasions, if we except that they do not cover their hands and faces, as the *Chinese* women do [m], they affect a degree of gravity in their dress, actions, and gait, even superior to theirs. Their long robes come quite close about their necks, and hang down to their heels. They wear large hats, like those of the fishermen lately described, but made of some richer stuff, and more curiously embroidered, which they also tie under their chin, and use as a kind of umbrella. Whilst this kingdom was under the dominion of the *Chinese* monarchs, and governed by their viceroys, both men and women were obliged to tuck up their hair in some form or other, in token of subjection. But after they had recovered their liberty, and began to have their own kings, both sexes agreed to wear it hanging about their shoulders, in token of their freedom. Their bonzas, or priests, who have their heads shaved all over, make a kind of jest of their long hair, pretending that it is of no other use than to help their deities to draw men, of little or no merit for their good deeds, up to heaven; but which, for that reason, they had no occasion for, seeing their own virtue and good actions are sufficient to carry them thither; and therefore take care to shave it off as fast as it grows [n]. This doth not hinder the *Tonquinese* from keeping up to their old custom of wearing their hair hanging down, tho' very troublesome to the working part; which they chiefly do, to distinguish themselves from the *Chinese*. For the same reason, their noblemen, and persons of distinction, affect to wrap up their long gowns differently from them, that is, by fastening the left lappet over the right; whereas the *Chinese* wrap the right lappet over the left, and fasten it on their left hip by a ribbon to their girdle.

Why they wear long hair.

The dress of the male bonzas differs only from that of the gentlemen in the fineness of the stuff, and its hanging more full and loose about them. They wear on their head a round cap, about three inches high; behind which hangs a piece of the same cloth, and colour, which comes down over their shoulders. The colours they affect most are the purple, chesnut, the carnation, or flesh-colour, and the glossy black; tho' others will prefer the yellow, and dark-red. Some of them wear a kind of doublet, striped or flowered, with glass beads of various colours, artfully strung and sown upon it. The

The dress of the bonzas.

[m] Relat. du Royaume. de Tonquin, c. 2. [n] Marini, ubi supr. c. 2. See also, vol. viii. p. 273, & seq.

and of their wives. female bonzas appear much in the same kind of dress, except that, instead of a round cap, they adorn their heads with a kind of tiara, bespangled with variety of beads of various colours, and of the bigness of a musket-ball [o].

Their language, &c writing, arts, &c. THE *Tonquinese* appear, by the court records of the *Chinese*, and their own, to have been a quite different people from them, and to have received their principal arts, sciences, and politeness, from them. Writing was wholly unknown to them, till they brought it amongst them; and even their language, if we may believe *Dampier* [p], hath a very great affinity with the vulgar *Chinese*, or *Fokyan* dialect, consisting, like that, of a vast multitude of monosyllables, whose significations are distinguished by the variety of tones and accents with which they are pronounced [q], only the *Tonquinese*, we are told, abounds more with gutturals, and hath as great a number of those called dentals, which the *Europeans* find no less difficulty to pronounce. The courtiers, nobles, and literati, however, affect the more polite *Chinese*, which is less rough and uncouth: but as to their making use of the *Malayan*, as *Tavernier* affirms, it is not likely that they even understand it; tho' the mercantile people may use it in their commerce with other nations. For tho' the remarkable smoothness of that language may appear more suitable for a polite court, the *Tonquinese* do not seem curious enough to adopt it in preference of their own, merely upon that account.

Writing and characters. THEY have the same way of writing that is used in *China*, and in all probability did at first learn it from them. The characters to all appearance seem to be the same, and are written in the same way by columns, and with the same instruments. Their paper is of the same make, either of silk or the bark of trees, all of their own manufacture; and their writing and printing appear in all respects as neat and beautiful as that of the *Chinese*. They have schools in every village, where children are taught to read and write, but no superior colleges for the arts and sciences. They are not indeed so expert in the mathematics as the *Chinese*, nor do they seem to have the same genius and liking to them, but have a particular fondness for music and poetry. But their most admired literati are those who are best versed in morality, and in their laws: these apply themselves mostly to the writings of *Confucius* and other *Chinese* philosophers; for we do not find that they have any eminent writers of their own in that way, though many distinguished professors and proficients,

No public schools for learning.

Sciences, how taught.

[o] MARINI, ubi supr. c. 2. [p] DAMPIER, ubi supr. p. 59, & seq. [q] See the next vol. p. 203, & seq.

and

and these are held in the highest esteem, who, for want of public established schools, do teach their students in houses of their own, or at their own homes, as their parents and they agree. The same method is followed by the teachers of rhetoric, poetry, and music; and it is by those professors that the youth are examined and advanced from one degree or class to a higher [z].

THERE are three of these classes, through which these students must pass before they can be qualified for any great posts in the government. The first is called *Syn-de*; the second, *Dow-cum*; and the third, *Tan-si*. To become a graduate of the first, they must have learned rhetoric, in order to be fit for the offices of notaries, proctors, advocates. If they go well through their examination, they are immediately registered and presented to the king, who gives them leave to assume the title of *Syn-de*; but, if found defective, are dismissed as unfit for it.

Three degrees of literati.

1. Syn-de.

TO acquire that of *Dow-cum*, they must study five years, till they have learned music, poetry, and mathematics; which last chiefly consists in some skill in astronomy and astrology; and these last are obliged to make their own instruments; and, when they have gone through their examen with approbation, are dubbed *Dow-cums*.

2. Dow-cum.

FROM the *Dow-cum* they may rise in four years more to the third or uppermost degree, called *Tansi*, by bestowing that time on the study of the laws, politics, and customs of the *Chinese* (D); at the end of which they are examined in the

3. Tan-si.

[z] DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al. sup. citat.

(D) This high regard of the *Tonquinese* for the *Chinese* learning, and particularly for that branch of it, will appear less strange to our readers, if they consider what we shall have frequent occasion to hint in a subsequent chapter, that not only they, but all the other neighbouring kingdoms, looked upon the *Chinese* as the most, if not the only, learned and polite nation in the world, held in the highest esteem all their philosophic and other writings; and look upon their system of politics as the most complete that human reason could excogitate; insomuch that not only the writings, but the persons, of *Confucius*, *Mencius*, and others of their great men, are held in as high veneration among them as they are in *China* (1). Even the *Japanners*, who hardly come behind them in any of those excellencies, as we shall shew in the next chapter, make no difficulty to own the great advantages they have received

(1) *See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 103, & seq.*

How raised to the last,

the presence of the king, by a great number of nobles and gentlemen of that class, who come thither on purpose, and a certain number of mandarins and counsellors, to whom the names of the candidates are signified before-hand. Their examination is commonly more strict than any of the two former; and, if discharged with their approbation, they are immediately conveyed to a scaffold erected for the purpose, and cloathed with a rich vest of purple sattin, given to them by the king; and their names are written in large characters on tablets, which are hung up at his palace-gate. After which they are inrolled in the rest of the *Tan-sies*, and have a certain appenage assigned to them according to their quality, merit, or the king's favour, till they are raised to the man-

and public posts.

drinate, or some other post in the government. It is also out of this last class that he chuses his counsellors, ministers, and ambassadors, especially those who are sent on an ambassy to the imperial court of *China* with the usual homage and tribute, or upon any other occasion. Whilst those who have miscarried in their examination are disgraced, and registered, as incapable of ever rising to that dignity [a].

Physic very imperfect.

PHYSIC will hardly be expected to be in any tolerable degree of perfection, if our readers recollect in what a low state it is still in most parts of *India*, and even in *China* (of which we shall speak in a subsequent chapter), notwithstanding the many useful improvements they might have made both in the theory and the practice, by their converse with *Europeans* [b]. The whole of both doth indeed chiefly consist in the knowlege of the virtues of a good number of herbs, roots, gums, and other medicinal vegetables, the use and preparation of which is copiously treated in some of their books; but is more commonly attained by experience and specific receipts, which the practitioners, who are at once doctors, apothecaries, and surgeons, pretend to be masters of, together with a more than ordinary skill in pulses.

Diseases, and their cures.

Fevers, especially of the purple kind, dysenteries, cholics, jaundice, and the small-pox, are the chief and most dangerous distempers the *Tonquinese* are liable to; as to gouts, stone, and gravel, they are scarcely known amongst them;

[a] DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al. sup. citat. [b] See vol. viii. p. 304, & seq.

from these valuable *Chinese* volumes, which are still taught in their schools, and as highly valued as ever amongst them, notwithstanding their prejudice to their whole nation in general, of which we shall give an account in the sequel (1).

(1) *Vol. ix. p.* 122.

and

and the others they commonly cure by diet-drinks joined to a good regimen: when these prove ineffectual, they have recourse to topical applications, as cupping, cauterizing, either with *Indian* moxa or even with hot irons (E); and sometimes, though rarely, bleeding as near as can be to the part affected, either with a sharp bone, not unlike our farriers fleams, struck into the vein by a flap of the finger, or else by a puncture with a kind of fine needle[c]; a topical operation likewise, said to have been invented by the *Japanese*, and of which we shall give a further account in the history of that nation in a subsequent chapter[d]. The *Tonquinese* frequently cure the purple or spotted fever by the raising a small blister on some of the spots with a lighted match or rush, until they break and go off with a whiff; which they look upon as a sure sign that the malignity of the distemper is thereby evaporated. This operation is usually performed by candle-light, because the pustules appear more plainly than by day-

Bleeding and cupping.

Cure for the purple fever.

[c] Kæmpfer hist. of Japan, ubi supra. Dampier, Baron, & aliis. [d] Vol. ix. p. 39, & seq.

(E) This last is chiefly used in epilepsies and atrophies, as in *China* (1). But they have another distemper of much the the same nature, with which they are often seized on a sudden, *viz.* a total deprivation of speech, which, if not quickly remedied, seldom fails of ending in the patient's death. This distemper is said to be occasioned by damps or blasts in some of their unwholesome seasons; and the first remedy they try against it is, to make the patient drink a large quantity of arrack, aqua vitæ, or other distilled liquor, made as hot as he can swallow it, and with the addition of some powdered ginger.

If that doth not bring him to his speech, they chafe his whole body with a cloth dipped in the same hot spirituous liquors; if all these fail, they proceed to burning, and that sometimes to the very bone; but they frequently defer this last expedient so long, that the patient is either quite dead, or past all sensation, or possibility of recovery. It sometimes happens also, that the circulation of the stagnated blood, forced by the violent friction above-mentioned, as well as by the quantity of the hot spirituous liquor administred to the patient, is attended with violent and excruciating pains in the limbs; in which case they lay him down on a bedstead, whose girts stand at some distance from one another, and having covered him up with warm cloaths, sweat him night and morning from underneath, by the help of a chafing-dish filled with coals, and a large quantity of frankincense, or other like gums, till the pain is assuaged (2).

(1) *De his, vide infra, vol. viii. p.* 195. (2) *Tavernier, Marini, & al. sup. citat.*

light. It is however looked upon as so hazardous to the performers, that they commonly undertake it with no small reluctance and great precaution; because, as it is pretended, if they should catch any of the effluvia at the nose or mouth, it would infallibly infect them with the distemper, and, what is still worse, without any possibility of a cure. But whether this last circumstance be true, or only pretended, in order to extort a greater reward from the patient, we will not pretend to determine.

Doctors very ignorant, and great boasters.

and astrologers.

UPON the whole, we shall only add, that the people are timorous and superstitious to a high degree, and the physicians very ignorant, and very great boasters and cheats. Astrology is always consulted, not only in sickness, but in all other the most trivial emergencies; and they will suffer their patients to run the hazard of their lives, rather than administer any thing to them on an unlucky day, or under what they deem an inauspicious aspect of the planet.

Mechanic arts improved,

THE *Tonquinese* are indeed more ready and expert in manual arts, which they have much improved by the help of the *Chinese* families, who refuged themselves amongst them during the former troubles and civil wars of that kingdom, and have settled themselves ever since, and introduced some of their principal trades and curious handicrafts amongst them. We have already hinted something concerning their silk and cotton manufactures, and that of their japan-work, or lacquer-varnish, in all which they are little inferior to their masters; to which we may add that of their porcelane, and other earthen work, in which they would be no less successful, had they the same encouragement and flourishing trade for them that the *Chinese* have. But it is too much the interest of that politic nation to cramp, rather than promote, the commerce of their vassals, or suffer any of their tributaries to vie with them in any useful branches of trade; and this, together with the heavy taxes with which they are laden, their scarcity of money, diffidence of strangers, apprehension of distant or perhaps imaginary losses, all these, we say, contribute to dispirit and discourage them from improving those advantages which from their excellent situation for commerce, and genius for mechanic arts, might otherwise render them a flourishing and opulent people. So that they now content themselves with spending a great part of their time, the men especially, either in sloth, indolence, and poverty; or, if their circumstances will permit it, their morning is spent in idle visits, the middle of the day in eating and sleeping, and the remainder of it in drinking, smoaking, gaming, singing, dancing, and other diversions.

but languish for want of encouragement.

The people made idle by it.

How they spend their time.

THEY

THEY have acquired some skill in metals, and can even cast guns and other artillery, can fabricate fire and other arms, with variety of other ingenious tools and utensils in metals; and have an excellent way of preparing and mixing the earth in which they cast their metals, and even cannon of an extraordinary size. *Dampier* tells us of a large brass one which was cast by them, supposed to be eight or nine thousand pounds weight. Its bore is of a taper form, a foot diameter at the mouth, but narrower at the breech, and in other respects ill-shaped; though much esteemed, because cast by them about twelve or thirteen years before, and the largest that ever they made. But they were forced to have recourse to the *English* to mount it upon its carriage, and now only keep it for shew[d]. All this shews that the small advantage they make of their genius and dexterity, is rather owing to the want of encouragement than industry. *Artillery cast by them.*

WE cannot forbear mentioning another abuse which contributes to keep the industrious working part still poorer, and turns no less to the advantage of the foreigners, who carry it on under-hand. This is done by contracting an intimacy with some notable female, either by a love intrigue, or by an extemporaneous marriage, and appointing her one's factoress at parting, who will be sure to take the advantage of the deadness of trade, during the foreign merchants absence, to employ people at the lowest wages, and to buy silks and other commodities at the lowest prices, against their return; by which means some *Dutchmen*, who are said to deal most in this clandestine way, have gained immense riches; and their factoresses, by their shares of the profit, have raised such fortunes, as to become matches for some indigent grandees, after their *Dutch* husbands have left off trading[e]. *Gross abuse in trade.*

To all these disadvantages we may still add another, that the *Tonquinese* do not trade for themselves, nor export any of their merchandizes on their own bottoms; nor have they indeed any vessels fit for these rough seas, theirs being chiefly fisher-boats or long gallies, so that most of their wares are imported and exported by strangers. Those imported are saltpetre, sulphur, broad-cloths, and other woollen stuffs, spices, lead, guns, and cash; we do not find that they have any coin of their own, but make use of that which is brought thither by strangers, together with the small copper coin which they have from *China*[f], and which they exchange with them at a *Goods imported and exported on foreign bottoms.* *Their coin.*

[d] DAMPIER, ubi supra, p. 70. [e] TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al. [f] See the next vol. p. 246, & seq.

Women expert money-changers. great disadvantage for foreign silver[f]. The *Tonquinese* women are said to be such dexterous money-changers, that they can raise and fall the value of their cash as dexterously and effectually as our stockjobbers do their stocks.

Fairs and markets. THEIR inland commerce is mostly carried on by water, and by the help of their numerous rivers and canals, and of the many markets and fairs which are stated by the government; the most considerable of which are those which are held every new and full moon at their metropolis of *Ca-chao*, *That of Ca-chao;* or, as father *Marini* writes, *Ke-cio*; which word he tells us signifies a fair or market: he adds, that these fairs are kept in seventy-two quarters of the town, every one as big as a little town, and filled with merchants, traders, and artificers, whose several wares and merchandizes are indicated in a sign hung over the entrance of their warehouses or shops. These fairs are the more crouded with strangers, as the king permits none of their ships to anchor at any port but this[g]; to which we may add another inducement besides this vast concourse of people, *viz.* the beautiful prospect which its river yields all the way up to it of fertile plains and verdant pastures, and of a great number of villages large and populous on each side, elegantly shaded and adorned with high trees planted on each side of a large moat or canal, which surrounds each of them, and defends them from inundations, whilst the plains about them display only a spacious flat land covered *and other towns.* with fields of rice or meadow grounds. Other towns have likewise their fairs and markets, and the villages likewise, but with this difference, that six of these are joined together in one charter, and hold their own each in their turn[h].

Their religion. THE *Tonquinese* have adopted the two chief religions which reign in *China*; *viz.* that of their great philosopher *Confucius*, *Sect of Confucius.* [whom they call *Ong-cogne*] which is that of the *literati*, and of those of superior rank; and that of *Fo*, which was brought from *India* into *China*; a full account of both which will be more properly seen in the *Chinese* history[i], to prevent needless repetitions. Only thus much may be said here concerning the former, or philosophic sect and doctrine, that the *Tonquinese* doctors value themselves not a little for having purged it, as they say, from a great number of superfluous niceties, with which the *literati* of *China* had clogged the reading and interpretation of that great philosopher's writings, as well as from a great variety of superstitious customs and observances,

[f] TAVERNIER, MARINI, DAMPIER, HAMILTON, BARON, &c.
[g] MARINI relat. ubi supra, &c. [h] Id. ibid. TAVERNIER, DAMPIER, &c. [i] See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 108, & seq. & 117.

which

which they had introduced from them, and which continue ſtill in full force among the learned of that empire. So that the whole of their religion, ſo far as reſpects this famed ſect, conſiſts in a deep inward veneration of the god or king of heaven, in paying ſome private honours to their anceſtors, and in the practice of all moral virtues.

Their tenets, rites, and worſhip.

THEY have neither temples nor prieſts, nor any ſettled form of outward worſhip, but every one pays his adoration to the ſupreme being in the manner he thinketh beſt. They alſo believe a lower rank of ſubaltern ſpirits, to whom they pay an inferior kind of worſhip, ſuch as they think is moſt acceptable to them, and moſt likely to procure their favour. Moſt of this philoſophic ſect hold the world to be eternal, and all the ſouls of men to be immortal; but ſome of them believe that immortality, and the bliſs attending it in another life, to belong only to thoſe of the juſt, whilſt thoſe of the wicked periſh with the body. This we may properly ſtile the religion of the court and of the learned, of which their monarchs, whilſt they were abſolute and independent, were the chiefs or head, and claimed alone the privilege of ſacrificing to the great *Tyen*, as the *Chineſe* emperors do in their own dominions, whether on certain ſtate feſtivals, or in times of public calamities. At preſent the *Tonquineſe* chovas, or kings, though tributary to thoſe emperors, ſtill retain that privilege, and perform that office in their own palaces, where they offer up their victims upon particular occaſions, but eſpecially in calamitous times [k].

Sacrifices.

THE other, or the ſect of *Fo*, which hath ſpread itſelf through the greateſt part of *India*, as far as *Siam*, *China*, and *Japan*, is chiefly profeſſed here by the common people, and is ſubdivided into a variety of branches, the principal of which is that of *Lanzo*, or *Lan-thu* (F); whoſe founder, a

The ſect of Fo.

Lan-thu *Chineſe, the founder of*

[k] See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 141, & ſeq.

(F) His diſciples pretend, that his mother, a virgin, carried him ſeventy years in her womb before ſhe was delivered of him, together with other ſuch abſurd ſtories of his life, calculated only to raiſe his fame above all the other branches of that ſect. As for his doctrine, it was much the ſame with that of the *Ka-cha-bout*, or hermit, who ſpread his idolatries thro' this and other parts of *India*, but died in this kingdom. He had however an art of recommending himſelf among the ſuperſtitious great and rich, by his pretended converſe with ſubaltern ſpirits, from whom he had gained, as he pretended, a moſt extenſive inſight into futurity; and whenever he was conſulted by any great perſonages about any momentous matters,

Chineſe, is pretended to have been one of the greateſt magicians in all the eaſt. They are all however agreed in worſhipping a great number of deities, to whom they erect ſtatues and temples; not indeed ſo ſtately and magnificent as they are in other parts of *India*, where we have ſeen thoſe ſtructures rear up their lofty tops with the moſt ſuperb grandeur, and adorned with all that is coſtly and brilliant, as well as the ſtatues of the deities to which they were dedicated[1]. Here, on the contrary, they are low and mean, and deſtitute of every ornament except their ſtatues; which, inſtead of being placed on a ſumptuous altar, are either ſet upon ſome bench, or hang down from ſome of the croſs-beams to which they are faſtened. Theſe are commonly of an oblong form, open on all the four ſides, and their floors, moſtly of plain boards, are raiſed ſome feet above the ground; not ſo much for grandeur, as to keep them above water during the time of their land-floods, and are aſcended by a flight of ſteps which run around on the outſide.

their mean temples.

Poor prieſts.

THEY are ſerved by two ſorts of prieſts, called *Bonzas* and *Says*, each a ſet of lazy drones and horrid cheats, who live chiefly on the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the populace. Their houſes, or rather huts, are built in the neighbourhood of their pagodes, where they ply the laity, who reſort thither to their idols, and offer their petitions to them; which is done by making long proſtrations and burning ſome incenſe before them; and for this their votaries pay them with two or three handfuls of rice, ſome a ſmall quantity of betel, and other ſuch inconſiderable trifles, which is in ſome meaſure all that thoſe idle drones have to ſubſiſt on; and it ſometimes happens that the *Tonquineſe* kings are under a kind of neceſſity to thin the number of them, by ſending part of them to the wars. What ſeems to contribute moſt to their extreme poverty, is the contempt which the quality and richer ſort of people have for them; and who, rather than encourage them in that idle way, by reſorting to their pa-

Living.

Often ſent to the wars.

[1] See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 108, & ſeq.

ters, he uſed to exhort them to ſome popular and charitable deeds, ſuch as building of hoſpitals for the ſick, lame, and needy; by which means he not only ingratiated himſelf into their eſteem, but became the idol of the common people to ſuch a degree, that his ſect quickly eclipſed all the others of the *Indian Fo* (1).

(1) *Tavernier, Marini, Baron, & al. ſupra citat. See alſo hereafter, vol. viii. p. 109, & not.* (G).

godes

godes to offer up their petitions, will cauſe that ceremony to be performed in ſome of the open courts about their own houſes, and by one of their own domeſtics; who lying proſtrate before the idol, reads his maſter's petition, and afterwards flings it into the fire on which the incenſe is burning, together with three or four pieces more of gilt paper, to be conſumed with it. This ceremony, when thus performed at home, is commonly followed with a plentiful feaſt, in which the officiating ſervant, and the reſt of his fellow domeſtics, are nobly regaled [m]. *Ceremonies to their idols.*

To theſe two ſects, we may add that called *Tay-bou-to-ni*, which is rather a ſort of pretended conjurers, who ſet up to cure diſtempers by charms, and other magical tricks, and are in great vogue among the *Tonquineſe*, they being, according to their countryman *Baron*, the only perſons who are conſulted upon ſuch occaſions; and perſuade the people that the diſtemper is inflicted by ſome earthly or watery demon, and cannot be cured but by proper charms, of which they alone pretend to have the true ſecret. And as they are ſeldom ſent for till the laſt extremity, the ſuppoſed conjurer, diſguiſed in an odd fantaſtic dreſs, begins his pretended charms with the ſound of ſome ſorts of trumpets, kettle-drums, baſons, braſs pans, and other rough muſic, to prevent the words, which he ſpeaks on the occaſion, from being heard by the byſtanders, ringing himſelf a hand-bell, to add ſtill more to the horrid din; he continues dancing, leaping, turning, and winding to the ſame tune, till he perceives ſome prognoſtics in his patient, either of life or death; and if the latter, he is never deſtitute of ſome plauſible cloak for his pretended diſappointment; either he was not ſent for ſoon enough, or the ſpirit or demon which inflicted the diſeaſe was too exaſperated againſt the patient to be intreated or appeaſed by any charm: and this laſt doth more readily paſs for current, as the prevailing notion amongſt them is, that the ſouls of the deceaſed are turned either into beneficent or maleficent demons; the latter of which are the more outrageouſly ſo in proportion to the torments they are doomed to, if they are not timely relieved from them by the living, in ſome way ſuitable to their condition; and of this theſe jugglers, who pretend to be the only judges, are commonly made the chief directors [n]. *The ſect of Tay-bou-to-ni.* *Manner of curing their patients.* *All of them great cheats.*

[m] Dampier, vol. i. p. 396, & ſeq. Baron collect. of voyages. Tavernier, & al. See the various hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms in the preceding and ſubſequent volumes. M. Baron, ubi ſupra. [n] Dampier, Baron, & al. Tavernier, & al. ſupra citat.

Besides

BESIDES the claſs above-mentioned, there is another called *Taydelis*, whoſe province is to direct the living to the choice of the propereſt and moſt favourable places for depoſiting the bodies of their deceaſed friends. The funeral obſequies are reckoned amongſt them ſo eſſential a part of their religion, that however one ſect may differ from another in other points, this of making a proper choice of a burying-place is looked upon by them all as an indiſpenſible duty; and next to that, the viſiting of thoſe places at proper ſeaſons, and furniſhing them with variety of eatables, and other conveniencies, which their ſouls may ſtand in need of. This cuſtom was probably introduced hither by the *Chineſe*, who, as we ſhall ſhew in the next volume, are ſo ſcrupulous in the performance of this duty, that their very emperors are not exempt from it°. The only difference is, that the *Chineſe*, eſpecially thoſe of any rank above the vulgar, have their fixed burying-grounds, where every family depoſite their dead relations without any farther enquiry. Whereas the *Tonquineſe* are ſo ſuperſtitiouſly ſcrupulous in this reſpect, that any material circumſtances which happen at a parent's or near relation's death, makes them look upon this conſultation about the choice of a grave as ſuch an indiſpenſible duty, that the neglect of it would be attended with ſome great diſaſter to the ſurvivors. Inſomuch that in ſome caſes, as when a perſon dies on the ſame day or hour in which his father, or ſome other near relation did, they will keep the deceaſed in his coffin above-ground ſome months, or even years; that is, till thoſe *Taydelis*, or pretended diviners, have agreed upon a proper ſpot to depoſit it in; though this cannot be done without great expence and trouble, in proportion to the time the corpſe remains unburied; becauſe, in ſuch a caſe, the neareſt relations are obliged to depoſit ſeveral ſorts of eatables upon the deceaſed's coffin three times a day, to keep candles or flambeaux continually burning, together with a conſtant fire on which to burn incenſe and other perfumes, as well as a variety of papers cut out in the ſhape of horſes, elephants, and other creatures, which they fooliſhly imagine his ſoul may ſtand in need of. Beſides all theſe, they are obliged to repair ſeveral times in the day to that place, to proſtrate themſelves, with their foreheads to the ground, before the coffin, and make the uſual lamentations, with all the geſtures and tokens of the deepeſt ſorrow, whilſt the corpſe continued in the houſe. But it will be hardly neceſſary to acquaint our

Funeral rites brought hither from China.

In what they differ.

A ſtrange cuſtom.

Honours paid to the dead,

among the rich.

° DAMPIER, BARON, TAVERNIER, MARINI, TISSANIER, & al ſup. citat. See alſo vol. viii. p. 262, & ſeq.

readers,

readers, that this ſingular ſcrupulouſneſs about the choice of a burying-place, extends no farther than among the rich and wealthy, who can pay thoſe jugglers well for their pretended conſultations, and whoſe intereſt it is to procraſtinate their agreement about it. But when the ſame difficulties happen among thoſe of the poorer ſort, they ſeldom make them wait long for their determination; and in a week or fortnight, at the moſt, direct them to the deſired ſpot.

When the diviners are once come to an agreement about the important point, the funeral pomp immediately follows; and much in the ſame mournful manner as it is commonly practiſed in thoſe parts; and more eſpecially, as we ſhall ſee more fully in the next volume, in the empire of *China*, from which they had it. The mourners appear in coarſe habits, and tattered ſhoes, or even barefoot. They follow the corpſe in a kind of reclined or ſtooping poſture, and leaning upon a ſtaff, as if weakened with exceſſive grief, and unable to ſupport themſelves without ſome ſuch prop. The women have their heads and faces covered with a veil of the ſame coarſe ſtuff, and join in the doleful chorus with the men, in loud and bitter lamentations. The neareſt of kin to the deceaſed often proſtrate themſelves before the bier during the march, and ſuffer even the bearers to ſtep on and tread over them: at other times they will attempt to puſh or pull the coffin back with their heads and hands, as if to ſtop its progreſs towards the burying-place, or as if they wanted to recall the dead to life. *Funeral march.*

The reſt of the funeral ceremony being much the ſame with thoſe of the *Chineſe*, we ſhall forbear foreſtalling it, and only add, that they are, like them, extremely ſolicitous to procure to themſelves, whether poor or rich, the beſt coffins that their circumſtances will allow; and will, at any rate, make ſure of them ten, twenty, or more years before-hand, and preſerve them in their houſes as the moſt valuable part of their furniture. Theſe are commonly made of the beſt and moſt durable wood, very thick and ſtrong, nicely pointed, and glued with the ſtrongeſt cement, but without nails, which would be looked upon as an indignity offered to the deceaſed. Their countryman *Baron* tells us, that the cement or glue above-mentioned is made of ſeveral valuable gums, but doth not tell us what they are[q]. As to the corpſe of the deceaſed, it is commonly attired with the beſt garments they wore when alive; thoſe of the men have ſeven, and *Purchaſe their coffins long before.* *Cloathing of the deceaſed.*

[q] Vid. Tavernier, Marini, Tissanier, & al. ſup. citat. See alſo vol. viii. p. 263, & ſeq.

those of the women nine suits of them one upon the other. They put besides some small pieces of gold or silver, or even some small pearls, or pearl-seed, in the mouths of the rich; and, those of the poorer sort, some bits of copper, brass, bugles, or other trinkets, which they think will be of service to them in the other world, and prevent them from troubling the living with their complaints. It is likewise with the same view that they have stated times to visit their graves, and offer variety of victuals, perfumes, pieces of gilt paper, and other such presents, of which the souls, they think, come and take as much as they want; after which the rest is given to the poor.

Tonquinese *festivals.*

THE *Tonquinese* have a singular fondness for festivals, tho' their religion hath little or no share in the greater part of those which are observed amongst them. The two principal ones, and which are observed with the greatest solemnity, are that of the entrance of the new year, and at the beginning of the sixth moon, which commonly happens soon after the gathering-in of their harvest. The first usually falls some days before or after the first day of *January*, and lasts twelve days, according to some, but a whole month, according to other writers, particularly their countryman *Baron*[r]. The first day of it is spent in a kind of gloomy retirement, the houses and windows are kept closely shut, not a soul stirs in or out, and the people within scarcely dare to speak to or see one another; all this not out of any devotion, but out of a superstitious fear lest they should see or meet some person, or other creature, or object of ill omen, which might bring some ill luck on them, and trouble all the joy and alacrity of the whole festival, or prove the forerunner of some great misfortune in that year. The day being once happily over, all the rest of the festival is spent in visitings and entertainments; in public and private diversions; the streets are adorned with sundry decorations, particularly stages, at proper distances, on which are acted some plays, or other representations are exhibited to the people, by male and female, actors brought up to that kind of licentious life. These do usually appear well dressed, and are very expert, some at dancing, others at singing, leaping, swinging, and other kind of diverting exercises. Citizens and country people croud the streets all in their best apparel; the air is filled with the sounds of various instruments, and vocal music, and with the applauses of the spectators. The women are allowed to appear abroad adorned with all their jewels, and other finery;

New year.

The festivity of it.

[r] Collect. of travels, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. ub. sup.

some

some in chaises, others in sedans, or other carriages according to their rank, and always attended with some kind of escorte to keep them from insult; these times being mostly remarkable for a general licentiousness which is suffered to reign everywhere. *General licentiousness.*

DURING the whole festival, there is a total stop put not only to all labour and commerce, but to all public affairs; the great seals of the kingdom are kept locked up in a strong box, the tribunals and inferior courts of justice are shut up, no debts can be demanded, nor wrongs or violence be rectified or punished, till the conclusion of the festivity permits every thing to resume its usual course.

OTHER kinds of diversions, such as gaming, drinking, smoaking, riding, going on the water, and others still of a worse nature, are no less in vogue, and countenanced; so that those who have but wherewithal to purchase, need not be at a loss, amidst such a variety of pleasures, how to spend the whole festival in all the mirth and jollity that their hearts can wish. Not only their metropolis, but every town and village, enjoy the same or some equivalent diversions; amongst which, that of treating not only their friends alternately, but also strangers, is not one of the least; and one cannot oblige them more than in accepting of their invitations, and appearing satisfied with their entertainment [s].

THE second festival, which begins with the sixth moon, and usually falls some days before or after the first of *June*, is kept with the same general gaiety, though not with equal sumptuousness, and hath nothing particular worth our notice. Besides those two, they observe the new and full moons, that is, the first and fifteenth day of every moon, as days of feasting and mirth; for we read of nothing like any religious rites being peculiarly adapted to any of them. The most magnificent of all are those which the kings and grandees observe at the respective anniversaries of their nativity, inauguration, marriages, &c. These are always accompanied with the most splendid entertainments of music, plays, dancing, and other the like diversions. To these their countryman, often quoted, adds two others not mentioned by any other author; the one named *Kan-ja*, and the other *Tek-kida*. On the first the bova, or king, appears abroad, attended with his whole court, and great multitudes of soldiers and people, and blesses the fruits of the earth; and, after the example of the *Chinese* monarchs, from whom this laudable custom probably came [t], repairs to a particular spot of ground, where, for the *The sixth moon.* *New and full moons.* *Two others.* *Public ones, whence, and how kept.*

[s] DAMPIER, BARON, & al. sup. citat. p. 27. BARON Collect. ubi sup.

[t] See vol. viii.

greater

greater encouragement of agriculture, which is nothing so well cultivated as in *China*, he puts his hand to a plough ready prepared for that purpose, and drives it over a furrow or two; after which he gives his courtiers a kind of rural treat. This solemnity, which is commonly closed with general rejoicings, is likewise preceded with general fasting and prayers, by way of preparation.

Two other great festivals

THE other, called *Tek-kida* is kept with the same, or even greater, solemnity and concourse; and is a kind of exorcism, by which they pretend to drive away all the malevolent spirits out of the kingdom. The whole militia, or forces of it, hath a right to assist at the ceremony; but for that very reason the bova, or natural prince, is not suffered, by his chova, or usurper of his crown, to be present at it, lest he should take the opportunity of so vast a number of his military subjects appearing in arms to suppress his tyrannic power, and recover his liberty and regal prerogative [u].

for the dead.

THE last kind of festivals worth notice, are those which are observed at the tombs of their ancestors, on the anniversary of their decease; in which they are no less punctual and costly than the *Chinese*; and seem to outvie them in the profusion of meat, which they bring on those occasions to their sepulchres. We shall subjoin the description of one of them from *Dampier* [w], which was like to have cost him dear, for want of knowing the design and nature of it. He saw, at some distance from him, a kind of square tower, about eight feet broad, and twenty-six in height, surrounded with a great multitude of people, mostly men and boys. The structure was slight, and covered with thin boards, closely joined together, and painted all over of a dark reddish colour, and had no door on any side to enter into it. Upon his approaching it, and pressing through the crowd, he perceived a great number of stalls reared around the tower, with sheds over them, and separate from each other. Some of them were covered with fruit, particularly fine oranges, nicely packed up in baskets; others with meat, especially pork, cut only into slitches, or into quarters; from all which he concluded it to be a market-place, 'Being at that time very hungry and faint, and observing the joints to be too large for his use (for he reckoned, that the whole might amount to the quantity of 50 or 60 hogs) he came near one of the stalls, and, not understanding their tongue, made signs to one of the persons belonging to it to cut him off a piece of

A description of one from Dampier.

[u] DAMPIER, BARON, & al. [w] DAMPIER, ub. sup. p. 91, & seq.

two

of two or three pounds. Upon which he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by a croud of people, who aſſaulted and beat him at an unmerciful rate; and it was with great difficulty that his guide, who was a native, got him off, by appriſing them of his miſtake; after which he was informed, that it was a funeral feaſt, the tower was the burying-place, and the apparatus of fleſh and fruit deſigned for the entertainment of the dead and living, which he did not ſtay to partake of, nor to ſee how it was diſpoſed of.

Private ones, how kept.

THEIR other private or domeſtic feſtivals, as birth or wedding-days, *&c.* are accompanied with other diverſions, beſides thoſe of eating, drinking, dancing, and muſic; and are commonly concluded, like thoſe of the new and full moons, with ſome plays, or theatrical repreſentations of ſea or land fights, but have ſeldom above four or five performers of either ſex. Their action is juſt, and their dreſs ſplendid. The actreſſes appear with a kind of mitre, or diadem on their heads, from which flow two large ribbons down to their waiſt The dancing and muſic are regulated by one of the gueſts, who is complimented with that office, and is not a little proud of it. He beats the time to the actors upon a drum, or braſs baſon, and is ſeated on one corner of the ſtage; and on the oppoſite ſide ſtands an empty arm chair, or throne, for the king. On all kinds of public feſtivals the nobles are very fond of cock-fightings; a diverſion much in vogue at court, and in which they commonly bett very high; and great ſums are won and loſt. They uſually conclude with a royal battle, in which the chova's cocks always come off victorious; or perhaps, rather, the victorious cocks gain the title of chovas, or royal cocks[x].

Plays and ſports.

Weddings, how celebrated.

THE weddings are not celebrated, among the people of rank, without ſome of thoſe theatrical diverſions; nor among the meaner ſort, without ſomething of that nature, though of an inferior kind. Youth of either ſex cannot marry without the conſent of their parents; nor of the female ſort before the age of 16 or 17. The courtſhip here, as in *China*, is to the parents, and not to the damſels, who never ſee their ſpouſes till they are led to his houſe, and delivered up to him; which is not done without great pomp and ceremony, ſhe being accompanied thither by her relations; and thoſe of her huſband being likewiſe invited to partake of the feſtivity, the men with the men, and the women with the women, in diſtinct apartments: but we do not find that the prieſts

[x] DAMPIER, p. 107, & ſeq. BARON collect. & al.

have any hand in the ceremony, or share in the marriage feasting, as *Tavernier* affirms.

Divorce allowed. A MAN may have several wives, but one only is governess over the rest. He hath likewise power to divorce them upon any dislike; but they cannot be divorced from him without his consent. The divorced wife is intitled to carry off all she brought with her, and all that her husband had given her at her marriage; but if she hath had any children by him, she leaves them with him: and this privilege, in favour of the wife, is one main cause why divorces are less frequent here than in other parts of *India*. The divorcial ceremony is performed by breaking one of the two sticks which he and she did use at table, and sewing the pieces up into two several bags, the one of which he keeps, and gives her the other. He gives her moreover a kind of bill of divorce, in which the particulars of what she is intitled to carry off with her, are mentioned.

The ceremony of it.

Adultery, how punished. ADULTERY is severely punished on the wives, though we do not find it so on the husband. The woman, who is fairly convicted of it, is immediately condemned to the elephants; that is, one of those creatures, bred up to that exercise, gives her a toss with his snout, which lays her breathless on the ground; after which he tramples her to death with his feet. Her paramour is likewise capitally punished, though not with so severe a death. As for the inheritance of children, the eldest son commonly carries off the largest share, as being now the master of the family, and endowed with a fatherly authority. The rest he distributes at his pleasure among his brothers and sisters, who are not married, or provided for; and is obliged to maintain and breed them up at home till they are; and commonly the daughters come off with the scantiest share. And thus much may suffice for their religious customs

Christianity introduced into the kingdom. HITHERTO we have said nothing of christianity, which was planted here ever since the year 1626, by the jesuit *Baldinoty*, and met with such swift success, that the government thought fit to banish him and his collegues four years after, and to have them conducted to *Ma-kau*. This did not deter the society there from sending three new ones on the very next year, who made such progress amongst those idolaters, that they had made above 80,000 converts among them by the year 1639. A prodigious number, if we may credit their own accounts, considering the small one of the preachers. But this encouraged fresh supplies to come yearly to their assistance, by whose means their converts increased to such a prodigious degree, that they had already built above 200 churches

churches at their own charge, in the several provinces of the kingdom.

THIS surprising success proved, at length, their ruin; and after several dreadful persecutions raised against them, by the government, wherein the intrepidity of their preachers and Neophytes amidst the grievous sufferings, still alarmed it the more; an edict was at length issued out from the king and council *anno* 1721, by which the christian religion was utterly proscribed; the missionaries, and their catechists, and the most considerable of their converts, were imprisoned, and put to sundry tortures and death; others condemned to attend the elephants; a slavery worse than that of the gallies; their churches were all demolished, or turned to profane uses; the profession of christianity were forbidden under the severest penalties; andall the frontiers and avenues ordered to be diligently guarded by the soldiery, to prevent any more *European* preachers ever entering into the *Tonquinese* dominions. All which was so punctually executed, and such care hath been since taken to examine all strangers, and to seize on all suspicious persons, and to convey them, under a strong guard, to the mandarins of the provinces, and thence to the court, that no jesuit, or other missionary, can attempt, under any disguise or pretence, to get admittance into that kingdom, without the utmost hazard of his life. *Proscribed, persecuted, and abolished out of it.*

NOT but some of that zealous society, in spite of all these difficulties and dangers, have since ventured, by the assistance of some of their old stanch proselytes, or some other indirect means, to slide into some distant provinces unperceived. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to give an instance of no less than six of them, who found means, soon after the above-mentioned edict, to penetrate into some of the frontiers in disguise; four of whom were apprehended, and put to death; and the other two have not been heard of since.

THE *Tonquinese*, after many revolutions and changes in their government, of which we shall speak more fully in its proper place, regained their ancient form, under that of their own native natural princes, who were become likewise kings of *Kochinchina*, as well as of this kingdom. They were absolute and independent in both, and committed the administration of both to two prime ministers or generals, with an almost as unlimited authority as their own A dangerous snare this proved to them, and ended, at length, in an open revolt against their common sovereign. The *Kochinchinese* general, as being at a greater distance from his court, did first venture to lead the way, and his collegue of *Tong-king* soon after followed his example; and having made himself *Their government*

overturned by the general.

self master of the royal revenue, as he was already of the forces, seized on his prince's person, and confined him prisoner in his own palace; and, without making any farther attempt upon his life, assumed the whole royal authority into his own hands. From that time the bovas, or rightful sovereigns, have had little else than the name and shadow of royalty; whilst his general, or prime-minister hath engrossed all the power and wealth of the kingdom, excepting only the royal title of bova, which neither he, nor any of his successors have dared to assume, for fear of the people, who still retain an unalterable regard for their natural sovereigns. Upon which account they have thought it more expedient to content themselves with their old title of chova, or generalissimo; though they are not displeased at being complimented with that of king, not only by neighbouring princes, but by the *Europeans* who trade there; though even these, for form sake, have thought fit to fix a kind of difference between them, and to stile the real sovereign emperor, whilst they give that of king to his usurping subject.

The king stript of his power by the chova.

This is the true state now of that government; the bovas, stript of all their authority, are obliged to lead an indolent life within the cincture of their palace, surrounded continually with a great number of spies, set about them by the chovas, and never stir out of it but once a year, on the grand festival of *Canja*, lately mentioned; when they go to bless the fruits of the earth, and plough some small piece of ground; an office which the chovas have not yet dared to wrest out of their hands, as being held sacred, and the peculiar privilege of the natural monarchs. Another faint branch of the royal prerogative they are still permitted to exercise; *viz.* the ratifying and confirming all the decrees and ordinances of the chova, and putting their seal to them; all which they are obliged to submit to, be they ever so irregular, or contrary to their inclination; seeing their non-compliance would only endanger the loss of that remaining shadow of royalty, if not of their own lives. This form of government hath now subsisted above 200 years, without any sensible alteration. The bovas still retain the form of royalty, whilst the chovas engross all the revenues, homage, and obedience, of the subjects.

Kept prisoner in his palace.

The succession, how settled.

Both dignities are hereditary in each of the respective families; but with this difference, that that of the chova descends in a direct line to his eldest son; whereas he can, upon the demise of the bova, not only name which of his children he pleases to succeed him, but can appoint any collateral branch, as a brother, or a nephew of the deceased monarch,

or

or even a more distant branch, to be his successor, provided he be of the antient royal family of *Li* [z].

THE bova's court seems a mere desart, in comparison of his chovas. He is not allowed any guards, nor retinue, except that of a parcel of spies, which the latter appoints to be about his person; so that the chief diversion and amusement of his life is confined to the company of his wives and children. He is not suffered to be visited by any nobles, or officers of the kingdom, except on the new and full moons, when they are admitted to pay a kind of homage to him, to wish him a prosperous and long life, and a numerous male issue; the failing of which is still looked upon by his subjects as the greatest calamity that can befall them. The chova often accompanies them on these public occasions; and, to all outward appearance, seems to join in the general good wishes, and pays him the most profound respect, pretending to take the administration of the public affairs of his dominion, merely to ease him of a heavy burden, unbecoming his royal dignity; all which is looked upon as a mere grimace by the wiser part of the people; who, nevertheless, are extremely careful to conceal their sentiments, for fear of alarming the jealousy of the pretended minister against their real sovereign. *His court deserted, except on festivals.*

ON the other hand, the chova's palace is perpetually crouded, with not only his own creatures, but with variety of strangers, *Indians* as well as *Europeans*, who pay their court to him. He hath likewise a numerous guard about him, both of horse and foot, besides 300 elephants, always in readiness to attend him. To this we may add an army of 30,000 foot, which keep constant garrison in his metropolis; and another of between 70 or 80,000 more, which are dispersed in other parts of the kingdom; and whose chief officers are obliged to reside, by turns, some part of the year, at court. Besides these, he is attended by all the governors of the several provinces, the mandarins, and other officers of the kingdom; for he alone hath the power of bestowing those great posts; so that, from the highest to the lowest, they are all his creatures, and wholly devoted to his service, and very assiduous in paying their court to him, as often as they are permitted to be absent from their respective posts. *That of the chova crouded. Guards. Vast power. Governors and other officers.*

EVERY one of the six provinces hath a governor, who hath under him a mandarin, who acts as chief judge over it, in all causes, civil and criminal; and takes care that the laws

[z] DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MERINI, HAMILTON, & al. See Recueil de lettre edifiant, vol. 18. p. 122. vol. 24. p. 96, & seq.

of the kingdom be ſtrictly obſerved. He hath ſeveral tribunals under and depending upon him, but there is one ſuperior to them all in every province, which is independent both of him and of the governor, and depends wholly on the council of the chova; the governor judges in chief in all criminal cauſes, but cannot inflict a capital puniſhment, till the ſentence hath been confirmed by the council above-mentioned.

Laws liable to be corrupted. THE far greater part of their laws are thoſe which they formerly received from the *Chineſe*, when they were conquered by them about the middle of the twelfth century. Some few of their ancient ones they retain; and in particular one laudable one, which forbids, under ſevere penalties, the expoſing or drowning of their infants; an inhuman cuſtom which has been with impunity practiſed in *China* from time immemorial. But upon the whole, we do not find the courts of judicature in *Tong-king* are leſs liable to corruption than thoſe of their neighbours; and provided a man has but money enough to bribe his judge, he needs not fear going off unpuniſhed let his crime be what it will.

Wife and concubines. THE chova hath commonly a vaſt number of concubines, but is no haſte to marry a wife, leſt he ſhould have children by her, and for that reaſon defers his marriage till the latter end of his life; the reaſon of which ſtrange policy is, that he is obliged to marry a princeſs of the royal blood, but is unwilling that the ſucceſſion to his dignity ſhould return to any of that family, though by a female line, leſt it ſhould prove in time a means of excluding his own; and therefore is always ſucceeded by the firſt born ſon of his concubines. However, for decency's ſake, he ſets that princeſs above them all, and gives her the title of *mother of the kingdom*, and ſhews her the greateſt regard as to his lawful wife. The concubine who brings him the firſt ſon, is the next in rank, and hath the title of *Dua-ba*, or *excellency*, and her ſon, as preſumptive heir, hath that of *Chu-va*, or *young general*; and the reſt of his male children are ſtiled *Du-kong*, or *excellent men*, and the females *Batuas*, which anſwers to our title of princeſs [a].

Queen and children's titles.

Numerous army. HIS army ſeldom conſiſts of leſs than 150,000 men, among which are 8 or 10,000 horſe; but he can upon any occaſion augment it to twice that number. The misfortune is, that they are generally but indifferent ſoldiers; they march indeed with ſurpriſing boldneſs and ſpeed to the place of rendezvous, and encamp with an elegant regularity, but ſhew no leſs reluctance againſt ſieges and engagements; and when obliged to

[a] DAMPIER, & al. ſup. citat.

either

either, betray as great an averſion to come out of their intrenchments, as they appeared curious and careful in drawing them, and performing their exerciſes within them. Any ſiniſter omen, or ſlight ſickneſs that gets in among them, is ſufficient to make the reſt abandon their camp and officers, with as much ſpeed as if they had ſuffered a total defeat. All which is owing, partly to the effeminate character of their generals, who are moſtly choſen from among the eunuchs of his court, and partly to the neglect of rewarding and promoting the moſt deſerving, and encouraging military diſcipline. Bribery and favour commonly carry the higheſt poſts, in prejudice of courage and experience; and it is ſeldom ſeen that a man is raiſed to a high poſt merely by his merit, than which nothing can be more diſcouraging and prejudicial to the ſoldiery; ſo that we need not wonder at their being degenerated into ſuch errant undiſciplined cowards, that the chovas, not daring to put any confidence either in their numbers, or in the conduct and valour of their officers, have been glad ſometimes to beg the aſſiſtance of the *Europeans*, againſt an enemy inferior to them both in number and ſtrength (G).

Poor ſoldiery.

As to their naval force, it chiefly conſiſts in a vaſt number of flat-bottom barks and veſſels of various ſizes; fit only to ſail along theſe coaſts, but altogether unfit to venture far on thoſe boiſterous ſeas, or on any long voyages. The largeſt of theſe veſſels, have no other artillery than a ſingle four pounder mounted on the fore-part: they have no maſts, or at the beſt but one, which they are obliged to take down as often as the wind is againſt them, or proves a little more boiſterous than uſual, and have recourſe to their oars, which are commonly from 16 to 24. The ſoldiers are they which row the veſſels, and are quite naked, except a piece of black cloth

Shipping deſcribed.

(G) As a pregnant proof of what we ſaid, concerning the ſmall confidence theſe chova's place on their numerous ſoldiery, and other like martial advantages; we ſhall here inſert part of a letter, which one of them wrote to the governor of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, *Anno* 1647, at which time he was at war with the inhabitants of *Kuvinam*, a nation not far diſtant from their kingdom. It was uſhered in with this pompous preamble, *I have under my command* 300,000 *foot*, 10,000 *horſe*, 2000 *elephants*, 30,000 *fire-locks*, *and* 1000 *pieces of ordnance*. But, after all, this vain boaſting, concluded with begging of that illuſtrious company the aſſiſtance of 200 of their men, and three of their ſhips, to enable him to make head againſt his powerful enemy (13).

(13) *Relat. of the dutch eaſt-india comp. Collect. voy. & al. ſup. citat.*

which goes round their middle, and is brought up between their thighs. To be ſhort, thoſe veſſels ſeem rather deſigned for ſtate than ſervice, except thoſe which tranſport the ſoldiers from place to place. Theſe are indeed commonly from 50 to 70 feet in length, and from 10 or 12 in breadth, and their head and ſtern about the ſame height, that is, ſome yards above water; whereas the middle is hardly above two feet and a half above it. They want for neither ornaments of lacquer, carving, or painting, and appear very graceful as they move on the water. The rowers work ſtanding, and keep an exact time with each other; there being always one placed on the deck, who ſtrikes upon a ſmall gong or bell, or on a wooden inſtrument, before every ſtroke of the oar.

Manner of rowing.

The ſoldiers who are tranſported in theſe veſſels, are uſually armed with bows, ſwords, and lances; and when they go upon any conſiderable expedition, are divided into ſquadrons, each diſtinguiſhed by their reſpective colours (H).

How laid up.

When they have ended their expedition, the veſſels are immediately dragged on ſhore, and put up in houſes built for that purpoſe, where they are kept clean and dry. Theſe houſes ſtand about 50 or 60 paces from the river-ſide; and when the gallies are brought into them, they have a ſtrong rope twiſted round the ſtern of the veſſel, and both ends ſtretched along on each ſide. Three or 400 ſoldiers ſtand ready with it in their hand; and no ſooner hear the ſignal given by the gong, than they drag it with all their might, and quickly get it into his place; after which they return to their land ſervice [b].

The ſoldiery is diſperſed, not only through all the ſea-ports, but into inland towns and villages, where they keep a conſtant watch over all that paſſes in them, in order to keep

[b] Dampier, & al. ſup. citat.

(H) *Dampier* deſcribes one of theſe *Tonquineſe* fleets, which he ſaw on the river *Cackao*, and conſiſted of ſixty gallies, each carrying from 16 to 40 ſoldiers well armed. Their general, named *Ungee Comei*, was a mandarin, appointed by the chova protector of the *Engliſh* factory, and inſpector of their traffick. He bore the character of a generous man, and had two other officers under him, each in a ſeparate veſſel. They had all their ſeparate flags of diſtinction, the firſt yellow, the ſecond blue, the third red or green. They were ſent upon ſome notable expedition up the river, towards the mountains, which proving unſucceſsful, occaſioned the diſgrace of that general (14).

(14) *Dampier ſupplem. p.* 76.

all

all quiet under their inſpection. They ſame they do on all the roads, ſo that no ſtranger can paſs without ſtrict examination, and being ſent to the governor under a ſtrong guard, unleſs they can give a very good account of themſelves [c]. This vigilance hath been more ſtrictly obſerved, ſince the extirpation of the jeſuits and their religion, throughout the *Tonquineſe* dominions, about the year 1721. It had been at firſt planted in this kingdom near 100 years before, as we have lately ſhewn; and propagated, if we may credit theſe miſſionaries, with ſuch ſurpriſing ſucceſs, that the government became on many accounts jealous of its progreſs, and thought it expedient to baniſh them to *Ma-kau*, *anno* 1690; and to forbid them, and all others of that ſociety, ever to return into the kingdom under pain of death. This ſevere edict did not deter that zealous fraternity from ſending a freſh ſupply thither, under ſeveral diſguiſes, who met with a joyful welcome from their converts, but a moſt ſevere one from the chova, who cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after them; and of thoſe who were diſcovered, ſome of them were put to death, and others left to rot in loathſome goals, loaden with irons, and deſtitute of all help. At the ſame time orders were ſent to have all the roads and avenues ſtrictly guarded, and every ſtranger to be carefully examined; and, upon the leaſt ſuſpicious appearance of their being chriſtian miſſionaries, to be immediately ſent under a ſtrong guard to governor of the province, and by him to the king, if found guilty, in order to be there ſentenced to death, and publicly executed. Theſe orders were ſo exactly obſerved, accordingly, that of ſix of theſe miſſionaries, who ventured again into kingdom, by ſeveral ways and in diſguiſes, four of them were apprehended by the guards of the roads before they had penetrated far into the country, and after nine ſevere impriſonments, were all four beheaded on the ſame day and place, on the 12th of *January*, *anno* 1737 [d]. What befel the other two we do not learn, nor whether any freſh ones have been ſent thither ſince that time; but it is likely that their ill ſucceſs, through the extraordinary vigilance of the government, hath cooled their zeal for a while from any further attempt of that nature, unleſs ſome commotions or civil wars have happened during that interval, which, by occaſioning a ſlackneſs in the guards, have given them a freſh invitation.

The roads carefully guarded, againſt jeſuits and ſtrangers, who were preſcribed by the laws.

Some of them put to death.

[c] Dampier, ſupplem. p. 77. Baron, & al. [d] Vid. lettr. édifiant. & curieuſ. vol. 18. p. 122. & ſeq. vol. 24. p. 101. & ſeq.

But

Soldiers keep watch in the cities.

BUT to return to the soldiery, they are the chief watchmen in towns and villages, and more especially in the metropolis, and belong either to the governor or some magistrate, which makes them commonly insolent, and abusive to the people, under pretence of keeping the peace. Their night-weapons are long staves; which they handle with such dexterity, aiming still either at the thigh or leg of their opposers, that they break the bones at one stroke, if they attempt either to resist, or run away. Every street hath a thick rope fastened across, and about breast-high, and a pair of stocks, to which they fasten all refractory persons who walk through them at undue hours, and on the next morning carry them before a magistrate, who right or wrong will acquit the soldier, and condemn the prisoner to some small fine, or a bastonade if he cannot pay the fine, which commonly sinks into the judge's pocket. To complain of injustice would only bring on a severer punishment; so that patience in such cases, is the only safe remedy [e].

Apt to grow insolent.

A merry way of compounding quarrels.

IF any difference or quarrel happens to rise so high as to be brought before a magistrate, they have a singular way of terminating it, by condemning the offender to treat the injured person with a quantity of arrack and a fowl, or a small porker, that their feasting merrily together may drown all animosity in the good liquor, and make them good friends again. But if the dispute be about a debt, they often condemn the poor insolvent to a severer punishment, by delivering him up to the creditor's mercy, who detains him under the greatest hardships, of labour, hunger, beating, &c. till the debt is paid. In cases of misdemeanour, the offender is condemned either to wear a heavy clog chained to his leg, or the wooden kanghe [f], or Collar about his neck for a certain time, or undergo a bastonade according to the nature of the crime (I). The bastonade here is given on the bare buttocks,

Severity to debtors.

Inferior punishment.

[e] DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 78, & seq. BARON, & al. ubi sup.
[f] De hoc. vid. infra, vol. viii. p.

(I) They have still another kind of Kanghe, or as they call it call it gongo, besides that which we shall describe in our history of *China* (15); which is a kind of ladder made of bamboes about 10 or 12 feet long, in the center of which the head of the delinquent is fixed, so that he looks like a man that carries a ladder over his shoulders, with his head looking through the rounds.

These two kinds of collars are

(15) *See vol. viii. p. 174. & seq.*

indeed

tocks, the offender lying flat upon his face on the ground, with his breeches drawn down over his hams. The number of ſtrokes is more or leſs according to the nature of the offence, or the diſcretion of the magiſtrate, but the violence of it is often mitigated by a bribe timely applied, either to him or to the executioner. Theft is not deemed capital among them, but, according to the nature of it, is puniſhed with the amputation of a joint, if a ſmall one, or of a whole limb if conſiderable, or attended with any aggravation. The laſt corporal puniſhment worth mentioning, is that of thoſe who are ſuſpected to have ſet fire to houſes, either wilfully or through negligence; and as it is very difficult for the maſter of the houſe where the fire happens, to clear himſelf of being guilty of it in one ſenſe or the other; he is condemned to be exalted in a chair 12 or 14 feet high, reared up before the place where the burned houſe ſtood, with his head bare in the ſcorching ſun three or more days, as the offence is thought to be owing to wilfulneſs or neglect [g].

Againſt burning of houſes.

We have already obſerved, that ſentence on a capital delinquent cannot be executed, till it hath been ratified by the chova. Murder is puniſhed with beheading, and as they have here no ſet places of execution; as ſoon as the criminal's condemnation is confirmed, he is led either to the place where the fact was committed, or elſe before his own houſe, and ſeated upon the ground with his face towards it, and his legs ſtretched out at full length. The executioner comes behind him with a naked ſcymetar, and with a back ſtroke ſevers his head at one blow from his body, with ſuch dexterity that it falls plum into his lap, whilſt his body falls backwards on the ground. If there are more criminals than one, each hath his own executioner, who go firſt to the priſon, and view the perſon whom they are to behead. When they are come to the place appointed, each of them ſtands behind his criminal, whilſt the chova's ratification is read to them, ſoon after which the ſignal being given by the preſiding mandarin, the

Murder how puniſhed.

Manner of beheading.

[g] Dampier, ubi ſupr. p. 79. Baron, & al. ub ſup.

indeed but a ſlight puniſhment, if worn only ſome few hours or a whole day, but becomes almoſt intolerable, when the offender is condemned to wear them a month or two, or even longer; eſpecially if, inſtead of being permitted to go abroad where they will, as ſome are permitted to do, they are confined in a goal, kept to ſhort allowance, and often cruelly baſtonaded, as is frequently the caſe (16).

(16) *Dampier, Baron, Tavernier, & al.*

ſtrokes

ſtrokes are given all at once; and the bodies are left expoſed to the public view, till ſome charitable perſon thinks fit to bury them. This was at leaſt the manner in which the four jeſuits lately mentioned, were beheaded before a numerous concourſe of converts and others [h].

How adultery is puniſhed amongſt them we have already ſhewn [i]; we do not find that they have any of thoſe cruel puniſhments as are practiſed in ſome parts of *India*, and eſpecially among the *Chineſe* [l]; and are ſo far from obliging criminals to diſpatch themſelves, that a good round bribe, properly applied, often procures the greateſt offender either an indemnity, or a mitigation of puniſhment; ſo that few, except the poorer ſort, are ever condemned to a capital one [m]. The truth is, that all thoſe civil officers, as well as thoſe of the military kind, are choſen from among the eunuchs of the chova's court, and are all ſo greedy of gain, that there is no extortion nor corruption they will not ſtoop to, for the ſake of it. And there is hardly a governor, judge, or magiſtrate, but what muſt be of that claſs, to attain any poſt, either in the army or government. Inſomuch that many an ambitious man hath been forced to ſubmit to the loſs of his virility, in order to raiſe himſelf in the one or the other, though they had wives and children of their own; and were ſo far advanced in years, as to make ſuch an operation appear of the utmoſt hazard, both to their own lives, and the welfare of their family (K). From which one may reaſonably infer,

Court eunuchs the miniſters and officers of the realm.

Are moſtly great oppreſſors of the people.

[h] See lettres edifiant, vol. 24. pag. 145, & ſeq. Vid. & DAMPIER. & al. ſup. citat. [i] Before, p. 482. [l] See the next vol. pag. 171. & ſeq. [m] DAMPIER, ubi ſup. p. 81.

(K) But here we muſt obſerve to our readers by-the-by, that however dangerous and dreadful caſtration at ſuch an advanced age may appear to us in this cold climate, it hath been ſo long in vogue amongſt them, as being the only way to preferment, that the operators are become very dextrous in it, and can perform it on perſons of all ages and conſtitutions, without ſuch ill conſequences to them. They are indeed extremely careful to conceal their method from the reſt of the world, and eſpecially from ſtrangers; but one caution uſed by them our author hath diſcovered (17), which we may juſtly wonder was never introduced amongſt us, in the practice of ſurgery, eſpecially in caſes of amputations, cutting for the ſtone, and ſuch-like. Which is that they never attempt to perform theirs,

(17) *Dampier, ſupplem. pag.* 81, *& ſeq.*

till

infer, that nothing less than an unconquerable ambition or avarice would induce them to procure preferment at so dear a rate. So that we need not to marvel at the horrid extortions or injustice they exercise on the people, when they have once obtained it [n].

Their way of screening themselves.

There is still a more crying abuse in vogue among the mandarinal and magistracy, by which they screen themselves from being called to an account for their ill practices. It hath been an old custom in this kingdom to adopt children of either sex into rich families; and these, when once adopted, have a right to inherit equal to that of natural children. But this hath been so far abused in time, that these griping magistrates make it their first business, when raised to an office, to get themselves adopted at any rate, by some favourite grandee of the kingdom, by whom they are sure to be so well protected, that no one hardly dares to prefer any complaint against them, let their conduct give ever so much occasion for it. And this it is that enables them to live splendidly, as well as securely, on the plunder of the people. The only danger is lest their protector die, or should be disgraced at court, for then they commonly follow his fate; all their misconduct is brought to light, and their punishment is sure to fall the heavier upon them for having been so long suppressed [o]. *Baron* tells us, that he obtained, by a considerable sum, the favour of being adopted by the eldest son of the chova; which however proved of no service to him, that young prince being soon after deprived of his reason by a malignant fever [p].

Why such are chosen by the king.

One mean motive why all the court preferments are chiefly bestowed on eunuchs, is because the king becomes heir of all their ill-gotten wealth after their death; there being but little money in the kingdom, but falls into the claws of those harpies; so that they are in some sense no better than sponges to him, by whose means he gets it all in time into his own coffers, leaving only such small part, as he

[n] Dampier, ubi sup. p. 81. & seq. [o] Chevrier, Tunkin. p. 27, & seq. [p] Collect. of voy. ub. sup.

till they have laid their patient into a profound sleep by a proper dose of opium, which freeing him at once both from the dread and anguish which otherwise attends the operation, and allowing nature a good many hours repose after it, prevents those fevers, inflammations, and other ill consequences, which commonly follow those that are practised among us, and by that means procures him an easier and more speedy cure.

thinks

thinks fit to be distributed among his relations [q]. On this account it is, that they are suffered to bear such an extraordinary sway at court, that the palace gates are opened at all hours to them. They are the persons who present all the requests and petitions from the inferior ministers to the chova, and answer them in his name; after they have represented the case more or less favourably to him, according as they have been, or expected to be, well paid for their good offices. They are the persons who are usually sent upon public ambassies, or employed in private negotiations; and in a word, who ingross the king's confidence, and all the means of amassing wealth by the oppression of the people, and are the most hated and dreaded by them [r]. Yet in spite of this general depravity, their history furnishes us with instances of some of them, who have possessed the highest posts both civil and military; and in both have given the greatest marks of consummate bravery, wisdom, and integrity, and whose virtues are revered to this day. But these have been so few and scarce, in comparison to those of the opposite character, that their memory seems only to be preserved to render the vices and oppressions of these more hateful and detested; especially considering with what heavy taxes, the common people are already laden by their arbitrary prince, and how cruelly those are treated who have it not in their power to pay him.

and hated by the people.

The subjects heavily taxed.

EVERY subject above the age of 18, is obliged to pay the chova a kind of land-tax, greater or less according to his circumstances, and the fertility of his lands; from which however, all the princes of the royal blood, all the civil and military officers, and the literati are exempt; so that the whole burden falls upon the labouring part. This tax is commonly paid in kind twice a year, or soon after the two harvests; and even where the land chances to be naturally barren, the unhappy inhabitants are not exempt from furnishing a certain quantity of grass or herbage for the nourishment of the king's elephants and horses, as well as those of his cavalry; all which his subjects are obliged to convey to the royal magazines at *Chacaw*, let their dwelling be at ever so great distance from that capital. Over and above this, they are bound to a yearly veckan or average, which consists in mending the highways, repairing the ramparts of towns and fortresses, the royal palaces, and other public structures; even the tradesmen and artificers are obliged to bear their share in these public works, which lasts six months in the year, either in per-

Subject to other hard duties.

[q] DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 85.

[r] DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat.

ſon, or by hiring a ſubſtitute; and all this without any other ſalary than their bare maintenance, and ſometimes even without that; it being wholly in the chova's option either to grant or refuſe it to them. Such is the exceſſive power of thoſe uſurpers, and ſuch the miſerable thraldom of their vaſſals; whilſt their bova's or natural princes are condemned to an obſcure and inactive confinement, with the bare ſhadow of the royal dignity [s]. Every governor of a province, and every mandarin, magiſtrate, and officer of the kingdom, is obliged once a year to renew their oath of allegiance to the chova, in a moſt public manner. This ceremony is performed by cutting the throat of a fowl, and receiving the blood in a baſon that is filled with arrac. This done, every one in their turn having repeated aloud his profeſſion of loyalty, drinks a ſmall glaſs full of the arrac; and this, among them, is eſteemed one of the moſt ſolemn and obligatory ceremonies, by which they can bind themſelves; and is for that reaſon frequently uſed upon divers other occaſions, either of a public or private nature; and even the females muſt ſubmit to it, whenever their fidelity becomes ſuſpected by their huſband: but whether with the ſame efficacy that the waters of jealouſy had among the *Jews*, we will not affirm [t].

Oaths taken to the chova once a year.

Upon the demiſe of the chova, all the chief officers and miniſters of ſtate repair to the royal palace, where they array his ſucceſſor in a *Chineſe* habit, mount him upon an elephant richly capariſoned, and bring him into one of the public courts, where they have erected a throne under a ſtately pavilion, and having placed him upon it, fall proſtrate upon their faces and pay their firſt homage to him; which done, they ſtand up, and, with their uplifted hands and arms, promiſe to be faithful to him, till death. In return to which, the new king cauſes a certain number of wedges of gold and ſilver to be diſtributed to them, according to their reſpective ranks; upon which he is ſolemnly proclaimed by the fire of the artillery, the ſound of the drums, and other acclamations. Thirty thouſand horſe and foot are drawn up in the neighbouring plain, to which he is conveyed in a rich palanquin, carried by eight military mandarins, and eight lords of the council; the grand chancellor riding before him in ſtate, attended by the general and other officers richly mounted; and after having received the uſual acclamations, is thence conducted to his predeceſſor's apartment. Here every one retires for a

Inauguration of the new ones.

[s] Dampier, & al. ſup. citat. [t] De his, vide ancient hiſt. vol. 3. p. 137. & ſeq. & not. (D). Dampier, ubi ſup. p. 83.

while,

while, to make way for the princeſſes of the blood and other ladies, who come to congratulate him and kiſs his hands. As ſoon as they are retired, the nobility returns, and the reſt of the day is ſpent in banqueting, muſic, and dancing. On the next day the ſoldiery is drawn up as before in the ſame plain, to which the king is carried by the ſame noble officers, and with the ſame retinue; and as ſoon as he is arrived, he mounts one of his large elephants of war, and rides to the center of the army, where all the officers come to take the oaths to him, and are likewiſe preſented with ſome ingots of gold and ſilver, and other largeſſes, according to their rank; the meaneſt ſoldiers having a month's pay given to them, and the ſubalterns in proportion. After the uſual ſhouts and firing of the muſquetry, the king retires to a wooden palace reared for for the purpoſe, finely gilt and painted, where the reſt of the day is ſpent in feaſting, fire-works, and other diverſions, himſelf beholding them from the balcony on the top. On the following day, the ſame retinue carry him, with the ſame ſtate, to his throne in the center of the camp; ſoon after which the ſoldiers ſet fire to the wooden ſtructure, whilſt he is rewarding thoſe who have aſſiſted or borne a part in the rejoicings. Two commiſſioners appointed, the one by the merchants, and the other by the handicrafts of the kingdom, addreſs him with a loyal congratulatory ſpeech; who are alſo preſented with 50 wedges of gold and 100 of ſilver. The reſt of the feſtivity, which laſts in all about a week, is adjourned to his capital to which he is re-conducted as before. Hither the deputies of the provinces repair in their turns, and with the uſual homages; to whom, among other royal favours, he notifies a free remiſſion of all taxes for one year; excepting only to ſuch, as have been formerly guilty of rebelling againſt any of his predeceſſors, to whom he remits only one half year. He likewiſe engages to pay one half of his ſubjects debts, provided the creditors will compound with his preſident of the council for the other half; which is generally complied with [u].

Largeſſes to his nobles and ſubjects.

We omit, for the ſake of brevity, ſeveral other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, the hecatombs of various kinds of victims, and other delicious eſculents, which are daily offered during the feſtivity; one half of which is given to the hungry prieſts, and the reſt to the indigent laity; the juggling tricks and auguries by which they flatter him with a long and proſperous reign, and many more of the like heatheniſh nature,

[u] Dampier, Marini, Tavernier, Baron, & al. ſup. citat.

which

which are observed on these occasions by those new monarchs, to give our readers a brief account of the funeral honours they pay to the deceased one. And in this respect, one shall hardly find a nation in the world that equals them in profusion and magnificence. It would take up more pages, than in a work like this we can allow it lines, to describe one half of the length, variety, and grandeur which are observed, not only by the new king and his whole court, but by all his subjects without exception, in every part of the kingdom. We shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning some of the most remarkable, striking, and proper to give them a general idea of the rest; as the embalming the body with the most costly gums, arraying it in the most sumptuous attire, and exposeing it to view in a rich room of state, during the space of 65 days, to receive the funeral homages of his whole court, officers of provinces both civil and military; and lastly of the rest of his subjects, to whom access is equally permitted during the space of 10 more days; and the serving him every day with variety of meats, in the same manner as when he was alive, during the whole time, which when taken away are given to the priests and the poor; and the suspending all rejoicings during the whole time, excepting only those of the new king's inauguration. These are some of the mournful ceremonies preceding his interrment; all which are performed with the utmost decency and splendor; the generalissimo having from the first day after the king's demise settled the whole ceremonial, and prescribed to every mandarin and officer their several mournings, and times of waiting and respective duties.

Funeral obsequies.

Rich attire.

Homages.

THREE large bells, hung in one of the towers of the palace, keep tolling incessantly night and day; and all the regal insignia of the deepest mourning are every-where displayed. The king himself, and all his nobles, after his inauguration is over, appearing in a coarse cotton habit of a purple colour, and with straw bonnets on their heads, attended with the royal family of both sexes; the ladies in white silks, and the lords much in the same dress with the king, repair often in a day to the room of state to pay their mournful devoirs to the corps, by deep prostrations, burning of perfumes, and other tokens of respectful grief. All this while the roads and lanes, through which the funeral procession is to pass, are preparing, from the palace to the dock where the royal galley rides, which is to receive his body, which is about two days journey, and are lined on both sides with purple calico, which when the ceremony is over is given to the bonzas.

Mournings.

Interrment.

THE king, the princes, and princesses of the blood, and all the nobles, mandarins, and officers civil and military, in-

the dreſs above-mentioned, attend the funeral proceſſion on foot all the way, which laſts 17 days, in the following *Proceſſion.* order. Two uſhers of the bed-chamber proceed with their maces, and proclaim the king's titles all the way. Next follow 12 chief officers of the galley which is to receive the corps. Then come the officers of the court, each according to their rank, preceded by the maſter of the horſe. Next to them come twelve of the king's horſes, their bridles, ſaddles, and other furniture, adorned with the richeſt embroidery of gold and ſilver, each led by two court pages. Theſe are followed by twelve elephants, the four firſt carrying each a ſtandard-bearer, with their colours diſplayed; the four next have towers on their backs; on each of them are placed a number of muſketteers, armed with their fire-locks and accoutrements; the four laſt, which are thoſe which the deceaſed king uſed to ride on when he went to war, carry each a different cage, ſuch as he uſed to ſit in, one with glaſs windows, another like a lattice, and all of them with different roofs exquiſitely wrought. Then come the eight ſtags which draw the royal hearſe, each led by an officer of the king's guards. The new king marches next with his brother, if he hath one, ſurrounded by a band of muſicians; and followed by ſix princeſſes, carrying various meats and drinks for the deceaſed, and attended each by two ladies, and another band of muſic. Next follow the four governors of the provinces, with ſtaves on their ſhoulders, to which hangs a bag of gold, and another with rich *Preſents.* perfumes, which are the preſents of theſe provinces to their deceaſed king, and are to ſerve him in the next world. Next come two large chariots drawn by eight horſes, and led by eight men, in which are coffers full of gold and ſilver, and other valuables for the ſame end. The whole is cloſed up with the reſt of the king's officers, and multitudes of his ſubjects.

We omit the many ſuperſtitions and other ceremonies, that are performed every day, and at every ſtation of their march. When the proceſſion is arrived at the dock, it is conveyed with a mournful pomp into the galley, attended by the twelve officers above-mentioned. Immediately after which the whole proceſſion returns back, whilſt the veſſel is drawn up the river a conſiderable way, till it comes to a de- *Grave in a deſart unknown.* ſart country, where the body is taken out, and conveyed into ſome place by only ſix faithful eunuchs, who have the care of interring it, and are ſworn never to diſcover the place where it is depoſited. We are told farther, that beſides the gold and other ſuppoſed neceſſaries above-mentioned, ſome nobles and courtiers of both ſexes uſed to be interred with him, in order to

atteud him in the other world. Which inhuman cuſtom, tho' ſtill practiſed in other parts, hath been a long while ſet aſide in this kingdom.

FATHER *Marini*, who hath given the public a long deſcription of the funeral obſequies of king *Ta-tha-ty-twong*, who died *anno* 1675, adds many other curious circumſtances which attended his interrment, beſides thoſe we have mentioned above [w]; particularly ſome ſtately pageants which preceded the proceſſion, a ſketch of which the reader may ſee in the margin (M). He deſcribes the royal galley as moſt ſumptuouſly gilt, the ſails and ſtreamers of cloth of gold; and adds, that when the corps was conveyed into it, by the ſound of all the muſical inſtruments, and fire of the artillery and ſmall arms which attended it, the new king and all the royal family ſtood with their feet in the river above their ancles, *Some farther account from* Marini.

[w] MARINI relat de Tonquin, cap. 15.

(M) The firſt thing, he ſays, that was ſeen coming out of the royal pace, was a ſquare column 60 ſpans high and ſix in diameter, ſeated on a pedeſtal, and drawn by men, upon wheels, ſo artfully diſpoſed that the machine kept ſtill upright, as if it had been fixed on the ground, never leaning either on the one ſide or other all the way it went. The body of the column was covered with a rich ſilk, on which were read, in gold and ſilver characters, the names, age, actions, &c. of the deceaſed.

This was followed by another machine or large car, upon which was carved in relievo a city, with all the walls, bulwarks, and other fortifications; the greateſt part of it finely gilt.

The third was another car, equally ſumptuous, on which ſtood a magnificent throne, the chief materials of which were of gold and ivory, and on it were repoſed the regalia of the dead king. Theſe were attended by bands of muſicians, who played a mournful march upon a great variety of inſtruments, and inſtead of ſongs filled the air with cries and ſighs: after whom followed the funeral proceſſion above-mentioned. He adds, that only three of the chief eunuchs were intruſted with the place of his interrment, and that they bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths that no one beſides ſhould ever know it (20). But as it is almoſt incredible, that three, or even ſix of theſe noble eunuchs, ſhould be able to tranſport the corps, with all its other riches, from the galley into the deſert, in order to convey it thus privately into the ground; it is moſt likely that they take a ſufficient number of ſlaves to perform that office, whom they quickly after cauſe to be put to death.

(20) *Marini relat. de Tonquin, cap.* 15. *vid. & la Martiniere, dict. ſub voc.*

and did not retire till the galley was got out of ſight; upon which account the rowers were ordered by the captain to row with all their might, till they had loſt ſight of them; after which they ſlacked their oars, and proceeded more leiſurely up the river.

Attended with a magnificent inſtance of filial piety.

THESE obſequies, magnificent as they were, being little more than what was performed by his predeceſſors, appeared too inconſiderable to the new king to ſhew the filial reſpect he bore to his father, unleſs he erected ſome trophy to his memory, which ſhould outdo all thoſe that had gone before him. To this purpoſe he choſe a ſmall iſland on the river, about three miles long, and ſix or ſeven in compaſs, on which he cauſed the repreſentation of a new city, and two ſtately palaces, to be reared upon the ſand, adorned with variety of trophies, and four ſuperb gates, pointing to the four points. An innumerable multitude of voluntiers were employed in the work, till the end of *December* following, that is, near ſix months. The gates, walls, towers, trophies, ſtatues, and other ornaments, were made of the richeſt materials, and adorned with the repreſentation of the actions of the late king. The palaces, thrones, beds, and other furniture, were ſtill more ſtately and ſuperb. Other embelliſhments, which are too numerous to be particularly mentioned, though all of them anſwerable to the grand deſign (N), we willingly omit to come at the cataſtrophe of it, which was anſwerable to, and plainly ſhews, the reigning ſuperſtitious notion of theſe people concerning the ſtate of the dead in the other world.

A city built for his deceaſed father.

ON

(N) To give our reader a notion of theſe ſtructures, which on the inſide were only ſupported by beams and rafters, but without were covered with variety of the richeſt ſilks and ſtuffs, and adorned with the moſt curious repreſentations of armies, horſes, elephants, battles, &c. of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, and gold, ſilver, and other rich materials, we ſhall only inſtance in one of the principal columns, which adorned this mock city, on the ſouth ſide of it. It was of an extraordinary height and bigneſs, and ſtood upon a ſtately pedeſtal, of a proportionable ſize, covered with plated gold, finely wrought. On the top of the column were fixed three large globes of the ſame metal, placed one over the other, and curiouſly burniſhed and wrought: the column itſelf was covered all over with cloth of gold, adorned with great variety of figures, and other embelliſhments of maſſive gold and ſilver, and characters pierced through, which recorded the moſt glorious actions of the deceaſed. On the ſides of it, ſtood the figures of two giants of a large ſize, each holding a bow and arrows in his hand. About the middle of the city were placed

On the 29th of the month, accordingly, when every thing was ready for the grand ceremony, and the new city everywhere filled with a ſufficient number of men, to perform their ſtated part within it, 30,000 armed men marched towards it in the dead of night, clad in mourning, and inveſted the place on the four ſides; and on the next morning, the king, queen, and royal family, attended by a numerous court, appeared at the head of a guard of 4000 men, with ſilver hilted ſwords, and approached towards the principal tower, and knocked at the gates; upon which a youth began in a mournful tone to ſing a ſong, as if directed to the maſter of the tower, ſuppoſed to be in it, and within the hearing of him, to the following purport. There is a report that a certain mighty monarch, who had lately left this world to go and enjoy the immortality of the other, was become a mere ſolitary and forlorn perſon in a ſtrange country, without guards, ſoldiers, horſes, or elephants to defend him, without a palace to live in, or equipage to ſupport his royalty: that the renown of this magnificent edifice had brought them thither, and that if he would agree to part with it to him, they were ready to grant whatever he ſhould aſk. *Ceremony of conſecrating it for him in the other world.*

The ſong being ended, the ſuppoſed maſter within the tower made anſwer, that the city having been built for the great king he ſpoke of, he conſented that it ſhould be ſold to him, provided the other three that dwelt with him in it, did agree to it. Upon which the king's three brothers went to the other three gates, and performed the ſame ceremony; which being ended, the town was delivered up to the king, who marched immediately to the royal palace, and was ſaluted by a diſcharge of the whole artillery, and attended thither by his whole court. Being arrived at the great hall of obſequies, he heard upon his bended knees the acts of his deceaſed father read to him, as did alſo his brothers, and others of the royal blood; 4000 mandarins of his retinue remaining proſtrate all the while upon their faces. The ceremony was cloſed by the ſound of a great variety of inſtruments; during which the ambaſſadors of three of his tribu-

placed 21 towers, made much in the ſame manner as the columns, and of the ſame rich materials; one of which ſtood after the center of all the reſt, and was the moſt beautiful and elegant, both for its height, and fine materials and workmanſhip. The reader may gueſs by this ſketch at the magnificence of the reſt: thoſe who are deſirous to know more of it, may ſee the whole deſcribed by the author above quoted (22).

(22) *Marini relat. de Tonquin, ch.* 15.

taries, came to pay their compliments of condolence, and to offer the usual presents of gold, silver, perfumes, *&c.* to the deceased.

Set on fire for that end.

The king and court returned home to their own palace; and about eight of the clock at night, the hour on which the late king died, the whole city and all its edifices were set on fire; the soldiers guarding all the avenues, lest any-thing should be saved from the flames; it being a received notion, that nothing is re-paid to the dead in the other world, but what has been reduced to ashes in this. As for the gold, silver, and other things which remained unconsumed, the king ordered one part to be given to the soldiers, and the rest to his inferior courtiers and officers. Such was the end of that stupendous piece of machinery, which is computed to have cost that monarch about a million of gold [x]. Which immense expence the young king put himself to, to procure his deceased father a fine well-built city, with two or three stately palaces, all inriched with the costliest and noblest insignia of royalty; and all this long and pompous ceremony was performed, in order to consecrate and secure all the benefits and advantages of it to him in the other world.

The origin, &c. of the Tonquinese, very obscure.

We come in the last place to give our readers the best account we can find of the origin, antiquity, and history of the *Tonquinese*; but herein we shall be obliged to be very concise, for want of proper records; they being wholly ignorant of the art of writing, till they learned it from the *Chinese* four or five centuries ago, at farthest: so that whatever they have ventured to commit to writing, since they have had the use of their characters, concerning the history of former ages, appears to be no other than a heap of old uncertain traditions, intermixed with fable, which rather cast an impenetrable obscurity on the origin and antiquity of their nation and monarchy. There is, however, no room to doubt of the antiquity of both, though we have no authentic records, either of theirs, or any other nation, to prove it by.

The Chinese account of them.

If we may indeed believe those of the *Chinese* (for we have already shewn that they are a different people from them [y]), the *Tonquinese* formed a kind of republic under their own ethnarchs, such as were those of the *Philistines*, and other *Canaanitish* nations, in those early times [z]; until the year 1956 after the flood, when being oppressed with a grievous famine, occasioned by a three years continued drought, they sent an ambassy to the *Chinese* monarch, who then was stiled *the son of heaven*, and *the father of the seasons*, in hopes

[x] Marini ubi sup. [y] See before. p. 466. [z] De his vid. his ancient hist. vol. ii. p. 219, & seq. & alib. pass.

that

that he would open the windows of heaven, and ſend them the ſo much deſired ſupply of rain, to reſtore to their lands their priſtine fertility. They had accompanied their ambaſſy with very ſumptuous preſents; which, however, that monarch's uncle and prime miniſter rejected, together with their petition, under pretence that a nation which was tributary to the *Chineſe* empire, and had refuſed to pay the uſual homage to its monarchs, did not deſerve that they ſhould intereſt themſelves in its behalf, and ſent them away without any audience from the emperor. But this fact is contradicted, by the annals which *Tonquineſe* pretend to have ever ſince the year of the world 3612; but of what authority is eaſy to judge, if they had not the uſe of writing till near 2000 years after. *contradicted by their own.*

NEITHER would we confide too much in the account which the *Chineſe* annals give of them, or any other neighbouring nations, whom they call by no better names than *Manſos* or *barbarians* [a]; and ſometimes *Kao-ce* [b], or *diſtorted feet*, from a blemiſh they obſerve in that part, in common with moſt *Indian* nations, whoſe great toe ſeems as diſtended at ſome diſtance from the reſt (O); an eye-ſore from which themſelves are wholly free. On this account, as well as ſome other reſemblance they bear in their ſhapes, complexion, and cuſtoms, they are ſuppoſed by the generality of writers to be of *Indian* extract; but of what tribe or family of them, is hard to gueſs. As for themſelves, they call their country *Ang-nam*, which ſignifies *Eaſtern reſt*, and *Tong-king*, or *Eaſtern court*. They likewiſe affect to call their kingdom *Day-viet*, which in their language is equivalent to that of *Day-mynh*, which ſignifies a kingdom of brightneſs, and is one of thoſe which the *Chineſe* give to their own, excluſive of all others [c]. Upon which account, moſt likely, *Both of ſmall authority.* *Their various names.* *Probably of India extra.*

[a] BARON in collect. voyag. [b] Id. ibid. & al. ubi ſup. [c] MARINI ubi ſup. ch. 1.

(O) This might probably enough be occaſioned by the thick wooden ſandals they are forced to wear in thoſe hot climes, to ſave their feet from the burning ſands, and which are faſtened to the foot by a ſingle button at the end, and which is high enough to come between the great toe and that which is next to it, which in proceſs of time diſtends them a great way aſunder. Our readers have doubtleſs ſeen ſuch ſhoes, among other curioſities and garments brought hither from thoſe parts, amongſt the curious; and may have perhaps obſerved, that any other ligament but that would be apt to fret, and in time excoriate, the inſtep

Early conquered by the Chinese.

they give the *Tonquinese* the nick-name of *Xic-qui* or devils [d]; they being, it seems, remarkable above all other *Indians* for the redness of their lips, occasioned by their constant chewing of betel. However it is not improbable, that the name of *Tong-king* was given to this kingdom by the *Chinese* monarchs, when they had reduced it into a province of their empire, and had extended their conquests as far as that of *Siam*, which was then their chief residence †: for in that sense only could it be stiled by them their *Tong-king*, or *Eastern court*, for it then lay eastward of them; whereas since they abandoned their conquests, and retired to their old dominions, it lies south and south-west from them.

Their first monarchy.

However that be, it doth not appear to have taken the form of a monarchical government, till the son or nephew of *Shin-nong*, the second emperor of *China* (P), made himself master of that country, which we may suppose was not overpeopled so soon after the flood, nor sufficiently civilized to make head against his superior force.

Impatient under the yoke.

However, this was no other than a mere reducing them from their republican, or ethnarchical government, to the yoke of a foreign prince; and so ill did they brook their subjection, that it was with the greatest difficulty and condescension to their intractable temper, that he by degrees brought them to live contented under it. He complied as

† See before, vol. vii. p. 282, & (B). [d] Marini, Baron, Dampier, & al.

(P) The *Tong-kinese*, we are told (23), gave that emperor the name of *Than-now*, which in their language signifies the inventer of the plough or agriculture; which invention is ascribed by the *Chinese* annals to *Shin nong*, the immediate successor of *Foki* (24). Hence our author supposes this conquest of *Tong-king* to have happened in his reign; but we have formerly shewn, that even *China* itself could not be so populous at that early time, as to be able to want such conquests, and enlarge their dominions, so far beyond the narrow limits of their infant empire (25). If there be therefore any dependence on those records, we would at least put off this conquest to the reign of *Shun*, the ninth emperor, whom *Yaw* took partner, and appointed his successor, in the empire, on account of his singular skill in agriculture; and who accordingly made such vast improvements in, and gave such great encouragements to it, that a feast was instituted in honour of him, and hath been observed ever since by all the *Chinese* emperors (26); and even this is as early as we can suppose that conquest to have happened.

(23) *Mariri ubi sup. ch.* 2. (24) *See hereafter, vol. viii. p.* Ant. Hist. *v.l. xx. p.* 110. *& seq.* (25) *See* (26) *See hereafter, vol. viii. p.*

much

much as poſſible with their manners, that he might bring them over to his own: he changed his own and his wives *Chineſe* names for *Tonquineſe* ones, and added to his own the title of *Wong*, or king. By theſe means he at length brought them to acknowledge him for their ſovereign, and left the crown to his ſon.

THE ſucceſſion paſſed in his family through a number of generations; how many we are not told; till one of the *Chineſe* monarchs reſolved to ſubdue it, on ſome diſguſt, under his own dominion, under pretence, that it had been formerly a province of it. The army he ſent againſt them was numerous, and commanded by 12 of his braveſt and moſt experienced generals, whoſe arrival was attended by a long and bloody oppoſition, in which the *Tonquineſe* fought with no leſs zeal for their kings, than bravery againſt the invaders; but were at length obliged to yield to the ſuperior force and ſkill of the enemy. The 12 captains had no ſooner reduced them, than they agreed to divide the kingdom into 12 provinces, and to aſſume each the government of them, with the title of king.

Subdued afreſh.

Divided into 12 kingdoms.

THIS new divided government had not long continued in that form, before a young man, a native of one of theſe 12 provinces, a perſon of no higher rank than that of a poor ſhepherd, found means to overturn it, and to reſtore his whole country to its priſtine liberty; for which ſignal and heroic ſervice he was raiſed to the throne, by the univerſal vote of his countrymen, and became the worthy head of a new monarchy. This young prince had ſcarcely held the ſcepter ten years, before the *Chineſe* monarch then reigning cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, and reduced that kingdom once more under his yoke. From that time their records ſpeak of nothing but new and frequent revolutions, for the ſpace of ſeveral centuries ſucceſſively; one while the *Chineſe* tyranniſing over them; another while the natives bravely ſhaking off the yoke, driving thoſe invaders out of their dominions, reſtoring their antient form of government, living under the protection of their own princes, whom they elected from amongſt their own countrymen; and as frequently, from their natural inconſtancy, depoſing them, and electing new ones in their room [f]. This is the beſt account which our author could meet with in the records of thoſe remote times; which agree ſo far well enough with the *Chineſe* annals, which repreſent their monarchy as in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and in its largeſt extent, during the ſpace of

A ſhepherd recovers their liberty.

Aſſaſſinated.

Various Revolutions.

[f] MARINI ubi ſup. ch. 2.

Conquered by the Chineſe.

400 or 500 years before Chriſt, as our readers may ſee in the account we give during that epocha[g]; not to mention what we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the next volume, concerning the vaſt advantages which this monarchy had over all other nation, with reſpect to power, wealth, arts, ſciences, &c. from the earlieſt ages after the flood, down to the epocha above-mentioned [h].

Their firſt monarch, according to Baron.

BUT if their countryman *Baron* may be believed, he tells us, that the firſt king mentioned by the *Tonquineſe* records, was named *Ding*, and reigned there about 200 years before Chriſt; he was, according to them, raiſed to the ſupreme power by a troop of banditti. The circumſtances relating to this revolution are variouſly related by the *Tonquineſe* writers; but all agree that he was maſſacred by his ſubjects, on account of his inſupportable tyranny. His death was followed by a long and bloody ſeries of wars; which, had they continued much longer, would have quite ruined and depopulated the kingdom; but ended at length in the election of a new king, named *Le-day-han*; in whoſe reign, the *Chineſe*, taking advantage of the diſmal ſtate the country was reduced to, entered it with a powerful army: and this, ſays our author [i], is the firſt time, that any *Chineſe* are mentioned in their annals to have invaded their dominions. Though, from what we have lately obſerved, it is more than probable that they had made ſeveral deſcents into it long before that time. However that be, they all agree that they over-ran the whole kingdom, in the reign of the above-mentioned *Le-day-han* who being a martial prince, repulſed them with great bravery and ſucceſs, and gave them ſeveral overthrows, without being able to drive them out of ſundry ſtrong holds and paſſes, which they had made themſelves maſters of.

And firſt ſubjection to China.

Second king elected.

BUT after his death, the *Tonquineſe* elected a new one, named *Ly-bal-vie*, an old experienced general, a man famed for his conduct and intrepid bravery; who having defeated them in ſeveral fierce engagements, had at length the fortune and glory of driving the reſt out of his dominions. The crown continued in his family during five or ſix generations; and deſcended at laſt, for want of male heirs, on an only daughter; who the better to ſecure it to herſelf, married a young nobleman of a conſiderable family, and took him partner of her throne. But the preference ſhe ſhewed him, quickly raiſed the envy of another grandee, named *Ho*, who fell into open rebellion againſt her; and having defeated

Drives the Chineſe *out.*

Failure of male iſſue.

[g] See before Ancient Hiſt. vol. xx. p. & ſeq. [h] Vid. infra, vol. viii. p. 326. [i] Collect. voy. ubi ſup.

her

her husband in a set battle, seized upon the crown, and caused the princess and her spouse to be put to death. This horrid deed was followed by so many others of the like bloody and tyrannic nature, that he became detested by the whole nation. They unanimously resolved to rid themselves of such a monster; but not being able to cope with him, unfortunately agreed to call in the *Chinese* to their assistance. These readily embraced the opportunity of re-entering into *Tong-king*, and came accordingly with a very formidable army; which had no sooner freed them from their old yoke, than they clapped a new and heavier one upon them; and, instead of deliverers, became their lords and masters. The usurper was indeed destroyed, but the *Tonquinese* only exchanged one slavery for another; and were again reduced to the necessity of receiving a viceroy from their new lords, who quickly overturned their old form of government, and forced them to submit to the laws and customs of the *Chinese*.

The new usurpation of Ho, *ended by the murder of* Ho, *and the calling in of the* Chinese; *who reduce them under their yoke.*

It was not long however, before their natural inconstancy, and impatience under a foreign power, roused them up to an open revolt, and, at all hazards, to make a brave attempt for the recovery of their liberty, and the total extirpation of their *Chinese* tyrants. They accordingly appeared in arms, under the conduct of an officer of known intrepidity, named *Ly* or *Li*, whom they chose for their head. This noble enterprise succeeded to their wish under him. He caused all the *Chinese* forces to be put to the sword, not exempting even the *Chinese* viceroy from the common massacre; whilst the emperor, his master, by the *Tonquinese* records, named *Humveon*, was wholly taken up at home with quelling the civil wars, which reigned in several parts of the empire, and in no condition to assist, much less to revenge the indignity offered to his substitute. *Ly*, taking the advantage of the present favourable juncture, easily forced that monarch to a disadvantageous peace, and got himself crowned and acknowledged king of *Tong-king*, upon the easy terms of owning himself tributary, and paying every three years a small tribute and homage to him.

A young shepherd restores their liberty.

Forces the Chinese *to a peace.*

Becomes tributary.

This treaty, which was concluded and signed, *A. D.* 1200, hath been for the most part inviolably observed ever since by both sides. The *Tonquinese* kings have ever since carefully sent an ambassy every three years to the *Chinese* court, with the usual homage and tribute (Q). And the *Chinese* on their

The tribute how paid.

(Q) Their tribute consists of variety of rich presents of gold and silver, and other rich valuables; some for the emperor, others for his prime and favourite wives and ministers. Among

Chineſe *ambaſſadors at* Tong-king.

their part always receive them with great pomp and ceremony, though not ſo much out of regard to the *Tonquineſe* ambaſſadors, as to ſet off the ſplendor of their own court, and inſpire them with greater awe and reſpect for their monarchs. It is probable, however, that theſe emperors have aſſumed a greater power over the *Tonquineſe*, ſince their chova's have made themſelves abſolute, by ſtripping their natural princes of their power; and have obliged theſe upſtart uſurpers to ſubmit to ſome farther articles of ſubmiſſion, than the lawful ſovereigns were bound to, by the treaty above-mentioned. For the *Chineſe* emperors have for a long number of years had their ambaſſadors at *Tong-king*, who aſſume a much greater ſtate and prerogative there. They never vouchſafe to viſit the chova, but oblige him to wait upon them at their own palace, upon all emergencies, and to receive their inſtructions from them. Another inſtance of ſubjection they have been forced to ſubmit to, is, that their new chova muſt be confirmed by the *Chineſe* monarch, before he can exert the regal authority, and muſt receive the ſeals from thence, which he is to make uſe of during his reign [k].

Chineſe *monarchs power in* Tong-king.

THESE additional prerogatives (as we may juſtly ſuppoſe them, ſeeing it is altogether unlikely, that the brave and warlike *Ly*, the firſt of this dynaſty, would have ever agreed to them, or that the emperor would have inſiſted upon them, at a time when the bad condition of his affairs obliged him to procure a peace at any rate, from this victorious and ſucceſsful prince) may be therefore juſtly deemed to be of much later date than that treaty; and where can we find a more proper opportunity for ſuch new encroachments, than that which the uſurpation of the chova's afforded them; who, to maintain themſelves in it, would in all likelihood have ſubmitted to much harder to terms, to ingratiate themſelves with the *Chineſe* monarchs, and prevent their moleſting them in their new dignity. But this we do not find to have been the caſe of the bova's, or the deſcendants of *Ly*; who, on the contrary, filled the *Tonquineſe* throne, during two whole centuries, with great glory, and with an abſolute ſway, and with-

[k] BARON, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. ſup. citat.

Among thoſe of the firſt ſort, to be in memory of their bloody are ſome ſtatues of ſilver and maſſacre of his viceroy, and of gold, in a *Tonquineſe* dreſs, and his *Chineſe* troops (27). ſupplicating poſture, ſuppoſed

(27) *Baron ubi ſup.*

5 out

out any other token of foreign ſubmiſſion than the triennial tribute and homage above-mentioned.

THIS is all, however, that we can learn from their records in general. As to any particulars of thoſe reigns, during the two centuries above-mentioned, they either are wholly ſilent about them, or their account, if any mention is made of them, is not yet come to the knowlege of any *European* writer; ſo that we are inſenſibly brought to the moſt remarkable period of the *Tonquineſe* hiſtory; namely, that in which the whole ſupreme authority was wreſted from the bovas, or the deſcendants of *Ly*, and ingroſſed by a new ſet of uſurpers, who, under the title of chova, or general, have enjoyed it uncontrouled ever ſince [l].

The revolution cauſed by the chova.

WE have already hinted ſomething of this remarkable revolution, when we ſpake of the *Tonquineſe* government [m]; and there obſerved, that it was chiefly owing to the indolence and effeminacy of their princes; who, to revel the more freely in their delights, committed the whole and ſole government of theſe and their other dominions in *Kochinchina* to two favourite generals, and ſuffered them to tyrannize over both with too uncontrouled a ſway; the conſequence of which was the loſs of both kingdoms, quickly one after the other. That of *Kochinchina*, according to ſome authors, revolted firſt, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter; and his ſucceſs ſoon encouraged his collegue to follow his example in that of *Tong-king*. This laſt kingdom had already ſuffered ſo much from the cruel extortions of their governors, that the ſubjects had been long ſince ripe for a revolt; and a great deal of blood had been ſhed in ſome of the provinces, when a ſimple fiſherman, named *Mak*, like a ſecond *Maſſaniello*, encouraged by the general murmurings, found means to be choſen head of the malecontents; and having gathered a numerous army under his banner, quickly defeated the chova, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, about A. D. 1400. He had not however long enjoyed his new dignity, before he was, like his brother at *Naples*, ſtripped of it by a new competitor named *Tring*; who, to give the better colour to his enterprize, gave out, that he took up arms in defence of the royal family of *Ly*; and accordingly cauſed one of the young princes of it to be proclaimed bova, and to be publicly inveſted with the regal dignity. This ſtep was the more conformable to the minds and wiſhes of the whole nation, as they ſtill retained the higheſt veneration for their princes of that race,

Mak *choſen head of the malecontents.*

Defeated by Tring.

His ſtratagem.

[l] BARON, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. ſup citat. [m] See before, p. 449.

and

and who accordingly expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction and joy at the proſpect of ſeeing an effectual end put to their civil wars and bloodſhed, by the reſtauration of one of that noble family to the throne[n].

Conceals his treaſon. His deſign however, far from being ſo loyal and noble, was only to give him the mere title and ſhadow of bova, and to engroſs the whole authority in his own hands: in attempting of which he expected nothing leſs than an univerſal oppoſition from the whole nation. But his chief dependence was on a brother-in-law of his, named *Hoa-ving*, and ſon to the governor of the province of *Tingwa*, a man in great power, and who had a numerous army under his command. This old mandarin, whether out of a real liking to the loyal meaſures which the artful *Tring* pretended to purſue; or, which is at leaſt as likely, from ſome more ſelfiſh views, had not only aſſiſted him with all the forces under his command, and thereby enabled him to proceed thus far with ſucceſs; but, to ſhew to the world the regard he had for, and the confidence he placed in him, had given him his daughter in marriage; and at his death made him ſole guardian to his only ſon *Hoa-ving* above-mentioned. This young ambitious gentleman, whom his politic brother-in-law had all along fed with the hopes that the forces lent to him by his father, were only deſigned to ſettle him on the *Tonquineſe* throne, quickly perceived himſelf to be over-reached; and that *Tring* made no other uſe of them, than to ſecure the regal authority in his own hands, and to raiſe himſelf to the ſupreme dignity, of which he meant to deprive the young bova he had lately ſet upon the throne. This occaſioned a grievous breach between them, which did not, however, hinder the chova from purſuing his ſcheme, in ſpite of all oppoſition; wherein he ſucceeded ſo well in it, that in a very little time he got himſelf confirmed in his uſurpation by all the grandees in the kingdom.

Aſſiſted by Hoa-ving.

But outwits him.

Hoa-ving *taking up arms againſt him,*

HOA-VING, fired with the deepeſt indignation at his diſappointment, not only refuſed to pay him the homage which the reſt of the *Tonquineſe* did, but, recalling as many of his father's troops as he could gain over, turned his arms againſt him; but finding himſelf unable to cope with his rival, by this time too firmly ſettled in his new dignity, went and employed them in the conqueſt of *Kochinchina*; in which expedition he met with better ſucceſs, and got himſelf proclaimed chova there by his troops, in imitation of his brother-in-law; as we have ſeen in the preceding chapter. This laſt

ſubdues Kochinchina,

and becomes king of it.

[n] Baron, Dampier, Chevreir, & al. ſup. citat.

ſlep

step served only to widen the breach between the two brothers-in-law, and kindled a war between them, which was carried on with the utmost vigour as long as they lived, tho' without any considerable advantage on either side. Neither did it end with their lives; their successors inherited their mutual hatred, and their subjects, who are commonly the dupes in such contentions, gradually imbibed the same prejudice against each other; which continues to this day; there being hardly any thing recorded in their history for these three last centuries, but the bloody wars they have constantly waged against each other, ever since that mutual breach [o]; but of which we have no particular account as yet; and so shall go no farther with it.

Wars between those two kingdoms.

BOOK XII.

History of the Eastern Tartars.

CHAP. I.

Description of Eastern Tartary; *and Account of its Inhabitants.*

WE have already laid before our readers a description of *Great Tartary* in general; and of the *Western* in particular [a]. We come now to present to their view a description of *Eastern Tartary*, with some account of the inhabitants, their manners and customs, before we enter upon the history of them: in order, pursuant to our original plan, to bring them previously acquainted with the places which were the scenes of action; as well as with the people, who were the actors.

Eastern Tartary.

EASTERN Tartary, according to the limits usually assigned it by historians and geographers, is bounded on the west by *Western Tartary*, or rather by that part of it possessed by the proper *Mungls* and *Kâlkâs*; on the north by *Siberia*; on the east by that part of the oriental ocean called the *Tartarian Sea*; and on the south by the same sea, the kingdom of *Korea*, and the *Yellow Sea*, which separates it

Extent and division.

[o] See before, p. 450.

[a] See before, vol. iv. p. 9. & 276.

from

from *China*. It is ſituated between the 137 and 161 degrees of longitude, and between the 40 and 55 degrees of latitude; being about 900 miles long from ſouth to north, and 884 broad, from weſt to eaſt; yet but thinly peopled.

THIS large region is, at preſent, divided into three great governments, *Shin-yang* or *Mugden*, *Kirin-vla*, and *Tſitſikar*.

1. *Government of* Shin-yang.

Shin-yang *extent.*

THE government of *Shin-yang*, called by the *Manchews*, *Mugden*, contains all the ancient *Lyau-tong*, named alſo *Quantong*; and is about 270 miles long, and 125 broad. It is bounded on the ſouth by the great wall of *China* and the *Yellow Sea*; on the eaſt, north, and weſt, it is incloſed by a wooden paliſade, ſeven or eight feet high, fitter to mark its bounds, and keep out petty robbers, than to oppoſe an army. The gates are no better than the reſt, and guarded only by a few ſoldiers. The *Chineſe* geographers having given the name of wall to this paliſade, has occaſioned the province of *Lyau-tong* to be erroneouſly placed by moſt *European* authors (A) hitherto, within the great wall. As the ſubjects of *Lyau-tong* were permitted neither to go out of their own country, even into *China*, without leave of the mandarins, this government was reckoned very profitable. It contained likewiſe, formerly, ſeveral fortified places; but at preſent they are almoſt in ruins, being become uſeleſs under the *Manchew* emperors.

Shin-yang *city.*

THE capital of this country is *Shin-yang*, or *Mugden*; a city which is looked on by the *Manchews* as the metropolis of their particular nation: for this reaſon, ſince they became maſters of *China*, they have not only adorned it with ſeveral public edifices, and ſtored it with magazines; but have ſettled here the ſame public tribunals with thoſe at *Pe-king*, excepting that called *Li-pû*. None but the natives are employed in theſe tribunals; and all their acts are written in the *Manchew* language. Their juriſdiction extends over all the parts of *Tartary* immediately ſubject to the emperor. *Mugden* is likewiſe the reſidence of a *Manchew* general, who has here his lieutenants-general, with a conſiderable body of forces of the ſame nation. This has brought a great reſort of *Chineſes* from the other provinces, who carry on almoſt all the trade of *Tartary*.

(A) The jeſuit *Martini* gave occaſion to this miſtake, by placing it within the great wall in his maps of *China*; in which he was followed by *Sanſon*, *De Fer*, and all the *European* geographers in general, till *De l'Iſle*.

NOT

1. *Government.* Shing-yang.

NOT far from the gates of this city are two magnificent burying-places, of the first princes of the *Manchew* family, now on the throne of *China*, who took the title of emperor from the time they began to reign in *Lyau-tong*. They are built according to the *Chinese* architecture: but what is singular, are inclosed by a thick wall with battlements, which is somewhat lower than that of the city. Several *Manchew* mandarins, of all ranks, are appointed to take care of them; and, at certain set times, to perform the same ceremonies of respect, as if the princes were still alive.

Imperial sepulchres.

Inden *city.*

INDEN is more like a village than a city, although the *Manchews* began there to establish their empire over *China*. The great-grandfather of the late emperor *Kang-hi* lies interred in an ordinary burying-place at *Inden*. The other cities of this province are of little note, being thinly peopled, ill built, and without any defence, except a mud wall; altho' some of them, as *I-chew* and *King-chew*, are very well situated for trade; and have plenty of cotton.

Fong-whang-ching.

THE city of *Fong-whang-ching* is the best, as well as most populous; and carries on a very considerable commerce; being, as it were, the key to the kingdom of *Korea*, and its trade; on whose borders it lies. This has drawn thither a great concourse of *Chinese* merchants, who have handsome houses in the suburbs. The chief merchandize is paper made of cotton, of a very strong and durable substance; but neither white nor transparent. It is used at *Pe-king* for sashes in palaces, and houses of fashion. The city is governed by a *Manchew*, with the title of *Hotongta*; who has under him several other mandarins, both civil and military, of his nation. It derives its name from *Fong-whang-shang*, the most noted mountain in all the country, where the famous fabulous bird, called *Fong-whang*, is supposed to breed.

San cha *river.*

THE *Chinese* enlarge much in speaking of the rarities found within the government of *Shin-yang* or *Lyau-tong*; but the missioners, who surveyed this country in 1711, found nothing remarkable either in the mountains or rivers. For instance, the point of *Sin-cha-ho*, so much taken notice of by *Chinese* authors, is no more than a concourse of three ordinary rivers, which unite in this place, and under that common name discharge themselves into the sea: but this is far from being a novelty.

Soil and produce.

THE lands of this province are, for the general, very good, producing abundance of wheat, millet, roots, and cotton. They also afford pasture to great numbers of sheep and oxen, which are rarely seen in any of the provinces of

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

China. They have, indeed, but little rice; yet, to make amends, there is plenty of apples, pears, haſel-nuts, filberds, and cheſnuts, even in the foreſts. The eaſtern part, which borders on the antient country of the *Manchews*, and kingdom of *Korea*, is full of deſarts and bogs. This obliged one of the emperors of the *Tang* family to make a cauſey, for twenty great *French* leagues together, in order to march his army into *Korea*. For the earth, in theſe parts, is ſo looſe, that when it rains, as it frequently does, the water ſinks ſo deep into the ground, that the ſides of the hills are almoſt as marſhy and unpaſſable as the plains. There are ſtill to be ſeen, in ſome parts of this country, the ruins of towns and villages, which were deſtroyed in the wars between the *Chineſes* and the *Koreans*.

2. *Government of* Kirin-ula.

Kirin-ula *government.*

THE ſecond great government is that of *Kirin-ula-hotun*; bounded weſtward by the paliſade of *Lyau-tong*; on the eaſt by the eaſtern ocean; ſouthward by the kingdom of *Korea*; and on the north by the great *Saghalian-ula* (whoſe mouth is a little on this ſide of the 53d degree). So that it extends, in latitude, no fewer than 12 degrees, and almoſt 20 in longitude (being 750 miles in length, and in breadth 600).

Kirin-ula *city.*

THIS country is but thinly peopled, and contains only four cities, which are very ill built, and encompaſſed with no better than mud walls. The principal of them is ſituated on the river *Songari*, there called *Kirin-ula*; from whence the place takes its name; for *Kirin-ula-hotun* (or *Khotun*) ſignifies, *the city of the river Kirin* (B). Here reſides the *Manchew* general, who has all the privileges of a viceroy; and commands the mandarins as well as the troops.

Pedne, *or* Petuna.

THE next city, called *Pedne*, or *Petuna*, ſtands on the ſame river, 45 leagues northweſt from *Kirin-ula-hotun*. It is much inferior to the former, being inhabited moſtly by *Tatarian* ſoldiers, under a lieutenant-general, and by exiles.

Ningûta, *or* Ningûnta

THE third city, which the family now reigning in *China* conſiders as its antient patrimony, is ſituated on the *Hûrka-pira*, which runs northward into the *Songari-ula*. It is commonly called *Ningûta*; although its true name be *Ningûnta*; compounded of two *Tatarian* words, which ſignify *ſeven chiefs*; to expreſs the riſe of the *Manchew* kingdom,

(B) *Verbieſt* ſays, the inhabitants keep a great number of barks in readineſs to repulſe the *Ruſſians*, who often come upon the river to diſpute the pearl-fiſhery.

which

which was first established by the seven brothers of the late emperor *Kang-hi*'s great-grandfather's father. The city, at present, is the seat of a *Manchew* lieutenant-general, who has jurisdiction over all the territories, both of the old and new *Manchews*, called also *Han-hala Ta-tse*, and all the villages of the *Yu-pi Ta-tse*, with some other nations of less note, along the sea-coasts, towards the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*. 2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

THE last city is *Putay-ula-hotun*, which, although the least of the four that are in this government, is by far the most agreeable, as standing in a more fertile and better cultivated plain. It seems to have been built by the antient *Manchews*, who reigned in the north of *China* (called *Ki-tay*), in the 12th century, under the name of *Kin-chau*[b]; although nothing remains at present, excepting an ordinary pyramid, and the ruins of its walls; without which are the *Manchew* houses. It lies about eight or nine leagues (northward) from *Kirin-ula-hotun*, on the *Songari*; which being there called *Putay-ula*, gives the town its name. *Verbiest* the jesuit, who accompanied the emperor *Kang-hi* in 1682, says, it is the finest city in all the country; and formerly the seat of the *Tatar* empire[c]. But in this he seems to be mistaken. Putay-ula-hotun.

THE trade of *Ningûnta* is the more considerable, as the precious plant *Jin-seng* grows only in these vast countries; and the *Yu-pi Tatars* are obliged to pay a tribute of sables. These advantages draw thither a great number of *Chinese* from the most distant provinces; whose houses, with those belonging to the soldiers, make the suburbs at least four times larger than the city. The emperor *Kang-hi* took care likewise to re-people the country, by sending thither the *Tatar* and *Chinese* criminals condemned to banishment: so that the missioners, in their progress, found villages at a good distance from *Ningûnta*. They make a shift to live there; and have in particular abundance of millet; with a sort of grain unknown in *Europe*, called by the *Chinese* dwelling in the country, *May-se-mi*; as being of a middle kind between wheat and rice. It is wholesome; and much used in those cold regions. *Soil and produce.*

OATS, which are scarce every-where else, are here in such plenty that they are given to horses, instead of black beans, common to all the northern provinces of the *Chinese* empire. For all this they have but little of either wheat or rice; whether it be owing to the fault of the soil, or humour of those *Kinds of grain.*

[b] REGIS ap. Du Halde's China Engl. fol. edit. vol. ii. p. 244, & seq. [c] Ibid. p. 247.

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

new inhabitants. It is hard to aſſign reaſons, why ſo many countries, which lie only in the 43d, 44th, and 45th degrees of latitude, ſhould differ ſo much from thoſe of *Europe*, in regard to the ſeaſons and productions of nature, as not to equal even the moſt northern provinces of that quarter. However, it may be preſumed, ſays our author *Regis*, that the quality of any ſoil depends rather on its abounding more or leſs with nitrous particles, than on its ſituation.

Air very cold.

THE cold begins much ſooner in theſe parts than at *Paris*, whoſe latitude is near 50 degrees. On the 8th of *September* the miſſioners, being at *Tondon* (C), were obliged to put on cloaths lined with ſheep-ſkin. They were afraid alſo that the *Saghalian-ula*, though ſo wide and deep, would be frozen over, as indeed it was every morning a conſiderable diſtance from its banks. The cold is kept up by the foreſts (D) in this country, which are very thick, and large, the nearer you advance to the eaſtern ocean; ſo that the miſſioners were nine days paſſing through one of them.

Flowers.

AFTER they had paſſed thoſe woods, they arrived, from time to time, in fine green vallies, watered with excellent rivulets; whoſe banks were enamelled with variety of flowers, common in *Europe*, excepting the yellow lillies, which were of a moſt lovely colour. In height and ſhape they exactly reſembled our white lillies; but, like the roſes, are of a much weaker ſcent. The fineſt grow ſeven or eight leagues beyond the paliſade of *Lyau-tong*.

The Jinſeng.

BUT the plant which is moſt eſteemed, and draws a great number of herbaliſts into theſe deſarts, is the *Jin-ſeng*, called by the *Manchews*, *Orhota*; that is, *the chief*, or *queen of plants*. It is highly valued for its virtues in curing ſeveral diſeaſes, and all decays of ſtrength proceeding from exceſſive labour of body or mind. For this reaſon it has always been the principal riches of *Eaſtern Tatary*; what is found in the north of *Korea* being conſumed in that kingdom. It ſells at *Pe-king* for ſeven times its weight in ſilver; by which its value heretofore may be judged of[d].

FORMERLY the *Chineſes* uſed to get into the *Jin-ſeng* country, among the mandarins and ſoldiers, continually paſſing: but in 1709 the emperor *Kang-hi*, that his *Manchews* might reap this advantage, ordered 10,000 of his ſoldiers, encamped

[d] REGIS ap. Du Halde's China Eng fol. edit. vol. ii. p 245.

(C) On the river *Saghalian*, the firſt village of the *Kecking Tatars*, Lat. 43° 57′ 36″. obſerved Long. 11° 26′ eaſt of *Peking*.

(D) Perhaps more by the great elevation of the land, and winds from the north.

without

without the great wall, to go and gather it, on condition that each should give him two ounces of the best, and take an equal weight of fine silver for the remainder. By which means the emperor got in that year 20,000 *Chinese* pounds of it, for less than one-fourth of the price it bears at *Peking*. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

THIS plant grows only on the declivity of woody mountains, on the banks of deep rivers, or about steep rocks. It can neither bear much cold or heat; for it grows not beyond the 47th degree of latitude: and if a forest takes fire, it appears no more there in three or four years. It is easily distinguished from all other plants about it; and frequently by a cluster of very round and red fruit, or a stalk that shoots above the branches: such was that which the missioners saw at the village of *Honchun* (D), on the borders of *Korea*. This plant, which was about a foot and half in height, had but one knob, whence shot four branches, parting equally one from another, as if they did not spring from the same plant. Each plant had five leaves; and, 'tis said, there is always that number, unless diminished by accident. The root is the only part used medicinally. Its value is enhanced by its age; for the largest and firmest are best. Those who search for it must carry neither tent, bed, nor provision, excepting a bag of dried millet; and at night lodge on the ground, under a tree, or a covering made of boughs. *Where it grows.*

HON-CHUN, before-mentioned, two leagues from *Korea*, is the principal village of the *Quelka Tatars*, who are at present confounded with the *Manchews*, both in language and habitation. It is also the farthest extent of their country, which is agreeable enough; and, what is very uncommon among *Tatars*, well cultivated. Whether it be owing to necessity, on account of their distance from the *Manchews* (the nearest of whom are 40 leagues off), or the example of the *Koreans*, whose very hills are cut into stories, and cultivated to the top. Hon-chun *village.*

IT was a new sight to the missioners, after they had crossed so many forests, and coasted so many frightful mountains, to find themselves on the banks of the *Tumen-ula*, with nothing but woods and wild beasts on one side, while the other presented to their view walled cities, with all that art and labour could produce in the best cultivated countries. *Prospect of* Korea.

THE *Tûmen-ula* falls into the ocean ten leagues below *Hon-chun*. The *Koreans* had built a wall on that bank, *The river* Tûmen.

(D) Or *Honchen*. Latitude observed, 42° 45′.

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

oppoſite to the *Tatars*, from whom the river divides them, almoſt like that of *China:* but the part towards *Hon-chun* was quite ruined, when the *Manchews* ravaged *Korea*; which they made their firſt conqueſt. In parts more remote it continues almoſt intire.

River Swifond.

BEYOND the *Tûmen-ula*, in the antient country of the *Manchews*, is the *Swifond-pira*, the moſt conſiderable river in it, and very famous among thoſe *Tatars*, although it ſcarce deſerves notice. Here the miſſioners ſaw the ruins of a city, called *Furdan Hotun*, ſituated in an open plain fit for tillage. It had only a ſlight mud-wall, defended by a ſhallow ditch [c].

The Yu pi Tatars.

THE river *Uſuri* is incomparably the fineſt, both for clearneſs and length of courſe. It falls into the *Saghalian*, and belongs to the *Yu-pi Tatars*, who dwell in villages along its banks. A great many large, as well as ſmall rivers, help to augment its ſtream; and its waters abound with fiſh, which ſerve the natives both for food and raiment. They have a way of dreſſing their ſkins, which they dye of three or four colours; and after ſhaping, ſew them in ſo delicate a manner, that at firſt you would imagine they made uſe of ſilk, till, on ripping a ſtitch or two, you perceive an exceeding fine thong, cut out of a very thin ſkin.

Their dreſs.

THESE *Tatars* dreſs like the *Manchews*, in the *Chineſe* habit, with this difference chiefly, that the bottom of their long robes is commonly bound with a green or red border, on a white or grey ground. The women alſo hang ſmall pieces of braſs coin, or little bells, at the bottom of their mantles, which give notice of their approach. Their hair, which parts into ſeveral treſſes, falls upon their ſhoulders; and is braided with bits of looking-glaſs, rings, and other baubles, which they prize as jewels.

Way of living.

THE manner of life among theſe *Yu-pi* is no leſs extraordinary. All the ſummer they ſpend in fiſhing. One part of what they catch is laid up to make oil for their lamps; another ſerves for their daily food; and the reſt, which they dry in the ſun, without ſalting, for they have no ſalt, is laid up for their winter's proviſions, whereof both men and cattle eat, when the rivers are frozen. For all this, the miſſioners obſerved a great deal of ſtrength and vigour in moſt of theſe poor people: yet the animals uſed for food are very ſcarce in their country; and their fleſh of ſuch an intolerable taſte, that the very ſervants they brought with them, though eager

[c] REGIS ap. Du Halde's China Eng. fol. edit. vol. ii. p. 246.

for

for flesh, after having lived long on fish, could not endure it. The dogs in this country draw their sledges (E), when the rivers are frozen, and are highly valued. 2. *Govern-ment.* Kirin-uia.

Use dog-sledges.

THE lady of *Usuri*, whose husband had been chief general of this nation, and enjoyed the prerogative of a body guard, told the jesuits that she had an hundred dogs for her sledges. One beaten to the road goes before, which those in harness follow, without straying, to the end of the stage, where they are relieved by others from the spare pack. She assured them, that she had often ran an hundred *Chinese Li* (or ten *French* leagues) without resting. Instead of treating them with tea, which is the custom among the *Chineses* and other *Tatars*, her attendants served up little bits of sturgeon, upon a neat ratan salver.

Their manners.

THIS lady, who understood *Chinese*, had a quite different air and manner from these *Yu-pi Tatars*; who, for the rest, are in general of a peaceable disposition, but heavy, unpolished, and without any tincture of learning, or the least public religious worship; the *Chinese* idols themselves, not having, as yet, found their way among them. Very likely, says the good jesuit, because the bonza's or priests cannot take up with such a poor wretched country, where they sow neither rice nor wheat, but only a little tobacco, in a few plats of ground near each village, on the banks of the river. All the rest of the land is covered with a thick and almost impenetrable wood; from whence they are annoyed with a cloud of gnats, and such-like insects, which they are obliged to drive away with smoke.

Fish, and fishing.

THERE are found in *Europe* almost all the kinds of fish taken in the rivers of this country; but not that quantity of sturgeon, which is the principal fishery of the *Yu-pi*. They say it is the king of fish, and that it has no equal. They eat certain parts of it quite raw, imagining by that means to partake of all the virtues which they ascribe to it. Next to the sturgeon, they highly prize a fish, which is unknown in *Europe*,

(E) Hence *Gerbillon* says, they are called by their neighbours, the *Manchews*, by no other name than *Dog-drivers*. He makes them a different nation from the *Yu-pi*, whom he confounds with the *Fiatta* (or *Ke-ching*). He places them beyond *Ningûta*, and says, that although they extend along the *Saghalian-ula*, about two hundred leagues, they are not numerous, having only here and there small hamlets, situate at the fall of some little river into that great one. This jesuit had his information from the vice-roy of the province of *Solon*. *Du Halde*, vol. ii. p. 256.

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula

but one of the moſt delicious that can be imagined. It is about the length, and almoſt of the ſhape, of a ſmall tunny, but of a finer colour. The fleſh is intirely red, which diſtinguiſhes it from other fiſh; and ſo very ſcarce, that the jeſuits could never meet with it above once or twice. The natives commonly ſpear the larger fiſh, and take the leſſer with nets. Their barks are ſmall, and their boats made only of the bark of trees; but ſo well ſewed as to keep out water.

Their language.

THE language of the *Yu-pi* ſeems to be a mixture of that of the *Manchews*, who are their neighbours on the weſt and ſouth, and the *Ke-ching Tatars*, bordering on the north and eaſt; for to the chiefs of the villages, both languages were intelligible. Thus much concerning the *Yu-pi Tatars*, to whoſe country ſome of our geographers have given the name of a kingdom.

Ke-ching Tatars.

THAT of the *Ke-ching Tatars* has no better title to the honour, although it extends along the *Saghalian-ula*, from *Tondon* before-mentioned, to the ocean. For in all this ſpace of near 150 leagues, you meet with nothing but ordinary villages, which are for the generality ſeated on the banks of that great river. Their language differs from that of the *Manchews*, who call it *Fiatta*; and this *Fiatta* tongue, is alſo apparently that of the *Tatars*, who inhabit from the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*, to the 55th degree of latitude; which in this part is the northern bounds of the *Chineſe* dominions in *Eaſt Tartary*. They do not ſhave their heads, according to the cuſtom of the empire; but wear their hair tied with a ſort of ribbon, or in a bag behind. They ſeemed more ingenious than the *Yu-pi Tatars*; anſwered diſtinctly to the queſtions aſked them by the jeſuits, concerning the geography of their country; and took great notice of their operations [f].

Gerbillon's *miſtake.*

GERBILLON, from the information of the viceroy of the province of *Solon* (the ſame with *Tſi Tſikar*), writes that beyond the *Dog-drivers*, along the ſame river *Saghalian* to the ocean, there dwell a nation called *Fiattú*, or *Fiatta*, who live on fiſh; and that from clothing themſelves with their ſkins, the *Chineſes*, name *Yu-pi*, that is, *Fiſh-ſkin*. According to this account, the *Dog-drivers* muſt be a different people from the *Yu-pi*, and the *Yu-pi*, or *Fiatta*, the ſame with the *Ke-ching*; but we ought to ſubmit to the authority of *Regis*, who travelled the country. The former author adds, that the lan-

[f] REGIS, ubi ſupr. p. 247.

guage

guage of the *Fiatta* (F), is quite different from that of the *Dog-drivers*; and that both differ from the *Manchews*: that they underſtand not agriculture, and live in huts without a king or ſovereign; although every community elect a chief, whom they obey, much like the *Iroquois*, or ſavages of *Canada* in *America*, whom they reſemble in manners. They have canoes made of the bark of trees, or the trunks hollowed; that thoſe inhabiting near the ſea are frequently viſited by boats from the iſlands. Theſe lie pretty thick at the entrance of the river; which is not there above three leagues wide, but very deep every-where, and navigable when not frozen, for veſſels of good burden, up to *Nip-chû* (or *Nerchinſkoy*), abot 500 leagues diſtant [g].

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

FROM theſe *Ke-ching*, the miſſioners learned, that oppoſite to the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*, there was a great iſland inhabited by people like themſelves, with whom they traded. After this, the emperor *Kang-hi* ſent thither ſome mandarins, who ſurveyed the eaſt and north ſides of it, and would have meaſured the whole for the uſe of the miſſioners (G); but were obliged to return, for want of proviſions. They informed them, that theſe iſlanders breed neither horſes nor any beaſts of burthen; but that in ſeveral parts they had ſeen a ſort of tame ſtags (H), which drew their ſledges, and by the deſcription were like thoſe uſed in *Norway*. The inhabitants of the continent, gave this iſland various names, but that generally uſed is *Saghalian-anga-hata*, or *the iſland of the mouth of the black river*.

Great iſland.

THE miſſioners heard nothing of the land of *Jeſſo* (I), which they ſuppoſe not to extend beyond the 45th degree of latitude. But according to the diſcoveries of the *Dutch*, it reaches above the 50th degree: ſo that the north part muſt lie in the ſame parallel with the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, juſt now mentioned, and perhaps three or four degrees more to the eaſt; as it is exhibited in Mr. *Kyrillow*'s map of

Land of Yeſſo.

[g] GERBILLON, ap DU HALDE ubi ſup. p. 256.

(F) Perhaps *Fiatta*, is the indigenous name of the *Ke-ching Tatars*, and thence their language called the *Fiatta* tongue, or language of the *Fiatta*; for *Ke-ching*, as well as *Yu-pi*, are names given theſe nations by the *Chineſes*.

(G) The jeſuits, in their map, make it about 280 miles long, and 60 broad.

(H) Theſe muſt be rein-deer.

(I) Variouſly written by authors, *Jeſſo*, *Jeſo*, *Jetſo*, *Jedſo*, *Yedſo*, and *Yetſo*; and as variouſly deſcribed.

the

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

the *Ruſſian* empire (K). This ſeems to be the country, called *Ye-tſe* by the *Chineſe* geographers, who make it part of *Eaſtern Tartary*, and a land of vaſt extent, placing it about *Hon-chon* before-mentioned, in the northermoſt borders of *Korea*, inhabited by a warlike nation formidable to the *Japaneſes*; having hairy bodies, whiſkers hanging to their breaſts, and their ſwords tied by the point behind their heads. But this is all fiction, ſuch a people being unknown to either the *Yu-pi*, or *Ke-ching Tatars*. According to the accounts of the jeſuits from *Japan*, confirmed by thoſe of captain *Saris* and the *Dutch*, it is divided from the north-eaſt part of that iſland, by a ſtreight of the ſea (L).

Country beyond the river.

BEYOND the *Saghalian-ula*, there is nothing but a few villages, inhabited by the *Ke-ching Tatars*; the reſt of the country being a wild deſart, frequented only by ſable-hunters. It is croſſed by a famous chain of mountains, called *Hin-kan-alin*. Here are alſo ſome pretty good rivers. The *Tú-hú-rú-pira*, which falls into the eaſtern ocean, ſprings from another chain of mountains, in the 55th degree of latitude, which marks the point whence the rivers flow different ways. Thus the *Udi-pira* runs towards the northern ſea, and belongs to the *Ruſſians*; whilſt the *Silinſi-pira* paſſes ſouthward into the country of the *Ke-ching Tatars* [h].

The Orochon people.

AMONG the rivers which augment the *Saghalian-ula* on the north-ſide, *Gerbillon* mentions the *Chikiri*, ſo called by the *Manchews*, and *Zia* by the *Ruſſians*. It is about half a league in breadth, near its fall into the *Saghalian* (M); and although the aſcent to its ſource is ſaid to be a journey of two months, yet the current is ſo rapid that you may return in fifteen days. It riſes in a chain of mountains, which ſerve for a boundary between the two empires of *China* and *Ruſſia*. The *Manchews* call the people who dwell near this river, *Orochon*, from an animal named *Oron*; a ſmall ſort of deer, which they break to draw their ſledges, or carry their

[h] REGIS ubi ſup. p. 247. & ſeq.

(K) Publiſhed at *Peterſburg* in 1734, the beſt for thoſe parts, before the academy's map, 1745. This country, there called *Jedſo*, is repreſented as an iſland; but *Strahlenberg* makes it a part of *Kamchatka* in *Siberia*; which is contrary to the fact, as appears from the diſcoveries of captain *Beering* in 1730.

(L) The diſcovery and map of *Spangenbergen* in 1739, claſh greatly with thoſe of the *Dutch*. See alſo *Kempfer*'s Voy. *Japan*, ch. iv. p 64.

(M) According to the maps of *Eaſtern Tartary*, made by the miſſioners, it falls into the *Saghalian-ula*, about 15 miles to the north of *Saghalian-ula-hotun*.

baggage,

baggage. The author has seen some in the emperor's park; also elks, which are common in this country, and that of *Solon*. The fine sables, grey ermines, and black foxes, are found among the *Chikiri*; of whose skins the *Russians* took abundance, whilst they held *Yakfa* [i]. 2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

THE *Tatars* called *Han-hala*, or the three *Hala* families, are true *Manchews*, who united together after the conquest of the rest of their nation, from whom they lay at a great distance, being mixed with the *Yu-pi Tatars*. The emperor *Kang-hi* gave them lands near *Ningûta*, along the *Hûrha-pira* and *Songari-ula*; on the banks of which rivers almost all their villages are situated. Their clothing is like the *Yu-pi*; but they have horses and oxen, as well as good harvests, which the others want [k]. Han-hala Tatars.

THESE seem to be the same *Manchews*, dwelling along the *Songari*, whom according to *Gerbellon*, the *Russians* name *Dûchari*; in winter they go a sable-hunting in those great forests; besides which and mountains, there is nothing to the east of that river, called by the *Russians*, *Singula*, or *Shingala*: in summer they return to spend their time at home about *Ningûta* [l].

AVARIL, who travelled for information towards these countries, learned from a person who had perused the records of the *Russian* treasury, that there is in *Bogdoy* (M), a particular province, named by the *Russians Diûchari*, and by the *Mungls*, *Diurski*: situated between the eastern ocean and the great rivers *Shingale* (or *Songari*) and *Yamûr*, (or *Amûr* as the *Russians* call the *Saghalian-ula*). These people, he says, had formerly no prince of their own, and were little either feared or known, till they subdued the six northern provinces of *China*: that these *Diûchari* were at length driven out by the family of *Jvn* (or *Ywen*, that is *Jenghiz Khân*); who, in 1368, were themselves driven out by the *Chinese*, of the *Tay-ming* family. That after this the *Diûchari* re-entered *China* in 1644, and in time subdued the whole; *Shun-chi* being their first prince, of the reigning family, named *Tay-sing*, by the *Chinese* [m].

WHAT is mentioned in the above paragraph, concerning the *Diûchari*, can be applicable only to the *Manchews*, who inhabit this part of *Eastern Tartary*, and are lords of all *The* Manchews.

[i] GERBILLON, ubi sup. p. 256.
[k] REGIS, ibid. p. 248.
[l] GERBILION, ubi supr. p. 255.
[m] AVRIL's travels, p. 146.

(M) So they call both *Eastern Tartary* and the *Manchews* country: but *Avril* distinguishes the province of *Dauri* from that of *Bog-doy*, p. 147.

the

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula. the other inhabitants thereof, and are called by the *Ruſſians*, *Bogdoy* (N). They may paſs for heathens, ſays our author, *Gerbillon*; although they have neither temples, nor idols, nor regular worſhip, but what is offered to the emperor of heaven, as they expreſs it. They pay, indeed, their anceſtors a veneration mixed with ſuperſtition; and ſome of them, ſince their being in *China*, have embraced the idolatrous ſects. But they are moſtly wedded to their old religion (O), which they reverence as the baſis of their empire, and the ſource of their proſperity [n].

Shape and manners. In all the province of *Bogdoy* (ſays *Avril*) you meet with none but houſes of earth; the inhabitants drive a great trade in ſables and black fox-ſkins, as well as the *Jin-ſeng* root; but are not rich in cattle. Their horſes too are very ſmall, and never ſhod. The people exactly reſemble the *Krîm Tatars* in features, ſhape, and ſize; but are much more polite and civilized, by reaſon of the great correſpondence they have with the *Chineſes*. Fire-arms, though known to them, are not much in uſe [o].

Their language. According to *Bentink*, the *Eaſtern Tatars* (or *Manchews*), whom he calls *the Mungals of the eaſt*, live moſtly by huſbandry, and reſemble in all things *the Mungals of the weſt*, excepting that they are more civilized, and fairer; eſpecially the female ſex, among whom there are many to be found who might paſs for fine women in any country [p].

Although the *Manchew* language is as much uſed at the court of *Pe-king*, as the *Chineſe*, and all publick acts are drawn up in the one as well as the other; yet it began to decline, and would probably have been loſt, did not the *Tatars* uſe

[n] Gerbillon, ubi ſup. p. 255. [o] Avril, ubi ſup. p. 147. & ſeq. [p] Bentink in Abulghazi Khân's Hiſt. of the Turks, &c. p. 503.

(N) And the emperor of *China*, who is a *Manchew*, *Bogdoy Khân*, and *Amulon Bogdoy Khân*. *Avril* ſays, p. 146, that the *Bogdoy* are by the *Chineſes*, called *Eaſtern Tatars*, and by the *Monguls* (or *Mungls*) *Niuchi* or *Nuchi*; but *Niuchi*, or *Nyu-che*, is the *Chineſe* term.

(O) *Avril*, p. 148, ſays, to ſpeak properly, they are of no religion; although ſeveral of them are ſeen to wear croſſes, which they call *Lama's*. Hence probably it is, that he took occaſion to affirm, not only that they have a great inclination to the chriſtian religion, but even that there are not a few who are already become catholics. He adds, that they have no kindneſs either for the *Mohammedans* or *Neſtorians*, becauſe they formerly helped the *Weſtern Tatars* to expel their anceſtors (the *Kin*).

all

all precautions to preserve it, by translating *Chinese* books, and compiling dictionaries, under the emperor's encouragement. Their language is so singular in this respect, that the verb differs as often as the substantive governed by it: for instance, they change the verb *make*, as often as the substantive which follows it changes; or, which is the same thing, to every different substantive they use a different verb for *make*, as when they would say, *make a verse*, *make a picture*, *make a statue*. For though the repetition of the same verb in discourse might be excusable, it is with them unpardonable in writing, as making a monstrous grating to their ears. They fell a laughing, when they heard the missioners read books, at the frequent returns of *que*, *qu'ils*, *qu'eux*, who, what, him, them, &c. which quick repetitions of the same sound disgusted them. And indeed the *Manchews* can well be without such helps; for the bare ranging of their words answers the same end, without obscurity or ambiguity; nor have they any insipid puns or quibblings on words. 2. *Government.* Kirin-ula.

ANOTHER singularity of their language, is the copiousness of it. For instance; besides names for each species of animals, they have words to express their several ages and qualities. *Judagon*, is the general name for a dog; but *Tayha*, signifies *a dog who has very long and thick hair, both on his ears and tail.* Yolo, *a dog with a long thick muzzle and tail, large ears, and hanging lips.* The horse, as more serviceable to them, has twenty times more names than the dog; almost every motion of him giving occasion to a different name. Whence they could get that astonishing multitude of names and terms, is not easy to determine (P). On the west are the *Mungls*; but in the two languages there are scarcely eight words alike, and those uncertain as to their origin. *Great copiousness.*

(P) In this it is like the *Arabic*. *Bentink* says, the language of the *Mungals* of the of the east, (by whom he means the *Manchews*) is a mixture of the *Chinese* and antient *Mogul*, which has scarce any connexion with that of the *Moguls* of the west. See *Abulghazi Khân, hist. of the Turks*, p. 503. *Avril* will have it that the language of the *Bogdoy* is very like the vulgar language spoken in *Persia*; and that their characters have a great resemblance, only they write from top to bottom of the paper, like the *Chinese*; and have above 60 letters in their alphabet. *Avril's Travels*, p. 148 —It may be presumed that this was the language both of the *Lyau* and *Kin* (the ancestors of the *Manchews*), who reigned formerly in the empire of *Kitay*; at which time these people, being very numerous, as well as in power, took care to cultivate and improve their language; the delicacy and copiousness of which their successors endeavour to preserve.

They

2. *Government.* Kirin-ula. They underſtand nothing of the language of a few ſavage nations on the eaſt and north. As to the *Koreans*, their language and letters being *Chineſe*, have no reſemblance to the *Manchew*.

Characters and writing. THEY have only one ſort of character, but four different ways of writing, according to the occaſion, as in other countries. They commonly write with a pencil, though ſome uſe a kind of *Bambû* pen: but the pencil holds ink better, and moving more freely on the paper, runs moſt nimbly without ſtopping, in the hand of one of their writers. The *Manchews* think their language the moſt elegant, as well as the moſt copious, in the world; and imagine there is no rendering the ſenſe of it, much leſs the majeſty of its ſtyle, in any of the barbarous languages, meaning the *European*, as well as others. Yet they cannot expreſs all ſounds, as they want the letters B and D, uſing P and T in the ſtead; nor can write words in which two conſonants come together, without inſerting a vowel between (Q). Their tranſitions likewiſe are ſo few, that they are much puzzled how to connect their written diſcourſes; and on that account, after they have written ſome ſentences, or periods, being often at a loſs how to proceed, are forced to blot out what they have done, and begin again [q]. In other reſpects it muſt be allowed to be a maſterly language, well cultivated, and full of terms, perhaps, as the *Arabic* itſelf.

Ruins of cities. IN theſe parts are to be ſeen the ruins of ſeveral cities, as thoſe of *Fenegha Hotun*, on the *Hûrha*, five or ſix leagues from *Ningûnta*, now no more than a ſmall hamlet. *Odoli Hotun*, on the river *Lefuchi*, was ſtrongly ſituated, being acceſſible only through the waters by a narrow cauſey: in it are likewiſe found great ſtair-caſes of ſtone, with ſome other remains of a palace, the like not to be met with any-where elſe, not even at *Ningûnta*. Hence it is probable, that all the monuments of antiquity in *Eaſtern Tartary* were not the work of the preſent *Manchews*, but of their anceſtors the *Kin*, in the 12th century, as before-mentioned. Theſe built towns and palaces in ſeveral parts of their antient country; which might fall to decay, after their dynaſty was ruined by the *Mungls*, under *Jenghîz Khân* and his ſucceſſor.

[q] PARENNIN in Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 265.

(Q) And properly ſpeaking, a vowel does come between, tho' not written; being pronounced ſo quick, that it ſeems not to be expreſſed, like the *Hebrew Sheva*.

THERE is nothing more celebrated in the *Manchew* history than the *Songári-ula*, and the mountain whence it springs, called by the natives *Shanyen-alin*, and by the *Chineſes*, *Chang-pe-ſhan*, that is *the ever white mountain*, from whence they derive their origin, which they mix with fable and the marvellous. The truth is, that the *Manchews* had no river in all their territories comparable to the *Songari*, which abounds with fiſh, and is large, deep, and navigable throughout; being but moderately rapid, even at its confluence with the *Saghalian-ula*. 3. *Government.* Tſitſikar. *River* Songari.

As for the mountain *Shanyen*, it is the higheſt in all *Eaſtern Tartary*, and may be ſeen at a vaſt diſtance. One half being woody, the other ſandy, it is that which makes it appear always white, and not the ſnow, as the *Chineſes* imagine; for ſcarce any ever remains on it. On the top are five rocks, like ſo many broken pyramids, exceeding high, which are continually wet with fogs and vapours, peculiar to this country. Between them lies a very deep lake, from whence the *Songari* takes its riſe with a fine ſtream [r]. According to *Verbieſt*, this mountain ſtands about 400 miles ſouthward of *Kirin-ula* [s]. *Mountain* Shanyen.

3. *Government of* Tſitſikar.

THE third government into which *Eaſtern Tartary* is divided, is that of *Tſitſikar*. *Gerbillon* calls this province *Solon*, after the inhabitants; and ſays, the *Ruſſians* name it *Dauvra* (R). It begins, according to him, at the confluence of the river *Ergona* (or *Argun*), and the *Saghalian-ula* (S); along which latter it extends above 150 leagues (T), towards *Ningúta*. The governor told our author, that there were not more than 10,000 families in the whole province. The people are great hunters, dextrous archers, and pay their tribute in ſable ſkins; each family two, or three, or more, a year, according to the number of able perſons. *Government.*

[r] REGIS, ubi ſup. p. 248. [s] Ibid, p. 269.

(R) *Dauri*, as *Avril*, and *Daur*, as *Iſbrand Ides*, p. 40; but p. 54, he ſays, it is, by the *Tatars*, called *Dori*, and the people *Dauri*, or old *Dauri*.

(S) This is to be underſtood only of the part belonging to *China*; for according to *Iſbrand Ides*, p. 40. it begins at *Kdinſkoy*, to the north of the city *Selinga*, above eight degrees to the weſt of the *Ergona* or *Argun*, which part belongs to the *Ruſſians*.

(T) But, according to the maps of the jeſuits, it is 740 miles long, and 600 broad.

THIS

3. *Government.* Tſitſikar. *The* Taguri.

THIS province is inhabited by three ſorts of people; the *Manchews*, *Solons*, and *Tagûri*, who were the ancient poſſeſſors. This laſt nation, which is not very numerous, ſubmitted to the *Manchews*, under the father of the emperor *Kang-hi*, whoſe protection they implored againſt the *Ruſſians*: for theſe latter, paſſing in armed barks out of the *Saghalian-ula* into the *Songari-vla*, ſecured all the rivers communicating with them, and became terrible to the *Tatarian* nations dwelling on their banks. The *Tagûri*, who are a large and robuſt people, were always accuſtomed to ſow grain, and build houſes, though ſurrounded with *Tatars*, who never did either [t].

Manners and cuſtoms.

ISBRANDT IDES (who calls theſe people *Targazi* or *Targazins*, perhaps by ſome miſtake) ſays, they are a ſeparate independent clan or tribe, paying tribute to the emperor of *China*; and though governed by their own chief, yet obey thoſe who are moſt potent in *Tartary*. That ambaſſador met with the firſt huts of them, made of thin canes, ſoon after he came to the river *Yal*, about half-way from *Argunſkoy* (on the *Argun* or *Ergona*) to *Tſitſikar*. They are heathens, and, according to him, worſhip the devil. They are of a middling ſtature, and broad-faced, like the *Mungls*. Their ſummer dreſs is of blue *China* callico (or *Kitayka*) and tanned leather; but in winter they wear coats made of ſheep-ſkins. Their language differs very little from that of the *Tongûz* or *Tunguzians* (inhabiting *Siberia*). They cultivate chiefly barley, oats, and millet; ſelling to the villages of *Tſitſikar* what they do not conſume themſelves. Their cattle are principally horſes, dromedaries, bulls, cows, and ſheep. Theſe laſt are very fine and large, their tails being above one ſpan thick, and two long, are all fat, and ſo very heavy that they cannot go faſt. The *Tagûri* make uſe of oxen much, to ride on, and are very expert archers: they likewiſe make abundance of bows, which being eſteemed the beſt in all *Tartary*, bear a great price [u].

Solon Tatars.

THE *Solons* are originally *Eaſtern Tatars*, deſcended, as they ſay, from thoſe who eſcaped the general deſtruction of their nation (by the *Mungls*) in 1204. They are more robuſt, brave, and ſkilful, than the other inhabitnts of theſe parts. Their women ride on horſeback, draw the plough, hunt ſtags, and other game. A great number of *Solons* now reſide at *Nierghi*, a pretty large town, not far from *Tſitſikar* and *Merghen*. The miſſioners ſaw them ſet out from thence,

[t] GERBILLON, ibid. p. 256.

[u] ISBR. IDES, Trav. to China, p. 55.

the

the first of *October* 1711, to hunt sables, whose skins are highly valued by the *Tatars*, because they wear well and are lasting. They were clad in short jackets of wolves-skins, with a cap of the same, and their bows at their backs. They had with them some horses laden with millet; and their long cloaks, made of fox or tigers-skins, to defend them against cold, especially of the night. Their dogs are made for the game, clamber well, and are acquainted with the wiles of the sables. Neither the severity of the winter, nor the fierceness of the tigers, can restrain them from this dangerous exercise, because all their riches depend on it. The finest skins are reserved for the emperor, who pays a fixed price. The rest bear a great rate even in the country itself, as being pretty scarce; and are immediately bought up by the mandarins in those quarters, and the merchants of *Tsitsikar*.

3. *Government.* Tsitsikar. *Sable-hunting.*

THERE are, besides the country towns or villages, three cities (U) in the province of *Tsitsikar*; namely, *Tsitsikar*, *Merghen*, and *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. The capital, *Tsitsikar*, a new city, was built by the late emperor *Kang-hi*, to secure his frontiers against the *Russians*. It is situated near the *Nonni-ula*, a considerable river, falling into the *Songari*; and inclosed with a strong palisade, not very high, but lined with a pretty good rampart. The garrison consists principally of *Manchews*: but the inhabitants are mostly *Chinese*, drawn thither by traffick, or banished for crimes. The houses of both people are without the wooden wall, which incloses little besides the courts of justice, and palace of the *Manchew* general. They are built of earth [w], ranged into pretty wide streets, and closed with a mud wall. This city is called *Tsitsikar*, from the province of which it is the metropolis; but its proper name seems to be *Naun-koton*, or *Nonni-koton*, that is, the *city of the Naun*, or *Nonni*, the river on which it is situated: at least it went by the appellation of *Naun-koton* in the time of *Isbrandt Ides*, who speaks of *Tsitsikar* (or *Xixigar* (W) as he writes it) only as a country town or village, a little short of that city. *Naun-koton* according to him, is encompassed with walls of earth, but well lined and

Tsitsikar city. *Or* Nonni Hotun.

[w] REGIS in Du Halde, p. 248.

(U) *Gerbillon* says, there was only one city, *viz. Merghen*, in his time; which must be understood of the year 1689 (or thereabouts), when he made the journey to *Nipchu*, or *Nerchinskoy*, in its neigbourhood. For in 1692, *Isbrandt Ides* found *Tsitsikar*, or *Naun koton*, in being, although but newly built.

(W) His secretary *Brandt* writes *Suttega* and *Suttegar*, and places it five miles distant. Perhaps *Zizikar* is the *English* spelling.

3. *Government.* covered on the outſide with maſſy timber, the houſes very commodious and neat.

Tſitſikar. THE inhabitants of this city, and the ſix ſouthern villages, are called *Doari*, or *Old Dauri* (X), and the country *Dori*, by the *Tatars*, who dwell along the *Naun* and *Yal*, as far as *Albazin*, or *Yakſa*. They have very rich manured lands, all ſorts of garden-fruit, and ſeveral plantations of tobacco, which is their chief livelihood. They by their own account are all ſhammaus, or conjurers, who invoke the devil with frightful cries, which the ambaſſador heard every night. They give their dead two burials, firſt leaving a hole a-top of the grave, where the relations daily bring victuals, which they convey to the mouth of the deceaſed with a ſpoon, and leave drink in ſmall tin cups, ſtanding round the grave. This ceremony holds for ſeveral weeks; after which they bury the body deeper in the ground.

The inhabitants.

Their houſes. THEY live in houſes made of earth, covered with reeds or ſmall bambûs, ſomewhat like thatched cabbins in *Europe*. The walls within are plaiſtered with lime. In the middle ſtands a pillar, with the entrails of beaſts wound about it, and by them are hung a little bow and arrows, pikes and other arms: to all theſe, from time to time, they bow and proſtrate themſelves. Their houſes are neither divided into chambers, nor furniſhed with upper rooms; near one half of it is taken up by a bench, which runs round the walls, about an ell high, and two broad, covered with red mats. Under this bench there paſſes a chimney, or funnel; ſo that the fire being made at one ſide of the door, the ſmoke enters the funnel, and paſſes out at the other ſide. This in winter ſerves inſtead of a ſtove; and although the houſe is not much warmed by it (Y), yet thoſe who ſit on the bench in the day, and lie on it at night (for it ſerves for a bed), find benefit from it.

Abject ſubmiſſion. THE natives are generally well-ſhaped, but eſpecially the women; and all wear the ſame dreſs as the *Manchews* in *China*. But they live in ſuch ſubmiſſion to the mandarins

(X) *Regis* ſays, this city is inhabited by the three ſorts of people mentioned above; and as *Isbrandt Ides* deſcribed the *Targuzi* (or *Taguri*) before, the inhabitants here deſcribed, under the name of *Dori* (or *Dauri*), muſt be the *Solon*; for the third ſort, or *Manchews*, could not be in ſuch abject ſubjection to the mandarins, as he mentions lower down.

(Y) In the northern provinces of *China*, they make hollow places with bricks, in the form of beds, through which, from a charcoal ſtove, heat is conveyed by pipes terminating in a funnel or chimney; which warms all the houſe as well, as the bed.

ſent

sent from thence, that the secretaries of those officers seize both their wives and daughters at pleasure; and our author has frequently seen them carry off the most beautiful creatures in waggons. Some men being obliged to send their wives after these ravishers, boast of having such a lord for their brother-in-law; while others submit to the injury, for fear of punishment, or losing some advantage [x]. 3. *Government.* Tsitsikar.

THE governor of *Tsitsikar* has jurisdiction over the other new cities, *Merghen-hotun*, and *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. *Merghen* (Z) (or *Merghin*) lies above 40 leagues north eastward of *Tsitsikar*; but is much thinner of people, and inclosed with only a single wall. Merghen city.

SAGHALIAN-ULA-HOTUN, that is, *the city of the black river*, stands on the southside of the river *Saghalian*, and is built like *Tsitsikar*; is equally populous, but richer in merchandize. The lands belonging to this town, and *Merghen*, are but indifferent, being a sandy soil; yet those of *Saghalian-ula-hotun* yield good crops of wheat: they consist of a plain, extending along the river *Saghalian*, and containing several *Manchew* villages. Those few villages which are on the river belong to the city; besides several large forests, where you meet with excellent hunting for sables. These the *Russians* from, *Albazin* or *Yaksa*, (A), (built a few days journey higher up the river) would have become masters of, had not that city been demolished by the treaty of *Nipchu* in 1689. The *Tatar* hunters still keep a strong guard on the frontiers, and armed barks on the *Saghalian-ula* [y]. As the garrison of that fortress disturbed the sable-hunters, it occasioned a war between the two empires; but at length the fort was raised, and the country yielded to the *Chinese*, by the said treaty. From thence to the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula* in the eastern sea, are full 400 leagues, by the viceroy's reckoning, who made the voyage; and 150 to *Ningûnta* [z]. Saghalian-ula city. *A strong frontier.*

[x] ISBRANDT IDES, ubi supr. p. 53, & seq. Also BRANDT's embassy to China, p. 70.
[y] REGIS, ubi supr. p. 148.
[z] GERBILLON, ibid. p. 256.

(Z) This city is mentioned occasionally, both by *Isbrandt Ides*, and his secretary *Adam Brandt*; but neither speaks of *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. The first writes *Mergeen*, the latter *Mergenn*, to express *Merghin*.

(A) *Gerbillon* says, it was called by the *Russians*, *Albazin*; and by the *Tatars*, *Yaksa*, from a little river on which it stood, where it runs into the *Saghalian ula*. *Isbrandt Ides* mentions *Albuzin*, p. 54, and *Brandt*, p. 63, says it was a strong fortress.

3. *Government.* Tſitſikar.

ABOUT 13 *Chineſe li* (B), or furlongs higher, on the north ſide of the river, are the ruins of an ancient city, called *Aykom* (C), built by the firſt emperors of the *Chineſe* dynaſty *Tayming*, which preceded that of the *Manchews*. For the *Mungls*, after they were expelled *China* by *Hong-vû*, having been driven beyond the river *Saghalian*, *Aykom* was built under *Yong-lo*, to prevent their return. However, twenty years after they rallied and deſtroyed it, ravaging likewiſe, in revenge, the northern provinces of *China*.

Ruins of Aykom.

Pearl fiſhing.

INTO the *Saghalian-ula* (D) fall the *San pira*, *Kirſin pira*, and ſeveral other rivers conſiderable for pearl-fiſhing; which is performed without much art; the fiſhermen only jumping into theſe little rivers, and taking up the firſt oyſters they can find. They ſay there are no pearls in the *Saghalian* itſelf; becauſe, as their mandarins informed the miſſioners, they durſt not venture in ſo deep a water. They fiſh for them likewiſe in ſeveral other little rivers, which fall into the *Nonni-ula* and *Songari* (E); as the *Arom*, and *Nemer*, in the road from *Tſitſikar* to *Merghen*; but affirmed they never found any in thoſe weſt of *Saghalian-ula-hotun*, towards the *Ruſſian* territories. The pearls, though much cried up by the *Tatars*, would be little valued by *Europeans*, on account of their defects in ſhape and colour. The emperor *Kang-hi* had ſeveral chaplets or ſtrings of theſe pearls, each containing one hundred or more, which were very large, and exactly matched; but then they were choſen out of thouſands in his poſſeſſion.

River Ergona.

THE bounds of this government to the weſt, and on the ſide of *Ruſſian Tartary*, are two rivers of a moderate ſize; the *Ergona* (F) and *Aygha-kerbechi*. The firſt riſes to the ſouth, a little below the 50th degree of latitude, and joins the *Saghalian-ula* in four degrees of longitude eaſt of *Peking*. The *Kerbechi* deſcends, with a ſhorter courſe, from the

(B) Ten make a *French* league.

(C) *Regis* ſays, ſeveral at *Pe-king* give this name to *Saghalian-ula-hotun*; perhaps to excuſe *Gerbillon*, who ſeems to do the ſame; for he ſays, the principal cities of the *Manchews* in *Eaſtern Tartary*, are *Ula*, *Aykom*, and *Ninguta*. *Du Halde's China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 256.

(D) This river has ſeveral names in different parts, as *Onon* towards the ſource; afterwards *Shilka*; by the *Chineſe*, *He-long*, *Kyang*, or *Black dragon river*, and by the *Ruſſians*, *Amûr*.

(E) *Avril*, p. 148, ſays, the rivers *Argus* (*Argun*), *Yamûr* (*Amûr*, or *Saghalian*), and *Shingale* (or *Songari*), afford ſtore of rubies and pearls, which the natives are continually fiſhing for.

(F) By others called *Argun*.

north,

north, and falls into the *Saghalian*, a little north-west of the *Ergona*'s mouth: from whence it is reckoned 50 leagues to *Nipchu* or *Nerchinskoy*, the first city of the *Russians*, almost under the meridian of *Pe-king*, and in 50° 45′ of latitude [a]. A.D. 900.

CHAP. II.

The empire of the Lyau *or* Kitan.

THE empire of *China*, as appears from these abstracts of its history, transmitted to us by the jesuit missioners, particularly *Martini* and *Couplet*; had been from very early times threatened with invasions, and its northern provinces actually ravaged, by the nations bordering on the north and west, known to the *Chinese*, by the names of *Ta-ta*, *Ta-tse*, *Tan-yu*, and the like. These became so formidable, as well as troublesome, that at length, to prevent their incursions, the famous wall was built by the emperor *Tsin-shi-whang-ti*, 223 years before the christian æra. But no considerable part of *China* was ever conquered, or held for any space of time, by either them, or any other neighbouring people, till the tenth century (A): when the *Kitan*, or *Lyau*, after subduing their neighbours in *Tartary*, invaded the empire; and having joined some of the northern provinces to their other dominions, founded a new monarchy, but still resided in *Lyau-tong*. *The origin of the* Kitan, *or* Lyau.

THESE *Ki-tan*, were people of *Eastern Tartary*, who dwelt to the north and north-east of the province of *Pe-che-li* in *China*, particularly in *Lyau-tong*. They are called *Sye-tan*, or *Si-tan*, by *Couplet* (B), and after him by *Du Halde*; but by *Gaubil* and

[a] REGIS, ubi supr. p. 148.

(A) We may except, however, the *Wey*, whose emperors were formerly very powerful in *Tartary*, and the northern provinces of *China*. They were *Tatars* of the tribe of *Topa* (as were the kings of *Hya*). They came originally from the countries to the north-east of *Pe-king*, between the 43d and 45th degree of latitude. They established themselves first near *Tay-tong-fu*, in *Shan-si*. Their dynasty began in the year of Christ 386, and ended in 572. There is a *Chinese* history of these princes. *Gaubil* hist. *de Gentch.* p. 50. note (6). This seems to be the empire of the north of *China*, mentioned by *Couplet*, under the eighth dynasty called *Song*.

(B) We are told *Sye-tan* (rather *Ki-tan*) was their true name;

and *Guigues*, *Ki-tan:* which ſeems more exact, as being moſt conformable to the name of their empire. In the century above-mentioned, they ſubdued all the countries between *Korea* and *Kâſhgar*, beſides ſeveral northern provinces of *China*.

Kitay, *their empire.*

THIS large dominion is the famous *Katay*, or rather *Kitay* (C), hitherto ſo little known to *Europeans*, who were quite at a loſs where to place it. As it was divided into two parts, with reſpect to the different countries which compoſed it, and one was much inferior in all reſpects to the other; that part which belonged to *Tartary* was, by way of diſtinction, called *Kâra-kitay* (D). For the ſituation hereof our authors have been no leſs to ſeek, than for that of *Kitay* itſelf; which, in ſtrict ſenſe, contains only the northern provinces of *China*, ſubject to the *Kitan*, or *Lyau*, and their ſucceſſors the *Kin*.

Their hiſtory imperfect.

WE are informed by *Gaubil*, one of the jeſuit miſſioners, that the *Chineſe* have particular hiſtories of theſe two nations: but as yet nothing of them has been tranſmitted to us, more than what we find occaſionally mentioned in the reigns of the *Chineſe* emperors, by *Couplet*, and that of *Jeng-'hiz Khân*, by *Gaubil* himſelf. This latter gives only a brief account of the riſe and fall of their dynaſties; and the former only takes notice of the wars, or other affairs of importance, which any of their kings had with the *Chineſes*, without giving ſo much as a regular liſt of their names. However theſe fragments relating to the *Lyau* and *Kin*, imperfect as they come to us, are valuable in their kind; and the rather, as they ſerve for a proper introduction to the hiſtory of the *Moguls* or *Mungls*.

Their dominion founded.

THE empire of the *Kitan* began in *Lyau-tong*, where they had two royal ſeats, *Tong-king* and *Pe-king*, that is, the eaſtern and northern courts. The firſt is the ſame with *Lyau-yang*, the ſecond with *Mugden*, the preſent capital,

name; but that after they had begun to lay the foundation of their empire, they changed it to that of *Lyau*. *Du Halde*'s deſcription of *China*, vol. i. p. 203.

(C) It was called *Kitay* by the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, and perhaps by the *Kitan* themſelves, after their own name; by others, particularly the people weſt of *China*, *Katay*.

(D) Or perhaps *Kara-kitay* was more properly the country about, where the *Lyau* ſettled after the deſtruction of their empire by the *Kin*, and erected a new monarchy, under the name of the *Weſtern Lyau*, as mentioned hereafter; by the *Moguls* and *Perſians* called *Kara kitayans*.

called

called by the *Chineſes*, *Shin-yang* [a]. Theſe people having been formerly augmented by many colonies from *Korea*, began to extend their territories, and gave trouble to *China* more than all the other inhabitants of *Tartary*. Their empire is reckoned to commence from the 13th year of the 61ſt (E) *Chineſe* cycle, which anſwers to that of Chriſt 916 (F), and continued the ſpace of 117 years, under nine princes; at what time thoſe people changing their name from *Kitan* to that of *Lyau*, laid the foundation of their government. This happened in the 4th year of *Mo-ti Kyun-ti*, ſecond emperor of the 14th *Chineſe* dynaſty, or race of princes, called *Hew-lyang*. A.D.916. A.D 916.

SEVENTEEN after this, in the 30th year of the cycle, *Ming-tſong*, ſecond emperor of the 15th dynaſty, *Hew-tang*, being dead, *She-king-tang*, his ſon-in-law, rebelled againſt his ſon and ſucceſſor, *Ming-tſong*; and with an army of 50,000 men, furniſhed by the *Lyau*, made himſelf maſter of the palace, and deprived *Ming-tſong* of his crown and life, in the firſt year of his reign, and 45th of his age. His ſon, *Fi-ti*, being unable to reſiſt the uſurper, fled to the city *Ghey-chew*; where ſhutting up himſelf and family, with every thing he had of value, in a palace there, he ſet it on fire and periſhed in the flames. By his death, *She-king-tang* became emperor, and founded the 16th dynaſty of *Hew-tſin*, under the name of *Kau-tſu*. But the general of the *Lyau*, who had ſo much contributed to the advancement of *Kau-tſu*, refuſed to acknowledge him for emperor, having an inclination to aſſume that title himſelf. Hereupon *Kau-tſu*, in the 33d year of the cycle, to avoid a new war, purchaſed a peace at the expence of the honour of his country; by giving up to the *Tatarian* chief, in recompence of his ſervice, 16 cities in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which were neareſt to *Lyau-tong*, beſides a yearly preſent of 300,000 pieces of ſilk. *Called into China.* A D.946. A D.949. *Cities yielded them.*

THIS donation greatly increaſed the power and ambition of theſe reſtleſs people; and was the occaſion of numberleſs wars, which ravaged *China* for more than 400 years. Theſe wars began not long after: for, in the 43d year of the cycle, two years from *Kau-tſu*'s death, the *Lyau*, breaking the treaty made with that prince, invaded the empire when leaſt expected. *Tſi-vang*, his nephew and ſucceſſor, oppoſed A.D 959.

[a] GAUBIL Hiſt. de Gentchiſan, p. 87.

(E) This cycle began in the year of Chriſt 904.

(F) Or 917, as *Gaubil* places it. Hiſt. *de Gentchiſ.* p. 13.

A.D.959. them with an army ſufficient to have repulſed them: but *Lyew-chi-ywen*, the general, covering his ambition with the appearance of zeal, made ſhort marches; and, by affected delays, gave the enemy (G) time to make the emperor priſoner. Being thus dethroned, he was contented to accept of a ſmall ſovereignty; while the traitor-general ſeized the crown, by the name of *Kau-tſu*, and founded the 17th dynaſty of *Hew-han* [b].

They ravage China, A.D.960.

MEAN time the army of *Lyau-tong*, finding no reſiſtance, ravaged all the northern provinces of *China*, and then marched into the ſouthern. But they were ſtopped by conſiderable bodies of troops, which oppoſed their paſſage; and occaſioned their general to ſay, *he could not have believed that the conqueſt of* China *would have proved ſo difficult*: therefore, contenting himſelf with a rich booty, he retired into *Tartary*. *Kau-tſu* dying in the 45th year of the cycle, his ſon *In-ti* ſucceeded him the next year; whoſe youth gave opportunity to the eunuchs to raiſe commotions; eſpecially, as the army was at a diſtance, employed in oppoſing the invaſions of the *Tatars* of *Lyau-tong*. This army was commanded by *Ko-ghey*, who defeated the enemy in ſeveral battles, and thereby reſtored peace to the northern provinces. In the mean time *In-ti* being ſlain by thoſe eunuchs, the empreſs placed his brother on the throne: but *Ko-ghey*, returning with triumph, proclaimed him emperor, and founded the 18th dynaſty, called *Hew-chew*.

A.D.962.

Oppoſed by the Song.

HOWEVER this dynaſty laſted but nine years; after which the *Ta-jin*, or grandees of the empire, ſetting aſide *Kong-ti*, the third in ſucceſſion, on account of his nonage; enthroned in his room the Ko-lau *Chau-quang-yu*, who was his guardian. This prince aſſuming the name of *Kau-tſu*, founded the 19th dynaſty, of the *Song* or *Tſong*; which continued 319 years, under 18 emperors, till deſtroyed by the *Moguls* or *Mungls*. Although the empire began to recover itſelf during the reign of this monarch, who had all the qualities which the *Chineſes* require in their emperors; yet the *Lyau* continued to invade and harraſs the northern provinces, when the *Chineſes* oppoſed them with various ſucceſs [c]. *Tay-tſong*, ſecond emperor of the *Song*, earneſtly deſired to recover the

[b] COUPLET tabl. chron. ſinic. p. 65. DU HALDE's China, vol. i. p. 283. [c] COUPLET, p. 66. DU HALDE, p. 304, & ſeq.

(G) They are every-where called barbarians in the *Chineſe* hiſtory.

cities

cities which had been yielded by his predeceſſors to the *Lyau*; but his general, *Chang-tſi-hyen*, wiſely adviſed him to defer his deſign till the empire was well eſtabliſhed, at what time they ſhould have more leiſure and leſs difficulty to reduce the enemy. *Tay-tſong*, however, in the ſecond year of his reign, and the 14th of the 62d cycle, marched againſt them, ſometimes gaining, at other times loſing, the advantage. At length the *Lyau* having laid ſiege to a conſiderable city, the *Chineſe* general made uſe of the following ſtratagem to raiſe it. He detached 300 ſoldiers in the night, each carrying a lighted torch, with orders to approach as near poſſible to the camp of the enemy: who imagining, by the number of lights, that the whole *Chineſe* army was coming upon them, immediately fled; and falling into the ambuſcades, which *Chang-tſi-hyen* had placed in all the paſſages, very few of them eſcaped the ſword. A.D.978. *With various ſucceſs*, A.D. 978.

TAY-TSONG dying in the 34th year of the cycle, was ſucceeded next year by his ſon *Ching-tſong*; who hearing that the *Lyau* had beſieged a city in the province of *Pe-che-li*, he came on them ſo ſuddenly with his army, that in a terror they made a ſhameful flight. He was adviſed to take advantage of their conſternation, and recover the country which had been yielded to them: but inſtead of purſuing his victory, as if he had been defeated himſelf, he bought peace, by ſubmitting to pay yearly 100,000 tael (H) and 200,000 pieces of ſilk. The youth and pacific diſpoſition of *Jin-tſong* his ſucceſſor revived the courage of the *Lyau*; who, in the 11th year of his reign, and 11th of the 63d cycle, would have renewed the war, if the emperor had not bought a peace, on as ſhameful terms as his father had agreed to. The *Lyau*, more encouraged than ſatisfied by theſe puſilanimous proceedings, two years after *Hyen-tſong*, ſeventh king of *Lyau-tong*, ſent ambaſſadors to demand the reſtitution of ten cities in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which had been taken by *Ko-ghey*, founder of the 18th dynaſty. *Jin-tſong*, who loved peace, in order to procure it, engaged to pay the *Tatar* prince yearly, 200,000 taels in ſilver, and 300,000 pieces of ſilk, in lieu of thoſe cities: and what was moſt ſhameful of all, made uſe of the character *Na* in the treaty, which ſignifies a penſion by way of tribute. Ching-tſong *beats them*, A. D. 999. A. D. 1035. *Yet becomes tributary.*

SHIN-TSONG, the ſixth emperor of the *Song*, who aſcended the throne in the 45th year of the ſame cycle, had a ſtrong deſire to deliver the northern provinces from the Lyau *empire deſtroyed*, A. D. 1069.

(H) A tael, called by the *Chineſe Lyang*, is a piece of ſilver, the value of ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

yoke

A. D. 1117. yoke of the enemy, but was diverted by the counſel given him by his mother at her death, to ſacrifice every thing to preſerve peace. Neither do we find any ſteps taken to drive them out, by his ſucceſſor *Che-tſong*. But *Whey-tſong*, eighth emperor of the *Song*, impatient to ſuffer their ravages any longer, and not being able to prevent them himſelf, reſolved on a remedy, which at length proved worſe than the diſeaſe. This was to call in the *Nu-che* or *Nyu-che*, to deſtroy the kingdom of the *Lyau*. From this he was diſſuaded by the king of *Korea*, and moſt of his miniſters; but, contrary to theſe prudent remonſtrances, in the 16th of his reign, and

A. D. 1117. *By the* Kin Tatars. 34th of the 64th cycle, he entered into a league with thoſe *Eaſtern Tatars*; and having joined their forces, ſeveral battles were fought, in which the army of *Lyau-tong* was always defeated, and reduced at laſt to ſuch extremity, that they who remained were obliged to quit their country, and fly for ſafety to the mountains of the weſt. Thus ended the kingdom or empire of the *Lyau*, which had ſtood in *Lyau-tong* 209 years [d] (I). However, their monarchy was in ſome ſort reſtored 94 years after, by *Jenghiz Khân*; who, in 1211, made *Lyew-ko*, a *Kitan* prince, on revolting to him from the *Kin*, king of that country; and on his death, in 1225, *Pi-tû*, one of his ſons, was appointed to ſucceed him, as more at large appears in the hiſtory of the *Mungls*.

Empire of the Weſtern Lyau. MEAN time *Ye-lû Tache* (K), prince of the *Lyau*, finding his houſe deſtroyed by the *Nu-che*, or *Kin*, departed from *Tay-tong-fû*, a city of *Shan-ſi*, with a few followers; and retired to the *Pe-tata* (or *White Tata*), who encamped to the ſouth-eaſt of mount *Altay*. From thence he removed to the neighbourhood of the city *Ho-chew* (ten miles to the eaſt of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukharia*), ſtill called *Pe-ting-tû-hû-fû*. There, by means of 18 hords, he was ſupplied with 10,000 choice men, and prepared all ſorts of arms. *Pe-li-ko*, king of the *Whey-hû* (who dwelt about *Turfân*), let him paſs through his territories. *Ta-che*, having vanquiſhed all who oppoſed him, arrived with an ineſtimable booty at *Sun-ſe-kan* (which our author takes to be *Kojend*, on the river *Sîr*, in *Great Bukharia*); the *Whey-hû* princes, who dwelt in

[d] COUPLET ubi ſupr. p. 68, et ſeq. DU HALDE, p. 208. & ſeq.

(I) Thus *Coupl t*, and after him *Du Halde*, computes, by the years of the beginning and end of their monarchy, there are but 201 for its duration. Perhaps they reckon from the time thoſe people began to moleſt *China*, ſeven or eight years before.

(K) *Yelû* is the family name of the kings or emperors of *Lyau-tong*.

thoſe

thoſe parts, advancing to give him battle, were intirely defeated. He ſtayed at that city 90 days, and marching weſtward, went to *Kirman* (L); where his generals proclaimed him emperor. Then returning eaſtward, after 20 days march, he fixed his ſeat at *Hu-ſe-wa-eul-tu* (M). Thus was the dominion of the *Weſtern Lyau* (or *Kitan*) founded in the year 1124, by *Ye-lû Tache*; the reigns of whoſe ſucceſſors are inſerted in the *Chineſe* hiſtory, till it was deſtroyed in the year 1212, by *Kuchluk*, prince of the *Naymáns* [c], after it had continued 88 years. A. D. 1124.

We find, in this narrative of the ſecond empire of the *Lyau* or *Kitan*, two reaſons to account for the *Perſian*, and other hiſtorians of the weſt of *Aſia*, calling theſe people *Kâra-kitayans*, and their country *Kâra-kitay*; although we cannot fix its ſituation with any certainty from the extracts hitherto given from them. For it has been already obſerved, that all the country weſt of *Lyau-tong*, as far as *Kâſhgar*, had been conquered by the *Kitan*; and *that* part of the *Kitan* empire called *Kitay*, which belonged to *Tartary*, had the name of *Kâra-kitay* given to it; probably by the *Moguls*, *Turks*, and other inhabitants of *Tartary*, from whom the ſouthern nations received it. or Kâra-kitayan.

The hiſtorians among the *Mohammedans*, *Tatars*, and *Perſians*, mention two kings of *Kâra-kitay*, under the title of *Kûr Khân*, or *Gûrkan*. With regard to the firſt of theſe, we are told by *Mîrkond*, that the *Khân* of *Balâſagûn* (N), which the *Moguls* call *Khâm-bâlig*, that is, *the good town*, of the poſterity of *Afraſiab*, to defend himſelf againſt the *Turkiſh* tribes of *Karluk*, *Kipjâk*, and *Kânkli*, ſubmitted both himſelf and his city to *Gûrkhân*, king of the *Kâra-kitayans* (O); who changing his name from *Illuk Khân*, gave him that of *Illuk Turkman*. After this, in the year 536 of the *Hejrah*, he A. D. 1141. Kâra-kitay Kûr Khân.

[c] Gaubil, ubi ſupr. p. 34, 127.

(L) Not *Kirmân* in *Perſia*, it is preſumed; but rather *Karmina*, near the city of *Bokhâra*, in *Great Bukharia*, or ſome other place to the north of the *Sîr*, now deſtroyed.

(M) This is the *Chineſe* word for *Ortû*, i. e. *the palace of the king*; a city in the eaſt of *Little Bukharia*, towards *Hâmi* or *Khamil*.

(N) A city in about 46 degrees of latitude, and four eaſt of *Samarkand*; one hundred and fifty miles north-eaſt of *Tonkat* on the river *Sir*, in the eaſt borders of the preſent *Turkeſtân*, of which it was then the capital; but is now probably in ruins. See the deſcription of *Turkeſtan*, vol. iv. p. 73.

(O) He is commonly called *Kâra-kitay Gurkhân*, or *Kurkhân*, by the *Perſian* hiſtorians.

conquered

A. D. 1177. conquered *Káſhgar*, *Khoten*, *Biſhbâlig*, *Turkeſtân*, and *Mawaral'náhr* (or *Great Bukhâria*). Upon his death he was ſucceeded by *Kujang*, who alſo aſſumed the title of *Gurkhân*, and reigned 81 years. The ſucceſſor of *Kujang*, was *Kuchluk Khân*, who ſubdued *Káſhgar* and *Khoten*[f].

Quits his country. *ABULGHAZI KHAN* ſpeaks of only one king of *Kára-kitay*, but ſeems to have joined the two firſt together. He tells you, that the inhabitants of *Kâra-kitay* having revolted againſt the emperor of *Kitay*, a great part of them left their country, and retired towards the *Kerghis*; but theſe latter having pillaged inſtead of welcomed them, they went and dwelt in the country of *Átil*, and built a town there. They applied themſelves to cultivating the lands; and as they throve by their induſtry, many neighbouring people went and joined them: ſo that at length they were able to make up 40,000 families. About the ſame time the *Khân* of *Júrjût* (P), declared war againſt the inhabitants of *Kâra-kitay*; and having defeated them, made himſelf maſter of the country. This obliged the prince of *Kâra-kitay*, called *Nuſi Tayghir Ili* (Q), a prince of great merit, to retire among the *Kerghis*, and from thence to a town of *Kitay*, called *Imil*. This happened about the year 573.

A. D. 1177.

Aſſiſts Illik Khân. Two years after (in 1179), when the place of his retreat was known; one *Illik Khân*, of the poſterity of *Afraſiab Khân*, who reſided in the town of *Yalaſgun* (*Balâſagûn*) or *Khámbâlik*, finding himſelf hard preſſed by the *Kankli*, who dwelt in his neighbourhood and had deſtroyed all his cultivated lands, ſent to *Nuſi Tayghir Ili* to deſire his aſſiſtance, offering, on that condition, to reſign his city to him. The offer having been accepted of, *Nuſi Tayghir Ili* went, and taking the government into his hands, changed the name of *Illik Khân* into that of *Illik Turkmân*; and aſſumed himſelf the Title of *Kavar* (or *Kâr*) *Khân*, that is, *Great Lord*. After this he conquered the cities of *Andijân*, *Táſhkunt*, and *Turkeſtân*; but raiſed the ſiege before *Samarkunt*, becauſe the inhabitants obliged themſelves to pay him an annual tribute. Some time after he returned to his own dominions, he ſent *Avís*, one of his generals, towards *Urgheus*, the

Grows very powerful.

[f] MIRKOND. ap Horn. arca Noæ. p. 287.

(P) This poſſibly was one of the *Siſán* princes, mentioned hereafter; who reigned in the country of *Kokonor*, and part of *Shen-ſi* in *China*.

(Q) *Ili*, perhaps, ſtands for *Yelu*, which, as we obſerved in a former note, is the family name of the *Kitân* princes.

capital of *Karazm*, with a numerous army; which having plundered all the adjacent country, *Vighiſh Khân* (R) was obliged to submit to a yearly tribute of 20,000 gold dinars. This he accordingly punctually paid to *Kavar Khân*; but his ſon *Mohammed* coming to ſucceed him (S), refuſed any longer to perform the agreement. This cauſed a war between theſe two potentates; and although *Soltân Mohammed*, whoſe dominions extended as far as the country of *Rûm* (or the *Greeks*), had gathered all his forces; yet he was defeated by *Kavar Khân*, and conſtrained to fly for ſhelter to the *Kankli*, till he had found means to make a new agreement with his enemy [g]. A. D. 1119.

SOME time after this (T), *Kuchluk*, prince of the *Naymâns*, having, after ſeveral defeats, been cloſely purſued by *Jenghîz Khân* (prince of the *Moguls* or *Mungls*, who had already ſubdued moſt of the tribes in the eaſt parts of *Tartary*), fled to *Turkeſtan*, where he was received with great marks of diſtinction and affection by *Kavar Khân*; who pitying the misfortunes of this young prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and looked on him as his own ſon. Thoſe who knew *Kuchluk* did not approve of this match, for he had neither good-nature nor gratitude; and notwithſtanding his obligations to his father-in-law, daily excited commotions among his ſubjects, and even held intelligence with *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, his greateſt enemy. At laſt in 611, under ſome pretence of diſcontent, he retired from court with ſuch as he had ſeduced to his party; and being joined by the eaſtern tribes, who had refuſed to acknowledge *Jenghîz Khân* for their ſovereign, he ſuddenly attacked *Kavar Khân* (or *Kurkhân*), and deprived him of the better half of his dominions eaſtward; whilſt *Soltân Mohammed* invaded his dominions on the weſt [h]. *Protects* Kuchluk. A. D. 1214.

KAVAR KHAN, deteſting the ingratitude of *Kuchluk*, reſolved firſt to be revenged on *him*; and though he was far advanced in years, put himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army. Then marching againſt him, had vigour enough to *who plots againſt him.*

[g] ABULGHAZI KHAN, hiſt. Turks, p. 44. [h] ABULGH. p. 85, 93 DE LA CROIX, hiſt. Gengh p. 93, 114.

(R) The ſame with *Takaſh*, or *Alao'ddin Takaſh*, ſixth Soltân of *Karazm*, who had the title of *Karazm Shâh*. He began his reign about *Hejrah* 589, A. D. 1193.

(S) *Kothbo'ddin Mohammed*, ſucceeded his father *Takaſh*, in *Hejrah* 599, A. D. 1196.

(T) *Abulghazi Khân* places this event in *Hejrah* 602, A. D. 1205. *De la Croix* in 604, or 605; that is, A. D. 1207, or 1208.

conquer

A. D. 1115. conquer him in the country of *Quakaj*. After this he turned his arms againſt *Soltân Mohammed*, who had already ſeized on all the provinces of *Turkeſtân* bordering on *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*; but had not the ſame ſucceſs as againſt *Kuchluk*, for he narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. The weakneſs attending that prince's great age, gave opportunity to ſeveral lords of his kingdom to form plots againſt him; ſo that his dominions fell into ſtrange diſorders, of which he could not expect to ſee the end. To complete his misfortunes, his ungrateful ſon-in-law returning to give him a ſecond battle, gained the victory, and took him priſoner. It is true he treated him in appearance with reſpect, but took poſſeſſion of all his kingdom and treaſures; which injurious requital for his many favours, ſo affected the aged *Kûrkhân*, that within two years after he died with grief. Thus terminated the life of this great prince, who in his proſperity had aſſumed the title of emperor[1]; and in him ended the dominion of the *Weſtern Lyau*, or *Kara-kìtayans*, which this prince had extended over one half of *Great Tartary*, from mount *Altay* (which then bounded the conqueſt of *Jenghîz Khân*), to the *Caſpian* ſea, containing the ſpace of 40 degrees in longitude.

And impriſons him.

His death.

THE reader muſt reſt content with this imperfect account of the *Weſtern Lyau* and their empire; till the detail of their hiſtory comes tranſmitted to us from *China*, if ever that ſhall happen. We ſhall only farther obſerve, that theſe princes, according to the *Perſian* writers, reigned at *Kâſhgar*, before their conqueſt of *Turkeſtân*: for they frequently ſpeak of the *Kâra-kitay Khâns* reſiding there, and marching from thence in their expeditions weſtward.

CHAP. III.

The empire of the Nyu-che, *or* Kin.

The Kin *prince.*

THE empire of the *Eaſtern Lyau*, or *Kitan*, having been deſtroyed by the powerful aſſiſtance of the *Nyu-che Tatars* (A), as hath been before ſet forth, their prince

[1] DE LA CROIX, ubi ſupr. p. 114, & ſeq.

(A) Or *Nu-che* and *Nyu-chin*. They are likewiſe commonly called *Eaſtern Tatars*, although the *Lyau* had as much right to be ſo called as they.

grew

grew (B) so elated with this conquest, that he assumed the title of emperor, and gave the name of *Kin* (C) to his new dominion. Soon after, extending his views of aggrandizing himself, he broke his treaties with the emperor of the *Song*, who reigned in *China*; and invading the provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Shen-si*, made himself master of them, more by treachery of some mal-contents, than by force of arms. *Whey-tsong*, in danger of losing the greater part of his dominions, made several advantageous proposals to the *Tatar*; who seeming to hearken to them, invited the *Chinese* monarch to come in person and settle the limits of the two empires. This *Whey-tsong* complied with, and new articles of peace were agreed on between them: but on that prince's return to his capital city, his ministers made him change his mind, telling him that the treaty could not subsist, and that the most cruel war was preferable to so shameful a peace. The *Kin* monarch, who was informed of all which passed, had immediately recourse to arms; and, taking several cities, entered the province of *Shan-si* in triumph; where he once more invited the *Song* emperor to come and settle their limits. This unhappy prince, who dreaded nothing so much as war, was weak enough, after this new breach, to go a second time to his enemy; who on his arrival seized his person, and having stripped him of all the marks of his dignity, kept him prisoner. A faithful minister, named *Li-so-shin*, who accompanied the emperor, enraged at this perfidy, in the height of his fury, cut off his own lips and tongue, and then killed himself.

A. D. 1117. *Invade the empire.*

WHEY-TSONG died in the desart of *Sha-mo* (D), where he was confined under a strong guard, in the 42d year of the 64th cycle, and 54th of his age; having first nominated *Kin-tsong*, his eldest son, to succeed him. This prince began his reign by executing the orders of his father, in putting to death six of his ministers, who had basely betrayed him to the *Kin Tatars*. Mean time these latter pursued their conquests, and invaded the province of *Ho-nan*, passing the

A. D. 1126.

(B) *Gaubil* informs us that his name was *Ogota* or *Agûta*; and says, the first year of his empire was that of Christ, 1115. Hist. de *Gentch.* p. 87. note (1).

(C) *Kin* signifies gold; whence the *Moguls* translating the word into their own language, gave the emperor of this dynasty, the name of *Altûn Khân*; that is, *the king of gold*, or *the golden king*.

(D) A vast desart, which extends from south-west to north-east, through that part of *Tartary* which lies to the north of *China*. It is called by the *Mungls* the *Great Kobi* or *desart*. It is described in the next chapter.

Whang-ho,

A. D. 1128. *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, without oppoſition. This made them wonder at the negligence of the *Chineſes*, who with a handful of men might have prevented it. The army, being gotten over, marched directly to the imperial city, which they took and plundered: then ſeizing the emperor (E) and his conſort, carried them away priſoners: but the principal lords, and ſeveral of the miniſters, preferring death before ſo ignominious a bondage, ſlew themſelves. The *Kin* being informed by the empreſs *Meng*, that ſhe had been divorced and had no hand in the management of affairs, they left her behind: which was the means of preſerving the empire. For by her wiſdom and conduct ſhe got the crown placed on the head of *Kau-tſong*, ninth ſon of *Whey-tſong* by his divorced empreſs, in the 44th year of the cycle.

Reduce Honan.

Seize the emperor.

The Song *retire.* A. D. 1128. *KAU-TSONG* fixed his court at *Nan-king*, capital of *Kyang-nan*; but ſoon after was obliged to remove it to *Hang-chew* (F) in *Che-kyang*. Although of a peaceful diſpoſition, yet he gained ſome victories over both the *Kin* and his own rebellious ſubjects; who took advantage of the preſent troubles to plunder the provinces. *Kong-ye*, who commanded his forces, had ſeveral times repulſed the *Kin*, but could recover none of the conquered countries.

Hi-tſong. *HI-TSONG* (G), the *Kin* monarch, to gain the love of his new ſubjects, ſhewed his eſteem for learning and learned men. He likewiſe viſited the hall of *Kong-fu-tſe*, or *Konfuſius*; and, in imitation of the *Chineſes*, paid him regal honours; ſaying to his courtiers, who thought a perſon of his mean parentage did not deſerve ſo much homage, *If he does not merit theſe honours by his birth, he merits them for the excellent doctrine which he hath taught*. After this he marched with his forces to *Nan-king*, from whence the emperor had retired, and took it: but receiving intelligence that *Yo-ſi*, general of the *Song*, was advancing by long marches to relieve that city, they ſet fire to the palace, and retreated northward. However *Yo-ſi* arrived time enough to fall upon their rear-guard,

Takes Nan-king.

(E) He died in *Tartary*, 30 years after.

(F) This is the famous city called by *Marco Polo*, *Quinſay*, capital of *Manji*; which name he gives to *Southern China*, or the empire of the *Song*.

(G) The names of the kings mentioned by *Couplet*, are not thoſe uſed by their ſubjects, but *Chineſe*; as appears from what we find in that reſpect relating to the laſt emperors of the *Kin*. All the *Chineſe* names of thoſe monarchs ſeem to have ended in *Tſong*, as did thoſe of the contemporary *Chineſe* emperors of the *Song* race. But for what reaſon the hiſtorians give them the ſame termination, we know not.

which

which suffered very much; and from that time the *Kin* never dared to cross the [a] *Kyang* (H). A. D. 1163.

A FEW years after the emperor made peace with the *Kin* monarch on very dishonourable conditions: for in signing the the treaty he submitted to use the word *Chin*, that is, *subject*, and *Kong*, which signifies *tributary*. The *Tatar*, in consideration of these submissive terms, engaged to send the emperor the bodies of 8 of his relations, who had died within so many years; whose arrival he solemnized with a general pardon. In the 35th of his reign, and 18th of the 65th cycle; the *Tatar* king broke the peace, and invading the southern province with a formidable army, took *Yang-chew* (I). Afterwards approaching the *Kyang*, which is not far from that city, he commanded his troops to pass over near the mouth of the river, where it is most wide as well as rapid, threatening with his drawn sword to kill those who refused. Hereupon the whole army mutinied; and the king being killed in the beginning of the tumult, they immediately retired towards the north, where several disturbances and insurrections began to appear. *The* Song *tributary.* A. D. 1163.

NEXT year *Kau-tsong* resigned the crown to his adopted son, *Hyau-tsong*; but lived 25 years longer, and died without children, at the age of eighty-four. *Hyau-tsong* enjoyed a peaceful reign, and so did his successor *Quang-tsong*; because the *Kin Tatar*, *She-tsong*, very different from his predecessor, was of a mild and pacific temper. But in the reign of *Ning-tsong*, 13th emperor of the *Tsong*, the *Kin* again violating the peace, invaded the *Chinese* territories afresh. *New invasions.*

MEAN time *Jenghiz Khân*, chief of the *Western Tatars*, or *Mungls*, who had begun to lay the foundation of his empire, having in the year 1204 attacked the kingdom of *Hya* (which sprung up in the west parts of *Kitay*, during the dynasty of the *Lyan*), and obliged the king to pay him tribute, resolved to turn his arms against the *Kin*, in order to revenge the injuries which the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, had re- Jenghiz Khân *offended* A. D. 1204.

[a] COUPLET, tabl. chron. Sinic. p. 72. DU HALDE's China, vol. i. p. 211.

(H) The greatest river in *China*, through the middle of which it runs from west to east. *Kyang* signifies *the river*; by way of eminence. It is also called *Yang-tse Kyang*, which signifies *the river which is the son of the sea*; in allusion to its extraordinary largeness.

(I) *Yang-chew fu*, one of the capital cities of the province of *Kyang-nan*, situate to the north of the *Kyang*, on the royal canal.

A. D. 1213. ceived from them. Among the rest, *Yong-tsi*, a prince of the blood, having been sent by *Tay-ho*, emperor of the *Kin*, to recover the tribute from the *Moguls*, he seemed to make no account of *Temujin* (afterwards called *Jenghiz Khân*), and proposed having him seized. *Yong-tsi* coming to the crown, on the death of the emperor *Wang-Yen-king*, he next year sent to demand the tribute of *Temujin*, who refused to pay it; and immediately raising a formidable army, in 1210, ordered a body of troops to march towards the frontiers of *Shan-si* and *Pe-che-li* [b]. At the same time, the king of *Hya*, disgusted with the *Kin* emperor, for having refused to assist him with troops, when attacked by *Jenghiz Khan*, invaded his dominions on the west side [c].

with Yong-tsi.

Forces the great wall.

YONG-TSI, finding himself threatened by two formidable enemies at once, raised forces in order to defend himself. But on the news he received in 1211, that *Jenghiz Khân* was marching southward with his whole army, he was seized with fear, and sent to make propofals of peace, which were rejected. After this the *Mungls* forced the *Great Wall* to the north of *Shan-si*, and made incursions as far as *Yen-king* (now *Pe-king*) the capital of the *Kin* empire [d]. At the same time great part of *Lyau-tong*, the bulwark of the *Kin* empire, was reduced by several *Kitân* lords, who had revolted to *Jenghiz Khân*. This prince, in 1212, took several strong places, and defeated an army of 300,000 *Kin*, with inferior forces; but being wounded at the siege of *Tay-tong-fû* in *Shan-si*, returned to *Tatary*; yet the next year re-entered *Kitay*, and gained two great battles [e].

Yong-tsi slain.

THE same year *Yong-tsi* was slain by his general *Huja-kû*; and *Sun*, a prince of the blood, advanced in his room. After which, the *Mungls* attacking the *Kin* with four different armies at once, laid waste *Shan-si*, *Ho-nan*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. In 1214 *Jenghiz Khân* sat down before *Yen-king*, the capital of the *Kin* empire; but instead of assaulting the city where the emperor then was, offered him peace on certain conditions, which were accepted; and he withdrew into *Tatary*. After the *Mungls* were returned, the emperor *Sun*, leaving his son at *Yen-king*, removed his court to *Pyen-lyang* (called *Nan-king*, or the *South Court*) near *Kay-fong-fû*, the present capital of *Hô-nan*. *Jenghiz Khân*, offended hereat, immediately sent troops to besiege *Yen-king*. At the same time the emperor of the *Song* refused to pay the *Kin* tribute. The capital held out till the 5th month of the year 1215, and then

A. D. 1213.

[b] GAUBIL's hist. Gentch. p. 12, & seq. [c] Ibid. p. 20.
[d] Ibid. p. 15. [e] Ibid. p. 18. 74.

sur-

surrendered [f]. This year also the *Mungls* finished the conquest of *Lyau-tong*; and the king of *Hya* continued the war against the *Kin*. A. D. 1224.

In 1216 *Jenghîz Khân* returned into *Tartary* to pursue his conquests in the west of *Asia*, where he continued above 7 years. Mean time his chief general *Muhuli* (H), whom he had left to take care of his acquisitions in *Kitay* [g], made great advances there, both against the *Kin* and the king of *Hya*. He was assisted in his progress against the former by the motions of *Ning-tsong*, emperor of the *Song*, or southern *China*; who, incensed by their frequent perfidies, had already declared war against the *Kin*. Nor would they hearken to peace on any terms, though very advantageous proposals had been made him; publishing an edict, wherein he earnestly requested his subjects to use their utmost endeavours to drive the *Tatars* of *Nyu-che* out of the empire. When the *Kin* monarch was informed of *Ning-tsong*'s inflexible temper, he is reported to have said, by way of reply to him, *To day the western* Tatars *will destroy my empire*; *to-morrow they will conquer yours* [h].

Yen-king surrenders.

The Kin *distressed.*

For all this, the *Kin* exerting themselves, in 1220 raised two great armies, one in *Shen-si*, where they baffled the attempts both of the *Song* and the *Hya*, who were united against them. In *Shang-tong* they set on foot an army of 200,000 men; but they were intirely defeated by *Muhuli*. In 1221 that great officer marched westward, and passing the *Whang-ho*, struck terror through the dominions of *Hya*, which he entered; but bent his arms solely against the *Kin*, from whom, that year and the next, he subdued great part of *Shen-si*; then returning into *Shan-si*, died there, after he had mastered several cities.

Make great efforts.

In 1224, the *Kin* emperor dying in the 9th month, his son *Shew* (I) succeeded him, and made peace with the king of *Hya*, promising to send his son for a hostage. Next year *Jenghîz Khân* arriving in his own dominions, from his expedition in the west, marched to chastise the king of *Hya*, who had given shelter to two of his keenest enemies; and overran the greater part of his dominions, to such a degree that the king died for grief, in the 7th month of the year 1226. He was succeeded by *Li-hyen*, who being reduced to the last extremity in his capital *Ning-hya*, surrendered at discretion in

The Hya *ruined.* A. D. 1224.

[f] Gaubil's hist. Gentch. p. 21, & seq. [g] Ibid. p. 32.
[h] Ibid. p. 43 Coupl. p. 74. Du Halde, p. 203.

(H) *Mukhuli*, or *Mokli*.

(I) Or rather *Shew-su*, as it is written afterwards. This was his true name; but the *Chinese* called him *Gay-ti*, or as others spell it, *Ngay-ti*; as we find by *Couplet*, and are told by *Gaubil*, p. 87.

A. D. 1231. the 6th month of 1227. And thus a period was put to the kingdom or empire of *Hya* (K).

Progress in Shen si.

In 1226, while *Jenghiz-Khân* was subduing the kingdom of *Hya*, his son *Oktay* marched into *Ho-nân*, and besieged *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of the *Kin* empire; but was obliged to withdraw into *Shen-si*, where that prince took several cities. Mean time the *Kin*, fearing his return into *Ho-nên*, made new overtures of peace: but they were rejected by *Jenghiz Khân*, who having forces to besiege *Ning-hya*, sent another body to conquer the country of *Koko-nor*. This having done, they reduced *Ho-chew* and *Si-ning* in *Shen-si*, cut in pieces an army of 30,000 men, and then went to besiege *Lin-tau-fû*, a city belonging to the *Kin*, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of *Ho-chew* [i].

JENGHIZ KHAN, who had gone to pass the summer heats at the mountain *Lu-pan*, or *Lyew-pan*, fell sick and died there, in *August*; after having named his son *Oktay* for his successor, and given him instructions for the more speedy reduction of the *Kin* dominions.

Peace rejected.

Mean time the war went on vigorously between the two nations, with various success. In 1228, the *Kin*, commanded A. D. 1228. by a prince of the blood, defeated the *Mungls* in battle, and slew 8000 men. Next year the *Kin* emperor, under pretence of complimenting the new Khán upon his advancement, made proposals of peace by his ambassadors: but *Oktay* refusing to enter into any negotiations on that subject, pushed the war in *Shen-si*, where several cities were taken; and at A. D. 1230. length, in 1230, the capital *Si-gan-fû*, then called *Kin-tau*. Presently after *Oktay*, and his brother *Toley*, or *Tuli*, at the head of a formidable army, entered *Shen-si*, resolving to make short work of it: but although above 60 important posts were taken, they could not force *Tong-quan*, which they had so often attempted, in order to penetrate effectually into *Ho-nan*. Hereupon the army separating, the emperor marched with one part into *Shan-si*, the other part remained in *Shen-si*, with *Toley*; who besieged *Fong-tsyang-fû*; and after defeating the *Kin* army, which came from *Tong-quan* to relieve the A. D. 1231. place, took it in *April* 1231 [k].

[i] Gaubil, ubi sup. p. 48, & seq.

[k] Ibid p. 54, & seq.

(K) A more particular account of the ruin of this monarchy will be given hereafter, in the history of the *Si-fan*, or *Tangut*.

Here

HERE one of the *Kin* officers told the prince, that he loſt time, as well as his troops, in attacking the *Kin* by the way of *Tong-quan*, and the *Whang-ho*; but aſſured him he might enter *Ho-nan* in leſs than a month by the country of *Han-chong-fû*. This advice being approved on, in *January* 1233, *Toley* marched towards that city: but being denied paſſage by the governor for the *Song* emperor, to whom it belonged, he took it by aſſault with great ſlaughter; while the *Chineſes* flying on all ſides to the mountains, more than 100,000 periſhed there. At length *Toley*, after ſurmounting infinite difficulties, entered *Ho-nan*, to the great conſternation of the *Kin*, who did not expect an attack from them on that ſide However, two generals were ſent with a great army to ſtop their progreſs: *Toley* feigning a flight, the *Kin* purſued. Mean time a detachment of *Mungls* ſeized the heavy baggage of the *Kin*, which obliged the generals to retire to *Tong-chew*; from whence, concealing their loſs, they ſent the emperor word that they had gained the battle. But a few days after, while the inhabitants of *Kay-fong-fû* were ſtill rejoicing for the ſuppoſed victory, the van-guard of the *Mungl* troops, ſent by *Oktay Khân*, appeared in the plain; and in *January* 1232, the Khân himſelf paſſing the *Whang-ho* from *Shan-ſi*, went and encamped in the diſtrict of *Kay-fong-fû*, then called *Pyen-king*, which he ſent his general *Sûpûtay* to beſiege. This city, which was then 120 *Li* (L) in circumference, having had only 40,000 ſoldiers to defend it, a recruit of 40,000 more from the neighbouring cities, and 20,000 peaſants, were ordered into it; while the *Kin* emperor publiſhed a diſcourſe on the occaſion, which made every body weep, and at the ſame time animated them to defend the place to death [k].

A. D. 1231. Ho-nan *entered.* Pyen-king *beſieged.*

OKTAY having heard with joy of *Toley*'s entrance into *Ho-nan*, by the way of *Shen-ſi*, ordered him to ſend ſuccours to *Sûpûtay*. On the other hand, the two *Kin* generals advanced with 150,000 men to ſupport that great city: but dividing their troops near *Kun-chew*, to avoid in part the great road which the *Mungls* had embarraſſed with trees, *Toley* attacked them with his forces; and after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, the *Kin*, weakened by want of proviſions, were intirely routed, with the loſs of both their generals, one killed, the other taken. In *February* the army at *Tong-quan*, and other fortified places, marched, by order of the *Kin* emperor, to aſſiſt

The ſuccours defeated.

[k] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 59, & ſeq.

(L) Theſe are *Li*, or furlongs, of which 250 go to a degree of latitude; and not thoſe whereof 10 make a league. *Gaubil.*

A. D. 1231. *Kay-fong-fû*, to the number of 110,000 foot, and 15,000 horſe; followed by infinite numbers of people for protection. But many of theſe troops having deſerted to the enemy, and the reſt being infeebled by the fatigues of the march, in roads made impaſſable by the thaws of nightly froſts, they diſperſed on the approach of their purſuers; who killed all whom they found in the highways, with the two generals. After this they took *Tong-quan*, and other conſiderable poſts; but were obliged to raiſe the ſieges of *Quey-te-fû* and *Lo-yang*, by the bravery of the governors, eſpecially him of this laſt place, named *Kyang-ſhin*, who ſo fatigued the *Mungls* by his activity, and the engines he invented for ſhooting ſtones and arrows, that after three months ſiege he obliged them to raiſe it; although he had but 400 brave fellows among his ſoldiers, againſt 30,000 of the enemy[1].

Great ſlaughter.

Peace concluded. *OKTAY-KHAN* having reſolved to return into *Tatary*, ſent to offer the *Kin* emperor peace, on condition that he became tributary, and delivered up to him 27 families, whoſe names he mentioned. Theſe overtures were very acceptable to the emperor. But *Sûpûtay* taking no notice of the treaty, preſſed the ſiege of *Pyen-king* more vigorouſly than ever; and by help of the *Chineſe* ſlaves in his army, ſoon filled the city ditch with faſcines, trees, and other materials. This threw the inhabitants into a great conſternation, and induced the emperor *Shew* to ſend the prince, his heir, in hoſtage. Mean time *Sûpûtay* redoubled his attempts to take the city; and the *Kin* ſeemed to aſſume new vigour. The *Moguls* at that time made uſe of artillery (M), but the bullets could make no impreſſion on the walls, which were as impenetrable as iron. The *Mungls* likewiſe raiſed walls round thoſe which they beſieged, 150 *Li* in circuit, fortified with ditches, towers, and battlements. They proceeded alſo to ſap the walls: but were mightily obſtructed by the artillery of the beſieged, and eſpecially their bombs filled with powder; which ſinking into their galleries, and burſting under ground, made great havock among the miners.

Prodigious mortality. FOR 16 days and 16 nights the attacks continued without ceaſing; in which an incredible number of men were deſtroyed on both ſides: but at length *Sûpûtay* finding that he could not take the city, withdrew, under pretence of the conferences being on foot. Soon after the plague began in *Kay-*

[1] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 64, & ſeq.

(M) Fire-pau engines which ſhot not only fire, but ſtone bullets, by means of powder, which the *Chineſes* have had the uſe of above 1600 years. *Gaubil.*

fong-fû,

fong-fû, where, in 50 days, 900,000 biers were carried out, beſides infinite poor, who could not afford any. When the contagion was over, the emperor *Shew-ſu* beſtowed large rewards on the officers who had defended the city, retrenched the expence of his table conſiderably, reduced the number of his women, and ſtriking out of his titles that of *holy*, *wiſe*, or *perfect*, ordered *ſuperior* to be uſed inſtead of it [m]. A. D. 1232.

PEACE thus reſtored might have continued, but two unlucky accidents re-commenced the war, which put an end to the dominion of the *Kin*. *Gan-yong*, a *Mungl* lord, having aſſumed the government of ſome cities taken by him from the *Kin*, in *Kyang-nan*, and killed the officer ſent with troops by one of the *Mungl* generals to take poſſeſſion of them, declared for the *Kin*. The emperor *Shew-ſu*, deceived by falſe hopes, took *Gan-yong* into his ſervice, and gave him the title of prince. Hereupon *Oktay Khân* ſent an envoy, attended by 30 other perſons, to enquire into that affair. But the *Kin* officers ſlew them all, without being puniſhed by the emperor. *Sûpûtay* having informed *Oktay* of theſe proceedings, the Khân ordered him to continue the war in *Ho-nan*. The *Kin* emperor, on his part, commanded his officers to unite their troops, and form an army to defend the capital: but the *Mungls* attacking them before they could join, defeated them one after the other. This obliged him to raiſe ſoldiers from among the peaſants and common people, for whoſe ſubſiſtence the inhabitants were taxed three-tenths of the rice they were poſſeſſed of; which order was executed with great rigour. *War renewed.*

MEAN time proviſions became extremely ſcarce in the city. Towards the end of the year the *Mungls* made a treaty with the *Song* emperor, who engaged to join his forces to theirs; on condition to have the province of *Ho-nan* delivered to him, as ſoon as the dynaſty of the *Kin* ſhould be deſtroyed. In the beginning of the year 1233, *Sûpûtay* preparing to beſiege *Pyen-king* (or *Kay-fong-fû*) which was but in a bad poſture of defence, the emperor reſolved to take the field; and paſſing the *Whang-ho*, ſent part of his army to beſiege *Wey-chew* (now *Wey-whey*), ſouth-weſt of *Kay-fong-fû*; but being attacked by the *Mungls*, it was cut to pieces. At the ſame time *Sûpûtay* ſat down the ſecond time before the capital city, where the empreſſes and princes remained. The emperor, on hearing theſe bad tidings, repaſſed the *Yellow River*, and retired to *Quey-te-fû* [n]. *Pyen-king beſieged.* A. D. 1233.

TSULI, general of the troops which defended the weſtern wall of *Pyen-king*, under pretence of ſaving the people, aſ- *Surrendered by a traitor.*

[m] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 69, & ſeq. [n] Ibid. p. 72, & ſeq.

A. D. 1233. ſumed the management of affairs himſelf; and having played the tyrant for a while, went in great pomp, and delivered up the city to the *Mungl* general, before he had formed the ſiege of it, with all the princes and princeſſes of the blood, the treaſures and jewels. *Sûpûtay* put to death all thoſe who were of the imperial race: but the inhabitants, amounting to 1,400,000 families, were ſaved by the Khân's order. He ſent the empreſs-mother, empreſs-regent, the queens, and their attendants, to *Ho-lin* (or *Kârakorom*), where *Oktay* kept his court.

WHILE *Tſu-li* was acting in this manner at *Pyen-king*, *Pû-cha-quen*, another general, behaved with no leſs inſolence at *Quey-te-fû*. He put to death ſeveral great men at pleaſure, and even confined the emperor to his chamber: but coming to confer with his majeſty ſoon after, he was ſlain by three faithful officers, who had offered their ſervice for that purpoſe.

Ju ning-fû *beſieged.* AFTER this the emperor *Shew-ſu*, leaving troops at *Quey-te-fû*, removed to *Ju-ning-fû* (N), with only 400 perſons to accompany him; the inhabitants every-where lamenting his miſerable ſtate, and he deporting himſelf with great humility. The preſence of the emperor brought crouds of people to the city; and the diſtance of the *Mungls* made him think of living at eaſe: but while he talked of building a palace, and taking a wife, the united armies of the *Chineſes* and *Mungls* came in *October*, and inveſted *Ju-ning-fû*. The garriſon, terrified at the works which were raiſed to incloſe the city, would have ſurrendered it; but the emperor, ſeconded by his brave general *Hû-ſye-hû*, encouraged them to hold out to the laſt. In *November*, for want of men, the women, dreſſed in the male habit, were employed to carry wood, ſtones, and other neceſſary materials, to the walls [o].

Kin *emperor's bravery.* THE chief fortifications of *Ju-ning-fû* conſiſted of a tower, ſurrounded with water, and a fort near the river *Jû*, which being taken, the enemy forced the ſouth and weſt walls; but found within a ſecond wall, defended with *chevaux de friſe*, and a ditch, where the illuſtrious *Hû-ſye-hû* fought three days and nights with ſucceſs. On this occaſion the *Kin* emperor ſaid to the lords who were about him, *That the princes under whom empires ended, were commonly brutal, and treated by their conquerors with indignity: but that they ſhould not ſee the fall of the* Kin *dynaſty diſhonoured in him.* Upon this

[o] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 78, & ſeq.

(N) A city of *Honan*, in the ſouthern parts of it.

he

he distributed all his costly effects among them, and put on an ordinary habit. Then inviting his best troops to follow him, sallied out of the eastern gate, and made extraordinary efforts, with a resolution either to die with his arms in his hand, or break through the enemy: but unable to compass either design, he was at length forced back into the city; where, for three months, the besieged had endured extreme famine, and were reduced to feed on human flesh, killing the old and feeble, as well as many prisoners, for that purpose. A. D. 1234.

THIS being known to the confederate generals, they made a general assault in *January* 1234, on the western side, which they continued from morning till evening, with great loss of men, but without success. The besieged likewise had all their best officers and soldiers cut off in the action. Hereupon, that night, the emperor *Shew*, assembling the lords, resigned the throne to *Cheng-lin*, a prince of the blood. Next morning, while the ceremony of investing the new emperor was performing, the *Chinese* and *Mungl* troops mounted the south walls, defended only by 200 men; and the south gate being at the same time abandoned, the whole army broke in. However, the prince *Hû-sye-hû*, with 1000 soldiers, met them in a street, and fought with amazing intrepidity. *The city taken.* A. D. 1234.

MEAN time the emperor *Shew-su*, seeing all irreparably lost, made haste, and lodged the seal of the empire in a house; then causing sheafs of straw to be set round it, ordered his people to set it on fire as soon as they found he was dead. After this order he hanged himself; and his commands were executed by his domesticks. *Hû-sye-hû*, who was still fighting like a lion, being informed of the emperor's tragick end, bad adieu to his officers, protesting that he would die likewise: accordingly he ran that instant to the river *Jû*, and drowned himself. The officers who were with the prince, and 500 of the most resolute soldiers, followed, telling him they knew how to die as well as he; and threw themselves also into the same river[p]. *The emperor's death.*

THE new emperor *Chang-lin*, at the head of a few mandarins, performed the *Chinese* ceremonies for the death of *Shew-su*, and gave orders to bury his ashes by the river side. Mean time the emperor, having seized on the palace, the two generals divided between them all that could be found of the royal ornaments, and the emperor's ashes. The same day *Chang-lin* was slain in a tumult: and thus ended the dynasty of the *His successor slain.*

[p] GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 84, & seq.

Kin,

A. D. 1234. *Kin*, after it had continued 117 years, or, according to *Gaubil*, 119 years (O), under nine emperors [q].

The Kin emperors. THIS author furniſhes us with the names of five of theſe emperors, beſides *Shang-lin*; *viz. Tay-ho*, *Wang-yen-king*, *Yong-tſi*, *Sun*, and *Chew-ſu*; with the years when the three laſt began and ended their reigns. If theſe immediately ſucceeded one the other, then the ſixth king whom he mentions elſewhere, by the name of *Chang-tſong*, muſt be *Wang-yen-king*, or *Yong-tſi*, ſuppoſing *Chang-lin* to be the laſt. This difficulty would have been avoided, had that author either numbered the five kings he ſpeaks of, or given us both the *Tatar* and *Chineſe* names, of which latter kind *Chang-tſong* doubtleſs is. *Couplet* mentions three of the preceding emperors, *Hi-tſong*, the *Tatar* king, not named by the other; and *She-tſong*: to whom if you add *Aguta*, ſaid by *Gaubil* to be the founder of the *Kin* monarchy, we ſhall have a complete line of nine emperors. But in all probability *Aguta* is the ſame with *Hi-tſong*, although *Couplet* does not expreſly ſay he was the firſt king; the former being his proper name, the latter, that given him by the *Chineſes*. So that the 9th ſhould be looked for between him and the anonymous king, who was ſlain, in 1163, by his own ſoldiers; or between *She-tſong* and *Tay-ho*.

The empire founded. *AGUTA*, or *Ogota*, according to *Gaubil*, revolted againſt the emperor of the *Lyau* in 1114; and having obtained ſeveral victories over him, to the north of *Lyau-tong*, at length cleared his way to the throne in 1115; which was the firſt of his reign. The princes of this houſe were adopted by the lord of the tribe of *Wan-yen*; and *Wan-yen* was the name of the imperial family of the *Kin*. The tribe of *Wan-yen* was one of the principal among the *Eaſtern Tatars*, called *Nu-che*, or *Nu-chin*, who encamped to the north of *Korea*, and along the oriental ocean. There were likewiſe other *Nu-che*, who dwelt to the north of *Lyau-tong*.

Its extent. THE empire formed by theſe people, under the name of *Kin*, was very extenſive: for, beſides thoſe regions abovementioned, which they inhabited originally, at the time when attacked by *Jenghiz Khân*, they poſſeſſed *Lyau-tong*, with the

[q] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 88. [r] Ibid. p. 91, note (3).

(O) For he places the commencement of the monarchy in 1115. This, and the other circumſtances, our author probably took from the expreſs hiſtory of the *Kin*, which, he ſays, is in great detail both in *Chineſe* and the *Manchew* language.

parts to the north and north-eaſt, as well as to the weſt, bordering on the great wall; as far as to the north-weſt of *Tay-tong-fû* in *Shan-ſi*, and north of the country of *Ortûs*. In ſhort, both *Tartaries* (the eaſtern and weſtern) to the 49th or 50th degree of latitude (P), and 19th or 20th of longitude, weſt of *Pe-king*, which were then full of petty princes, paid tribute to the emperor of the *Kin*. In *China* they had the provinces of *Shan-tong*, *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-ſi*, and *Ho-nan*; ſome cities of *Kyang-nan* to the north of the *Kyang*; the territories of *Kong-chan-fû*, *Lyu-tau*, *Fong-tſyang*, *Si-gan-fû*, *Ping-lyang*, *Kin-yang*, and *Yen-gan* in *Shen-ſi* [s]. A. D. 1234.

ACCORDING to the above-mentioned limits, the *Nyu-che*, or *Kin*, had larger poſſeſſions in *China* than the *Kitân* or *Lyau*; who, although we hear of their ravaging the northern provinces, and once entering the ſouthern, yet ſeem to have had no acquiſitions in any of the provinces, excepting *Pe-che-li*. Beſides, the emperors of *Hya* were poſſeſſed of the greater part of *Shen-ſi*, with the countries of *Tartary*, adjoining on the north and weſt. However, to make amends, their dominions in *Tartary* were much larger than thoſe of the *Kin*; for they ſtretched 16 degrees farther weſtward, reaching to *Kâſhgar*, which is above 36 degrees weſt of *Pe-king*. And in this part they retained a conſiderable footing after their empire in the eaſt had been deſtroyed: ſo that the empire of *Kitay* in general, as well as *Kâra Kitay* in particular, was more extenſive under the *Lyau* than the *Kin*. But that of the latter exceeded it for grandeur, opulence, and number of people, as having a much greater portion of *China* belonging to it. However that be, both nations improved in manners, as well as power and riches, by their conqueſts from the *Chineſes*. *Compared with the Lyau.*

THE *Kin-chau* (Q) (after their eſtabliſhment, we preſume, in the northern provinces of *China*) built towns and palaces *The Kin remains.*

[s] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p 3. 87. 146. SOUCIET, obſ. math. &c. p. 186,

(P) *Gaubil*, p. 87, ſays, that all the north and north-weſt of *Lyau tong*, as far as the rivers *Kerlon*, *Saghalian-ula* (or *Onon*), *Tula*, and *Orghûn*, paid the *Kin* tribute.

(Q) By the word *Chau*, or *Chaw*, is here meant the dynaſty or dominion of the *Kin*. But the word in *Chineſe* ſignifies neither dominion, race, nor ſucceſſion; but that number of years which any family poſſeſſed the dominion. *Fourmont's Reflexions critiq. ſur hiſt. anc. peupl.* tom. ii. p. 397. So that the *Kin-chau*, or *Chau of the Kin*, implies properly, *the ſpace of time during which the family reigned*, or held the dominion.

A. D. 1234. palaces in their native country, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen, as *Feneghi-hotun*, *Odoli-hotun*, and *Putay-ula*, before-mentioned [t].

In like manner, at the beginning they had neither characters, books, nor hiſtory. But in 1119 they made characters (R), in imitation of thoſe uſed by the *Kitan* or *Lyau*, whom they had ſubdued. Afterwards the *Kin* emperors erected tribunals for aſtronomy and hiſtory, after the example of the *Chineſes* [u].

When their dynaſty came to be ruined by the *Mungls*, in confederacy with the *Chineſes*, thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter were obliged to fly into the weſtern parts of their ancient country, now inhabited by the *Solon Tatars*, who ſay they were originally *Manchews* [x].

Manchews, *their deſcendants.*

The late emperor *Kang-hi* ſaid, that his family was deſcended from the imperial family of the *Kin* (S). But if one may judge by ſeveral words of the *Kin* language, that of the *Manchews* now reigning in *China* is a different tongue; although it muſt be acknowledged, that the territory whence the *Manchews* came, is the country of the ancient *Nyu-che*, or *Kin* [y].

[t] Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 247. [u] Gaubil, ubi ſup.
[x] Du Halde, ubi ſup. [y] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 88.

(R) But *Gaubil* ſays, he had not yet met with them.

(S) *Couplet* aſſerts, that the preſent *Chineſe* family of the *Manchews* ſprung from that of the *Kin* monarch. *Sinic. tab. chron.* p. 74.

CHAP.

Si-fân *country.*

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Si-fân *or* Tu-fân.

SECT. I.

An account of the Si-fân, *or* Tu-fân; *and the country inhabited by them.*

THE country of the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân* (who are a people quite unknown, at leaſt in name, to the weſtern hiſtorians, *Aſiatick* as well as *European*) is differently repreſented with regard to its ſituation and extent, by the accounts ſent from *China* by the miſſioners who ſurveyed that empire, in which theſe people are included. According to *Regis*, it borders on the provinces of *Shen-ſi*, *Se-chwen*, and *Yun-nan*, or *Jun-nan*, reaching from the 30th to the 25th degree of north latitude; and weſtward to the river, called by the *Chineſes*, *Ya-long Kyang* [a]. By another account it extends but a little way along the weſtern borders of *Shen-ſi*; or ſeems to be a narrow tract of mountains, lying between the north-weſt part of *Shen-ſi* and the country of *Koko-nor*, incloſing this latter on the north and eaſt in form of a bow. But in the jeſuits map of *Tibet*, the territories of the *Si-fan* are diſtinctly marked out, as bounded on the eaſt by the province of *Se-chwen*; on the north by the country of *Koko-nor*; and on the weſt by the river *Tſacho Tſitſirhâna*; which riſing ſouthward of the lakes from whence the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*, iſſues, runs through *Se-chwen*, where it takes the name of *Ya-long Kyang*; and afterwards that of *Kin-cha Kyang*. *The* Si-fan's *country.*

ACCORDING to this ſituation, which ſeems to be the right, the country of the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân*, lies between 29 degrees 54 minutes of latitude; and between 12 degrees 30 minutes, and 18 degrees 20 minutes, of longitude weſt of *Peking*. Its ſhape is triangular; the baſe, which lies to the north, being about 300 miles long; and the other two ſides, *Scite and extent.*

[a] DU HALDE's China, vol. ii. p. 305.

which

Si-fân people.

which make an angle to the ſouth, about 245 miles each. This is all which at preſent remains to the *Tu-fan*, of a very large dominion they formerly poſſeſſed, compriſing all *Tibet*, and even ſome neighbouring territories of *China* [b]. From hence (as well as on account of the affinity between the languages of the *Si-fân* and *Tibet*) it may be preſumed it is, that the *Chineſes*, as we are told, extend the name of *Si-fân* over all that country; and ſometimes to all the nations lying to the weſt of their own empire [c]. This great dominion, including the whole region between *China* and *Hindûſtân*, with all thoſe wide plains and deſarts, on the north and weſt of it inhabited by the *Eluth Tatars* (or *Mungls*) is, in all probability, that which formerly went by the name of *Tangût*, *Tangûth*, or *Tankût*; and the rather becauſe at preſent the language and characters of *Tibet*, ſtill uſed by the *Si-fân*, are called the characters and language of *Tangût* [d].

Great empire formerly.

HOWEVER that be, the condition of the *Si-fân* is very different from what it was formerly: they have not now one town in their poſſeſſion; and are pent up between the rivers *Ya-long* on the weſt, *Whang-ho* on the north, and *Yang-tſe Kyang* (which riſes in this country) on the eaſt: whereas anciently their kingdom had fortified cities, very well peopled, and very powerful [e].

Black Si-fân.

THE *Chineſes* diſtinguiſh the *Si-fan*, or *Tu-fan*, into two ſorts of people. The *He-Si-fan*, or *Black Si-fan*, and the *Whang Si-fan*, or *Yellow Si-fan*, from the colour of their tents, not their complexions, which are in general a little ſwarthy. The *Black Si-fan* have alſo ſome pitiful houſes; and are governed by two chiefs, who depend on a third; but are very uncivilized. Thoſe ſeen by *Regis* were dreſſed like the inhabitants of *Hami* (A). The women wear their hair parted into treſſes, hanging down on their ſhoulders, full of little glaſs mirrors.

Yellow Si-fân.

THE *Yellow Si-fan* are ſubject to certain families, whereof the eldeſt is made a Lama, and wears a yellow habit. Theſe Lama are all of the ſame family, and govern in their reſpective diſtricts. They have the power of deciding cauſes, and puniſhing criminals. They inhabit the ſame canton, but in ſeparate bodies, without forming large families of the ſame

[b] DU HALDE's China, vol. i. p 22. [c] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 385.
[d] Ibid. p. 388. [e] Ibid. vol. i. p. 29.

(A) So the *Chineſes* pronounce *Khamil*, or *Khamul*, a city and province of *Little Bukharia*, at the very eaſtern extremity adjoining on the *Great Kobi*, or deſart.

kindred,

kindred, which appear like ſo many little camps. The greater part of them dwell in tents; but ſome have their houſes built of earth, and a few with bricks. They want none of the neceſſaries of life; and have numerous flocks of ſheep. Their horſes, though ſmall, are well ſhaped, mettleſome and ſtrong. Si-fân *people.*

THE Lamas, who govern theſe people, do not vex or oppreſs them, provided they render them certain honours, and punctually pay the dues of *Fo*, which are very trifling. Theſe dues ſeem to be a kind of tythes, as being exacted on a religious account. The religion of *Fo* hath ever been that of the *Si-fân*, who always choſe their Lamas to be miniſters of ſtate, and ſometimes to command their armies. There is ſaid to be ſome difference in the language of theſe two ſorts of *Si-fan:* but as they underſtand each other well enough to trade together, they probably differ only as dialects of the ſame tongue. The book and characters uſed by their chiefs are thoſe of *Tibet*. They have cuſtoms and ceremonies very different from the *Chineſe*, though bordering on them: thus it is uſual with them to preſent a large white handkerchief of cotton or taffety, when they go to wait on perſons whom they mean to honour. They have likewiſe ſome cuſtoms like thoſe among the *Kâlka Tatars*, and others which reſemble the uſuages of the *Tatars* of *Koko-nor*. *Their government.* *Odd cuſtoms.*

NEITHER of the two nations is more than half ſubject to the neighbouring *Chineſe* mandarins; whoſe citations they ſo little regard as rarely to appear before them when ſummoned: nor dare thoſe officers treat them with rigour, or offer to force an obedience; the frightful mountains which they inhabit, whoſe tops are covered with ſnow, even in *July*, ſecuring them againſt all purſuits. Beſides, as the rhubarb grows in abundance on their lands, they are courted by the *Chineſes* for ſake of that precious commodity[f]. *Nearly independent.*

SECT. II.

Hiſtory of the Si-fan, *or* Tu-fan, *intermixed with that of the* Hya.

THE *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân*, according to the *Chineſe* authors (B), had formerly a very extenſive dominion, and princes of great renown, who made themſelves formidable to their neighbours, *Formerly famous.*

[f] DU HALDE's China, vol. i. p. 22, & ſeq.

(B) Particularly the *Chineſe* geographers of the middle age, hiſtory of the provinces of *Shen-ſi* and *Se-chwen*, and the great annals *Nyen-i-ſhe*.

A.D.640. bours, and even to the emperors of *China*. On the eaſt ſide they not only poſſeſſed divers territories, which at preſent belong to the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Shen-ſi*; but extended their conqueſts ſo far within them, as to ſubdue ſeveral cities of the ſecond rank (C), whereof they formed four great governments. Weſtward they were maſters of all the countries from the river *Ya-long* to the borders of *Kâſhmîr*, in the great mogul's empire.

Refuſed a princeſs.

In the 7th century, *Ki-tſon* king of the *Tû-fân*, poſſeſſed this vaſt dominion, and had ſeveral kings who paid him tribute, and from him received their inveſtiture, with patents, and

A.D.630. ſeals of gold. This prince, in 630, coveting an alliance with *Tay-tſong*, that famous emperor of the *Tang* dynaſty in *China*, ſent him a pompous embaſſy; which having been received with great marks of diſtinction, he, by a ſecond, demanded a princeſs of the imperial blood for his ſon *Long-tſong*. The council of ſtate looking on this as a very arrogant propoſal, rejected it, without ſo much as debating on it. Hereupon *Long-tſong*, on the death of his father, came at the head of 200,000 men to demand the princeſs; and having defeated certain princes tributary to *China*, who oppoſed his paſſage, penetrated to the borders of *Shen-ſi*, where the emperor then kept his court. From thence he ſent one of his officers with an haughty letter to his majeſty; demanding the princeſs to be forthwith yielded to him, with a certain quantity of gold, ſilver, and ſilks, by way of portion.

Invades China.

The emperor, more offended than before, amuſed the envoy with hopes, till his forces were aſſembled, and then diſmiſſed him, without returning any anſwer to his maſter's letter. At the ſame time his army attacked that of the *Si-fân*, and routed it. However, as the loſs *Long-tſong* received was not conſiderable, he rallied his troops; and the emperor finding that prince was in a condition to give him much uneaſi-

A.D.640. neſs, in 640 (D), the princeſs, by advice of his council, was ſent with a great deal of pomp to the *Si-fan* monarch. On this as ſoon as the ceremonies of marriage were over, he retired, and became very ſerviceable to the empire on ſeveral occaſions afterwards: particularly, when the general *Alena* uſurped a tributary kingdom of *China*, he joined the imperial army with all his forces, which he commanded in perſon, and had no ſmall ſhare of the victory by killing the rebel [g].

[g] Du Halde's China, &c. vol. i. p 23.

(C) The *Chineſes* diſtinguiſh their cities into ranks or orders, denoted by the final ſyllables *fû*, *cheu*, and *hyen*.

(D) The dates, which in *Du Halde* are in the margin, we have thrown into the text.

KI-

KI-LO-SO, who succeeded *Long-tſong*, improved the peace he was in with all his neighbours, by the treaties which he made with ſeveral nations of *Tatars*; particularly the *Whey-he* (E). This prince dying without iſſue, *Su-ſi*, his next heir male, who ſucceeded him, was called in with his *Tatarian* confederates, to ſuccour the emperor *When-tſong* (F); at that time conſtrained to quit his court at *Chang-gan-fû* (at preſent named *Si-ngan-fû*) and abandon it to the rebel *Gan-lo-ſhan*, a foreign prince, whom the emperor, againſt the advice of his Miniſters, had advanced to the higheſt poſts, and even intruſted with the command of his army. This traitor, finding himſelf maſter of great part of the north, aſſumed the title of emperor, and marched to attack *Chang-gan-fû*; which having entered, he plundered the imperial palace (G), and carried the *Lo-yang*: but by the aſſiſtance of *Su-ſi* he was routed, and ſoon after killed in bed by his own ſon. A.D. 766. *Aſſiſt the* Chineſes. A.D. 766.

THE *Tu-fan*, in reward of their ſervice, beſides the rich plunder of *Lo-yang*, and other rebellious cities, were preſented with great quantities of ſilks, and the choiceſt things which *China* afforded. But whether through covetouſneſs, or pride, as ſoon as they heard of the emperor's death (H), they advanced with a formidable force; and, arriving on the borders of the empire, before there was the leaſt ſuſpicion of their invaſion, obliged the governors of *Ta-chin-quan*, *Lan-chew*, and all the country of *Ho-ſi-û* (I) to ſurrender. The prime-miniſter, who at firſt could not believe this advice, ſent *Ko-tſey*, the moſt experienced general then at court, with three thouſand horſe, to learn the truth. *Ko-tſey* (K) being informed at *Hyen-yang*, a city not far from the capital, that the enemy's army, conſiſting of 300,000 men (L), would be there that very day, diſpatched a courier to the miniſter, to appriſe *Break the peace.* A.D. 772. *Burn the capital.*

(E) Or *Whey-kû*; they inhabited in the neighbourhood of *Turfân* in *Little Bukharia*.

(F) Or *Hiun-tſong*; who began his reign in 713, and died in 762. He divided his dominions into 15 provinces.

(G) This was about the year 766, in the 4th year of the reign of *So tſong*, ſucceſſor of *Hiun-tſong*. But this hiſtory is very inaccurate, as related in *DuHalde*, marking neither the dates, nor reigns, when the facts happened.

(H) This was ten years after *Hiun-tſong*'s death, in 772; and 8th of *Tay-tſong*, *So tſong*'s ſucceſſor.

(I) That is, *to the weſt of the river*; meaning the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*.

(K) Elſewhere *Ko-tſu-i*; in *Couplet*, *Ko-tſwi*.

(L) Two hundred thouſand, according to *Couplet*. Tabl. ſinic. p. 61.

A.D.772. him of the danger, and preſs for ſuccours: but that officer of ſtate did not ſtir a ſtep the faſter. Mean time the generals of the enemy, who were acquainted with the country, being arrived at *Hyen-yang*, detached a conſiderable body of troops to take poſſeſſion of a bridge over the river. The emperor, from whom the miniſtry had, till then, concealed the danger which threatened him, frighted at the news, forſook his palace. The great men of his court, the officers, and people, all followed his example, and fled. Thus the *Tûfan* entered the city without reſiſtance; and having carried away immenſe riches, ſet it on fire [h].

Forced by ſtratagem. *KO-TSEY*, who had withdrawn, to join the troops, which, on the firſt alarm, left *Chang-gan*, ſeeing himſelf now at the head of 40,000 men, yet unable to cope with the enemy in the field; to ſupply, by policy, what he wanted in ſtrength, ordered a body of horſe to encamp on the neighbouring hills, and there ranging themſelves in one line, to make a dreadful noiſe with their drums, as well as light up great fires every night in different places. This artifice had the deſired ſucceſs: for the *Tû-fan*, fearing to be ſurrounded by the united forces of the empire, conducted by a general of known bravery and ſkill, marched weſtwards, and blocked up the city of *Tong-tſyang*.

To retreat. *MA-LIN*, who commanded in that diſtrict, came to the relief of the place; and forcing his way through a body of the enemy's troops, of whom he killed upwards of a thouſand, threw himſelf into the town. As ſoon as he was entered he ordered all the gates to be ſet open, to let the *Tûfan* ſee that he did not fear them. This extraordinary conduct confirming them in their firſt ſuſpicions, and their fatigued troops being unable to withſtand freſh forces, they reſolved to retire with the ſpoil which they had already gained. After their retreat, the *Chineſes* repaired *Chang-gan*, whither the emperor returned ſome months after his ſhameful flight.

Invade afreſh. THESE troubles were no ſooner over, than the *Chineſes* were obliged to take the field againſt a new rebel named *Pû-kû*, who had confederated with the *Tû-fan* and *Whey-he Tatars*, before-mentioned. But *Pû-kû* being very opportunely taken off by a ſudden death, the *Chineſes* had the addreſs to diſunite the two nations, by raiſing a contention about the chief command. *To-ko-lo*, general of the *Whey-he*, would needs command the whole army. This the *Tû-fan*

[h] DU HALDE's China, &c. vol. i. p. 23, & ſeq. & 199.

oppoſed,

oppoſed, as being contrary to their orders, and diſhonourable to their kingdom, which was much ſuperior to the petty ſtate poſſeſſed by the *Whey-he*. The *Chineſe* generals, who were encamped in their view, ſecretly ſupported the pretenſions of *Yo-kŏ-lo*; and at length openly joined him. Upon this the *Tû-fan* were attacked as they were marching away, and loſt 10,000 men in their retreat. A.D.779.

Defeated again.

WHILE the *Tû-fan* king meditated how to retrieve his loſſes, he was informed that the *Whey-he* were retired much diſſatisfied with the *Chineſes*. Hereupon he ſent his forces to beſiege *Ling-chew*, whoſe governor, having but a few troops, carefully ſhunned an engagement. The courſe he took was, at the head of 5,000 men, to attack the magazines of the the beſiegers: accordingly he not only burnt them, but alſo carried off all the ſpoil they had taken, with part of their baggage. This loſs compelled the *Tû-fan* to return home in haſte, where they remained quiet for five years, and then brought a formidable army into the field; which, dividing into two bodies, fell almoſt at the ſame time on the diſtricts of *King-chew* and *Ping-chew*. Theſe troops being numerous, eaſily defeated ſeveral bodies of the imperial forces. But at length, in 779, *Ko-tſey* routed them intirely by means of an ambuſcade. A.D.779.

Sue for peace.

THIS defeat inclining the king of the *Tû-fan* to peace, he ſent an ambaſſador, attended with no fewer than 500 perſons in his retinue, to the emperor; who, to mortify him, detained him a long time at court without an audience. His maſter, greatly incenſed at ſuch contempt, was preparing to take revenge, when *Tay-tſong* (D) happened to die. His ſon *Te-tſong*, who ſucceeded (in 781) taking a different meaſure, feaſted the ambaſſador and his retinue, gave them rich habits, and loading them with preſents, ſent them back under the conduct of *Wey-ling*, one of his officers; who had orders to lay the blame of the ſmall regard which had been paid his ambaſſadors, to their bad conduct, and having too numerous a retinue [1].

Break it, and routed.

WEY-LING, contrary to what he expected, was received and diſmiſſed with honour, as well as magnificence; which ſurpriſed the emperor himſelf, and gave him an eſteem for

[1] DU HALDE's China, &c. vol. i. p. 24.

(D) His death happened in 780; and *Ko-tſey*, the famous general, died in 784, the firſt of the 69th ſexagenary cycle of the *Chineſes*.

A.D.786. the *Tû-fan* court (E), which promiſed an inviolable regard to peace. But this king dying in 786, *Tſang-po*, who ſucceeded, ordered his army forthwith to enter *Shen-ſi*. They entered that province without being diſcovered; and defeated all the imperial troops which they met with, until they arrived at *Kyen-ching*, called at preſent *Kyen-yang*. But the *Chineſe* general, *Li-ching*, coming up with his troops, as the enemy were on the point of beſieging the city, obtained ſo complete a victory, as compelled them to ſue for peace; which was ratified by oath. For all this, ſome of their officers, who wanted to have the war continued, endeavoured to ſeize the emperor's envoy, and carry him to their camp. The general, however, diſowned having had any hand in the affair; and without committing any further hoſtilities, returned home with his army.

Another defeat. A.D.791. THIS firſt expedition not having the deſired ſucceſs, the king of the *Tû-fan* got ready for a ſecond; and, in 791, ſent an army ſufficient to oppoſe both the *Chineſes* and their new allies the *Whey-he Tatars*. In their way they took ſome conſiderable forts, and withal *Gan-ſi*; but when they were advanced as far as *Pe-ting*, which lies to the ſouth of *Ning-hya*, they were ſurpriſed and defeated by the *Whey-he*. For all this they continued their march towards the court, with incredible reſolution: but the general *Wey-kau* falling on them unexpectedly, cut ſeveral bodies of them in pieces; in the place where afterwards, to hinder the incurſions of the enemy, the fortreſſes of *Tong-ka*, *Ho-taw*, *Mu-pu*, and *Ma-ling*, were built in the diſtrict of *Ning-yang-fû*, belonging to *Shen-ſi*.

Chief city taken. A.D.801. THIS precaution however proved uſeleſs. For, ſcarce were thoſe towns finiſhed, when in 801, the *Tû-fan* returned, and at length reduced *Lin-chew*, which they had before attempted to do ſeveral times in vain. But on the approach of *Wey-kau*, with his army, they abandoned the city, and marched towards *Wey-chew* in *Se-chwen*, which was one of the beſt places they had. *Wey-kau* purſued them; and finding they did not ceaſe their flight, laid ſiege to that town. The king of the *Tû-fan*, ſtartled at this news, ſent *Lun-ming*, his prime-miniſter, with conſiderable ſuccours: but being met by *Wen-kau*, he was routed, and taken priſoner. Upon this victory that general was received into *Wen-chew*, which he made a place of arms; and went to beſiege the fortreſs of *Quen-*

(E) Yet neither the name, nor ſituation of this court is mentioned. Nor does it appear from the hiſtory, in what part of their dominions the capital of the *Tu-fan* ſtood.

mi-

min-ching; but was baffled there, through the bravery of the governor. A.D.801.

WEY-CHEW was one of the royal cities; and the *Tû-fan* kings, ſince the time of *Ki-lo-ſo*, reſided there one part of the year: for this reaſon *I-tay*, who ſucceeded his brother, reſolving by all poſſible means to recover it, raiſed an army of 150,000 men next year, and ſent to beſiege it. On the report of their march, the *Chineſe* general threw himſelf into the city: but the expected ſuccours not arriving, he was conſtrained, by continual aſſaults, to ſurrender, after a ſiege of 25 days. The *Tû-fan*, elated with their ſucceſs, advanced towards *Ching-tu-fû*, the capital of *Se-chwen*. The emperor's general, unable to oppoſe their march, ſpread a report that he was gone to poſſeſs himſelf of the mountain-ſtraits, through which they had paſſed; and cauſed his little army to make the neceſſary motions to induce them to believe it. This had the deſired effect; for, through fear of having their retreat cut off, they retired to *Wey-chew*. *Recovered again.*

As ſoon as they got thither, *I-tay*, who was a mild prince, being ſatisfied with having recovered the place, ſent to acquaint the imperial generals on the frontiers, that he was willing to live in peace; and, as a proof of his ſincerity, enjoined his officers to act ſolely on the defenſive. The *Chineſes*, on their ſide, acted with great generoſity on ſeveral occaſions. Among the reſt, *Si-ta-mew*, a *Tû-fan*, governor of *Wey-chew*, having offered to deliver up that place to the *Chineſe* general, when almoſt all the other officers were for accepting the propoſal, *Ni-û-fan* oppoſed it, and declared: *That a great empire ought to ſet a greater value on ſincere dealing than on the poſſeſſion of a city; and that their breach of the peace would authorize all the perfidies which the* Tû-fan *had committed, or ſhould commit for the future.* Hereupon the offer was rejected. *Peace concluded.*

I-TAY took the opportunity of the peace to make new laws, and advanced none to employments but men of approved merit. If he heard of any perſon remarkable for his knowledge and application to ſtudy, he preferred him to thoſe who were equally experienced in the management of affairs. Thus he ſent for *Shang-pi-pi*, one among the literati of great reputation (F), from the fartheſt part of the king- *Flouriſhing ſtate.*

(F) It appears from hence, that the *Tû-fan* had introduced the *Chineſe* form of government; this all the other foreign nations have done, who made conqueſts in *China*, as the *Lyau*, the *Kin*, the *Moguls*, and *Manchews*, who now reign there.

A.D.842. dom; and after he had examined him, made him governor of the city and district of *Chin-chew*, at present called *Sining*[k].

Cause of its decay. *I-TAY* died without issue, and was succeeded by *Ya-mo*, his next of kin, who devoted himself wholly to pleasures. He lived in peace with his neighbours; but became so execrable to his subjects, by his oppressions and cruelties, that they forsook their country in multitudes. In effect, he was the first cause of the kingdom falling to decay. The public distractions greatly increased after his death: for as he neither left issue, nor had nominated a successor, one of the

A.D.842. ministers, gained by the widow queen, in 842, procured the son of *Pay-va*, her favourite, a child of only three years old, to be proclaimed king.

Lu-kong-je rebels. THE report of this election brought *Kye-tû-nâ*, the first minister of state, to the palace, to oppose it, in behalf of the royal family: but his fidelity cost him his life; for he was killed in his return home. However, this conduct of the court lost them the hearts of all the people. *Lû-kong-je*, the great general, who was then with the army near the frontiers, refused to obey the orders sent him by the new government, and even conceived thoughts of ascending the throne himself. He was extremely ambitious, proud, and self-conceited, passionate, and often cruel; but, on the other hand, was brave, skilful, and capable of the greatest undertakings. He first caused a report to be spread, that he was going to root out the usurpers of the crown; and then marched against the new king's army, which he defeated. He likewise took and plundered *Wey-chew*. By this time his forces, by the accession of mal-contents, were increased to one hundred thousand strong. But before he attempted any thing farther, he tried to bring the provincial governors into his measures.

Is routed. *SHANG-PI-PI* being one of the principal, and his troops, by the care he took to augment them, the best in the whole kingdom, *Lû-kong-je* was willing to sound his inclinations first, and after writing him a deceitful letter, advanced towards the city. *Shang-pi-pi*, who saw through the general's design to deceive him in his turn, wrote him an answer which flattered his hopes. At the same time setting forward with all his forces, he came upon the rebels so unexpectedly, that without any difficulty he defeated them, tho' much stronger than himself. *Lû-kong-je*, after this rebuff, withdrew, much

[k] DU HALDE's China, &c. vol. i. p. 25, & seq.

enraged

enraged at heart. But in 846, having recruited his army, imagined the way both to regain his authority, and win the affections of his nation, was to enter the territories of *China*, and give them up to be plundered. He met with some success indeed at the beginning; but was soon after routed by the *Chinese* generals, who also took from the *Tû-fan* the city of *Yên-chew*, and several strong fortresses. A.D.846.

Submits to China.

The rebel, who judged these losses might easily be retrieved, if once he was sole master of the kingdom, having augmented his army with *Tatars*, to whom he promised the plunder of the provinces of *China*, bent all his thoughts on reducing *Shang-pi-pi*. With this view he began his march; and arriving near *Chen-chew*, compelled that officer to abandon his camp, though well fortified. However, this latter, after he had passed the river, broke down the bridge, and followed the enemy step by step on the other side, without suffering himself to be drawn to an engagement by *Lû-kong-je*, who made great ravages in his march for that purpose. Mean time the natural brutishness of the rebel general, joined to the ill humour which the small success of his enterprizes had thrown him into, rendered him so insupportable to his soldiers, that they deserted in troops to *Shang-pi-pi*, while the *Tatars*, for the same reasons, returned home. Hereupon *Lû-kong-je*, despairing of compassing his designs, submitted to the emperor on certain conditions, and retired to *Ko-chew*, a *Chinese* city, where he spent the remainder of his days. This happened about the year 849. A.D.849.

The Tû-fan divided.

During the time this ambitious general had under his command almost the whole forces of the state, the princes of the blood retired to different parts of the kingdom, where they had small patrimonies; and some took shelter in certain forts, which belonged to them, towards *Se-chwen*, chusing rather to submit to the emperor of *China*, than to an usurper. Others fortified themselves in the mountains; while some of the most considerable remained in the territories which they possessed, bordering on the government of *Shang-pi-pi*. Hence arose an infinite number of distractions in the state, which continued a great number of years, and proved the ruin of this monarchy at last.

United again.

The *Tû-fan*, divided into several parties, went to war among themselves; and when they were weary of fighting, many officers and soldiers listed under *Pan-lo-chi* (G), prince

(G) The *Tu-fan* history, during their embroiled state, from the retreat of *Lû-kong-je* to the time of *Panlo-chi*, which contains the transactions of above 150 years, is here omitted by the jesuit.

A.D 951. of *Lû-kû*, a place in the borders of the diſtrict of *Chen-chew*, which the children of *Shang-pi-pi* had preſerved for the royal family. As ſoon as the *Tû-fan* beheld a prince of the blood, they formed an army, and reſolved to attack the king of *Hya*, who had ill requited their ſervices.

Kingdom of Hya. A.D. 951.

THIS new king was a *Tatar*, originally of *To-pa* (I), who, by aſſiſtance of the *Tû-fan*, about the year 951, founded a new dominion near the *Whang-ho*, under *Li-ki-tſyen*, in ſpite of all theſe *Chineſes* could do; the capital whereof was *Hya-chew*, at preſent *Ning-hya*, from whence the kingdom took its name of *Hya* [1], or *Si-Hya* (K), given to it by the *Chineſes*. This kingdom ſprung up to the weſt of *Ki-tay* (L), and by degrees became very potent under a prince who aſſumed the title of emperor. This dominion, which extended over part of *China* and *Tartary*, contained, the province of *Shen-ſi*, all to the north of *Ping-lyâng-fû*, as far as *Kya-yu-quan* (M), with the country of *Ortûs* and *Etſina* (N), the country of *Koko-nor* (O), alſo that lying between *Kya-yû-quan* and

[1] DU HALDE's China, &c. vol. i. p 26, & ſeq.

(I) Near *Si-ning-chew*, then called *Chen-chew*, or *Chin-chew*. *To-pa*, is a rich borough, ſtill in poſſeſſion of the *Tû-fan*.

(K) *Si-hya* ſignifies *Hya* of the weſt, or more properly, *the guards* of the weſt. Whence poſſibly theſe who founded this monarchy were the weſtern guards of the great wall, which was intruſted to *Tatar* tribes; from one of which the king of *Hya* ſprung. And *Alakus Khân* was a *Turkiſh* prince; who, we are told, had the guard of a gate, and gave admittance to *Jenghiz Khân* into *Kitay*. *Hya* is alſo pronounced *Kya*, or rather *Khya*, as in *Khya-yu-quan*, *Khya-chew*, and other names.

(L) The kingdom or empire of *Hya* was not a part of *Kitay*, or taken out of it; but ſeems to have bounded it on the weſt; or perhaps the *Chineſes*, during the empire of the *Lyau*, had ſome parts both of *Shan-ſi* and *Shen-ſi*, between thoſe two dominions.

(M) Or *Hya-yu-quan*, a fortreſs at the weſtern extremity of the great wall of *China* (to the weſt of the city *So-chew*), latit. 39° 48′, long. 17° 21′ 30″ weſt of *Pe king*.

(N) Both in *Tartary*, or what was then called *Kâra-kitay*. *Ortus* is incloſed between the great wall and the *Whang-ho*, which ſurrounds it on the weſt and north in the eaſtern part of the north border of *Shen-ſi*. *Etſina* ſeems to be the country to the weſt of *Ortus*; of which *Etſina*, now in ruins, was then the capital, ſituated about two degrees to the north of *So-chew*.

(O) *Koko-nor* lies to the weſt of *Shen-ſi*, about the city *Si-ning-chew*.

Sha-chew (P); beſides ſeveral other places to the north and weſt of *Kya-yû-quan*[m]. A. D. 1003.

THE king of *Hya* had, in the year 1003 (Q), renewed the war with the empire, at that time governed by the *Song* race, entering ſuddenly into the weſtern part of *Shen-ſi*, which bordered on the ſmall dominion that the *Tû-fan* were ſtill poſſeſſed of. *Pan-lo-chi* offered to join the *Chineſe* commander with his forces to cruſh this growing power; provided the emperor would honour him with a title, which might give him more authority among thoſe of his own nation. The propoſal being approved of, his imperial majeſty ſent him patents as governor-general of the *Tû-fan*. The king of *Hya*, who knew nothing of theſe private contracts, after committing ſome devaſtations, beſieged the city of *Si-lyang*, and having taken it, put the governor to death. He intended to puſh his conqueſts farther, in a belief that *Pan-lo-chi* was advancing to join him with his troops. But that prince arriving at the head of 60,000 men, attacked him with ſo much valour, that he entirely defeated his numerous forces. However, he died ſoon after the victory, by a wound which he received in the battle. *Its growing power.* A. D. 1003.

SO-TSO-LO, his ſucceſſor, in 1015, formed the deſign of recovering the antient monarchy poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. His little dominion conſiſted of no more than ſeven or eight towns; particularly *Tſing-ko-ching*, *Li-tſing-ching*, *Ho-chew*, *I-chwen*, *Tſing-tang*, *Hya-chen*, and *Kan-kû*, with ſome neighbouring territories; but was in hopes that the reſt of the *Tû-fan* would join him, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee that he was powerful enough to defend them. He fixed his court at *Tſing-ko-ching*, where he eſtabliſhed officers, the ſame, both as to number and titles, which the kings his predeceſſors had made uſe of. After this he levied new forces throughout his dominions, and entered the territories of the empire ſeveral times; but was always defeated, and at length concluded a peace. So-tſo-lo's *ambition.* A. D. 1015.

[m] GAUBIL, hiſt. Gentch. p. 10.

(P) We may add, and beyond, as far as *Khamil*, or *Hami*, the moſt eaſtern city of *Little Bukharia*. *Sha-chew* is the *Sakion* of *M. Polo* and other writers, about 120 miles N. N. W. of *Kya-yu-quan*.

(Q) The king here referred to cannot well be ſuppoſed *Li-ki-tſyen*; for then he muſt, at that time, have reigned 52 years.

As

A. D. 1015. As the growing power of the king of *Hya*, who had aſſumed the title of emperor, gave *So-tſo-lo* ſome uneaſineſs; the *Chineſe* monarch, to engage that prince more firmly in his intereſt, made him governor-general of *Pau-ſhun*, which lay very conveniently for his purpoſe. But *So-tſo-lo* dying ſoon after, the diviſion which enſued among his children haſtened the entire ruin of the *Tû-fan* ſtate. That prince had, by his firſt wife, two ſons, *Hya-chen* and *Mo-chen-tſu*. He had afterwards the prince *Ton-ſhen* by a ſecond venter, who prevailed on him to impriſon his two other ſons, and compel their mother to turn nun. But they having found means to eſcape, and deliver their mother out of the convent, the people, who had helped to deliver them, declared in their favour.

Divides his ſtates among his ſons.

: *SO-TSO-LO*, who had by this time recovered from his infatuation, approved of this change, and gave *Tſing-ko-ching* to *Mo-chen-tſu* for his maintenance; for he had removed his court from thence to *Chen-chew* (or *Si-ning*). To *Hya-chen* he aſſigned *Kan-ku* for the place of his abode; and to *Ton-ſhen*, whom he judged moſt capable of keeping-up his family, he ſurrendered all his authority, with the government of *Pau-ſhun*, and the reſt of his dominions. *Ton-ſhen* reſided at *Li-tſing-ching*, where he was beloved of his ſubjects, and feared by his neighbours; inſomuch that all the *Tû-fan*, who dwelt to the north of the *Whang-ho*, were under his ſubjection.

Two ſubmit to the emperor.

THIS great power wherewith the younger brother was inveſted, gave the two elder, and their families, apprehenſions of being one time or other oppreſſed by him. *Mû-ching*, ſon of *Hya-chen*, more uneaſy than his father, ſurrendered *Kan-ku*, *Ho-chew*, and all the lands which were in his poſſeſſion, to the *Song* emperor; who granted to him, and his deſcendants, whatever they demanded, in order to ſupport themſelves with honour in his dominions.

KYAU-KI-TING, heir of *Mo-chen-tſu*, the eldeſt brother, was much beloved in his little ſtate; but did not long ſurvive his father. His ſon, *Hya-chen*, who ſucceeded him, incenſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, by his violences and cruelty, that they formed a deſign to depoſe him, and ſet up his uncle, *Sû-nan*, in his room: but the plot coming to be diſcovered, *Sû-nan*, and almoſt all his accomplices, were put to death.

HOWEVER, *Tſyen-li-ki*, one of the principal officers, having found means to eſcape, carried with him *Cho-ſa*, one of the family; and ſeizing the city of *Ki-kû-ching*, had him proclaimed prince of that petty ſtate. But *Hya-ching* haſtening thither, with his forces, took the place; and put *Cho-ſa* to death. *Tſyen-lo-ki*, however, made a ſhift to get to *Ho-chew*;

and

and having perſuaded the governor, *Van-chau*, to conquer the country of *Tſing-tang*, he attacked the little city of *Mo-chwen*, which he took without any difficulty. Hereupon prince *Hya-ching*, finding himſelf hated by his people, and at the ſame time vigorouſly preſſed by the *Chineſes*, in 1099, ſurrendered all his territories to the emperor, on certain terms, which were granted him. The like did *Long-ſu*, a ſon of *Mú-ching*, whom one of the *Tû-fan* chiefs had put in poſſeſſion of the city of *Hi-pa-wen*: for after ſeveral battles fought, with various ſucceſs, againſt *Van-chau*, wherein he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſurpriſing valour, he ſubmitted likewiſe upon advantageous conditions. A. D. 1099.

The Tû-fan ruined.

In the midſt of the troubles, which aroſe in the 12th century, between the *Chineſe* emperors of the *Song* dynaſty, and the *Nyu-che*, or *Kin Tatars*, the family of *Ton-ſwen*, which continued longeſt in ſplendor, made an alliance with the kings of the *Hya*; and, under their protection, enjoyed their territories tolerably in peace; till at length they were involved in the common ruin, by the prevailing arms of *Jenghîz Khân*. The year 1227, according to the *Chineſe* hiſtory, is the æra of the intire ruin of the *Tû-fan*; from which time they have remained in their ancient country, without either name or power [n].

King of Hya

This hiſtory, as tranſmitted by the miſſioners, is very defective; eſpecially in this latter part, in which they ought to be moſt particular. They not only omit the *Tû-fan* affairs for more than a whole century downwards, from the year 1099; but paſs ſlightly over the deſtruction both of their decayed ſtate, and the empire of *Hya*: which yet is the moſt curious and intereſting part of all their hiſtory, as being connected with that of *Jenghîz Khân*. We ſhall therefore briefly ſupply the deficiency, eſpecially with reſpect to the *Hya*, from the hiſtorians who have written the reign of that conqueror of *Aſia*.

Submits to Jenghiz Khân.

The Khân of the *Mungls* began in the year 1205 to make incurſions on the territories of the king (or emperor) of *Hya*; and in 1209 formally attacked his dominions, with deſign to reduce them under his ſway. He began hoſtilities by forcing ſeveral poſts near the great wall of *China* to the weſt of *Ning-hya*, the capital city; after which he took the city of *Ling-chew*, and intended to reduce *Ning-hya* itſelf: but its king *Li-gan-tſyen*, to avoid the ſtorm, ſubmitted to become his tributary, and gave him a princeſs to wife. Here- A. D. 1209.

[n] Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 26, & ſeq.

upon

A. D. 1210. upon the *Moguls* made a peace with him; and, withdrawing their forces, returned into *Tartary* [o].

Errors of the

THE hiſtorians of the weſt of *Aſia* differ from the *Chineſe* in the date of this expedition, which they place in 1206, and in the proper names. They call the prince *Shi-daſku*, his kingdom *Tangut*, and his metropolis *Kampion*. They relate alſo, that *Kampion* was taken by ſtratagem; but that on the king's paying tribute, and receiving a garriſon into the fortreſs, he was reſtored (R). They aſcribe the cauſe of the war to his aſſiſting the enemies of *Jenghîz Khân*, who from thence carried away immenſe riches [p]. The oriental authors ſeem to have miſtaken *Tangut* and its capital, for *Hya* and its capital, which lay contiguous to the eaſt. Or perhaps they mean the ſame places; although, as cuſtomary with moſt nations, they give them different names; and this the rather ſeems to be the caſe, as the ſame events happened in both.

Weſtern writers.

THE *Tû-fan* ſtates are not mentioned by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians of *Jenghîz Khân*, as being conſidered by them only as parts of the empire of *Hya*: nor is *Hya* mentioned by the weſtern writers of the *Mogul* affairs, as they probably knew of no dominion between *Tangut* and *Kitay*; and might conſider *Hya* only as the *Kitayan* name for the country of *Tangut*. Yet, ſuppoſing this to be the caſe, they have miſtaken the capital of this country; if, as we are told, *Kampion* is not *Ning-hya* (then called *Hya-chew*) but *Kan-chew*; a city indeed near the great wall of *China*, but 250 miles more to the weſt. Neither was it the capital of *Tangut*, conſidered as a different ſtate from *Hya*: for, it appears from the foregoing hiſtory, that the prince of the *Tû-fan*, who continued longeſt in ſplendor, reſided at *Li-tſing-ching*, a town of *Shenſi*, ſomewhere more to the ſouth.

The Hya *ſucceſſes.* A. D. 1210.

THE kingdom of *Hya*, and empire of the *Kin*, had been at peace above 80 years, when *Li-gan-tſven*, ſeeing himſelf preſſed by the *Mungls*, demanded ſuccours of the *Kin*; but the latter excuſed themſelves, alleging that they could not poſſibly ſpare any. Hereupon the *Hya*, after making peace with the *Mungls*, in 1210, declared war againſt the emperor

[o] GAUBIL, ubi ſupr. p. 12, & ſeq.

[p] DE LA CROIX's hiſt. Genghiſ. p. 91 & ſeq.

(R) *Abûlghazi Khân* places this expedition before the defeat of *Bayrak Khân* of the *Naymans*, and ſays the Khân was put to death, and his capital, which he calls *Tangut*, demoliſhed.

Yong-

Yong-tſi (who then reigned in *Kitay*); and in *April*, the same year, attacked *Kya-chew*, a city of *Shen-ſi*: but they were defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Four months after *Li-gan-tſven* died, and was ſucceeded by *Li-tſun-hyu*, a relation of his, who was more ſucceſsful in his war againſt the *Kin*; for in *December* 1213 he took *King-chew*, a city in the ſame province. After this he offered to join his troops to thoſe of the *Chineſe* emperor againſt the *Kin*: but that propoſal not being accepted of, he continued the war ſeparately; and in *December* 1215 took from them *Lin-tau-fû*, a conſiderable city, alſo in *Shen-ſi* [q]. A. D. 1221. A. D. 1213. A. D. 1215.

WHILE *Jenghîz Khân* was on his expedition in the weſt of *Aſia*, the emperor of *Hya* did ſeveral actions contrary to his engagements as a tributary prince. Hereupon *Mûhûli*, who had been left as the Khân's lieutenant-general in *Kitay*, invaded his dominions; and gained great reputation in the war which he maintained againſt that monarch and the emperor of the *Kin* (S). In 1221 that general paſſed the *Whang-ho*, and ſtruck terror through the whole country of the *Hya*, whoſe king thought it his wiſeſt courſe not to oppoſe his paſſage; and by this means avoided being attacked for that time by *Michûli*, who turned his arms ſolely againſt the *Kin*. In the year 1224, *Shew*, ſucceeding in the empire of *Kitay*, made peace with the *Hya*, who had been at war for many years with his father *Sun* [r]. *Provoke the* Mungls. A. D. 1221.

LI-TE, king of *Hya*, among other cauſes of offence given to the *Mungls*, had afforded a retreat to *Sun-quen-ſi* and *Che-la-ho*, two of their greateſt enemies. Of this *Jenghîz Khân*, on his return from his weſtern expedition in 1226, complained loudly: but *Li-te* was ſo far from making him any ſatisfaction, that he even took them into his ſervice. The *Mungl* emperor, enraged at this indignity, marched from *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorom*); and in *February*, the ſame year, took the city of *Yetſina* (T), *Ning-hya* (the capital of the kingdom) *Khya-* *Their country reduced.*

[q] GAUBIL, ubi ſupr. p. 20, & ſeq. [r] Ibid. p. 43, & ſeq.

(S) This looks as if the *Hya* were joined in confederacy with the *Kin*, for the cauſe of the rupture with the former is not mentioned; but it appears afterwards that they were then at war.

(T) The *Tong-kyen-kang-mû*, under the year 1225, mentions the taking of *Yetſina*, and other places ſpoken of here. It was a conſiderable city of the kingdom of *Hya*, called *Ezina*, by *Marco Polo*, whoſe *Suchur* (or *Sukir*) is *Sû-chew*, and his *Kampition* (or *Kampion*) *Kan-chew*. The *Chineſe* geography places *Yetſina* (called alſo *Etſina*) to the north-

A. D. 1221. *Khya-yu-quan* (U), and *Kan-chew* (X) : *Sú-chew* (Y), *Gan-chew*, and *Si-lyang* (Z), were alſo reduced. In *November* he ſubdued *Ling-chew*, to the ſouth of *Ning-hya*, and encamped 20 or 30 leagues to the north. *Li-te*, king of *Hya*, was ſo afflicted to ſee his dominions become a prey to the *Mungl* troops, that he died for grief in *July* the ſame year.

And ſtate deſtroyed. *JENGHIZ KHAN* having in the ſpring, 1227, left an army to beſiege *Ning-hya* (A), detached a great body of forces, who ſeized on the country of *Koko-nor* (B), *Qua-chew*, and *Sha-chew* (C). He marched himſelf at the head of another body to take *Ho-chew* (D) and *Si-ning*. After this, having cut in pieces an army of 30,000 men, he went and beſieged *Lin-tau-fú*, a city which belonged to the *Kin*. Mean time *Li-hyen*, king of *Hya*, being reduced to the laſt neceſſity in his capital city *Ning-hya*, ſurrendered at diſcretion in *June*; and ſet forward to humble himſelf before *Jenghîz Khân*, who was gone to paſs the hot ſeaſon on the mountain *Lu-pan* : but was ſlain as ſoon as he left the city, which was plundered by the ſoldiers.

Great havock. THE hiſtory, exaggerating the havock made by the *Mungls*, affirms, that not above two perſons in a hundred eſcaped the maſſacre, repreſenting the plains of *Hya* as ſowed with dead bodies; and the woods, mountains, caves, filled with miſerable people, who fled thither to avoid the ſword of the enemy. On the other hand, the ſame hiſtory does not fail to accuſe the king of *Hya*, as having brought on the ruin of his ſtate, by giving protection, as above-mentioned, to the two enemies of *Jenghîz Khân*, and refuſing to deliver his ſon in hoſtage, according to his promiſe. Thus fell the king-

north-eaſt of *Sú-chew*, and north of *Kan-chew*, 120 leagues from the latter. This diſtance is certainly too much, ſays our author *Gaubil*; and hence we are inclined to think *Kampion* ſhould be *Ning-hya*, with which that diſtance very well agrees. He adds, that *Yetſina* is now in ruins.

(U) A fort at the very weſt end of the great wall of *China*.

(X) In *Shen ſi*, latit 39° 00′ 40″, long. 15° 32′ weſt of *Pe-king*.

(Y) In *Shen-ſi*, latit. 39° 45′ 40″. long 17° 21′ 30″ weſt.

(Z) In *Shen-ſi* alſo, then a great city, now a fortreſs, called *Yong-chang-wey*.

(A) This capital is mentioned before as taken, perhaps by miſtake.

(B) Often mentioned, and deſcribed hereafter.

(C) Both cities near each other, and ſituated to the north of the country of *Koko-nor*; or rather *Hûhû-nor*. The latit. of *Sha-chew* is 4_° 20′. long. 20° 40′ weſt.

(D) Fourteen or fifteen leagues N. W. of *Lin tau-fú*.

dom,

dom, or empire, of the *Hya*, after it had ſtood 276 (E) years [s]. A. D. 1225.

THIS is the account given of this great revolution, by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians; but thoſe of the weſt of *Aſia* relate it with ſome conſiderable variation, though more in detail. According to theſe latter, as ſoon as *Jenghîz Khân* was recovered from his fatigues, after his return to *Kârakorom*, he applied himſelf to ſettle the ſtate. He firſt ſummoned to court the great officers in *Kitay*, to give him an account of their behaviour; of which his brother *Utakin* (F) having fully informed him, ſome were rewarded, and others puniſhed. He did the like by the great lords of *Moguliſtân* and *Kâra-kitay*. He ſent alſo for *Shidaſkû* (G), ſovereign of *Tangut*, who had offered to continue tributary. But this prince, fearing his former rebellion would not be pardoned, deferred going to court under various pretences; and ſought to make a league with the *Chineſes* of *Manji*, and the oriental *Turks* his neighbours. The firſt complained of *Jenghîz Khân*'s uſurping the dominion of *Kitay*; and the latter of his ill treatment to Queen *Turkhân Khâtun*, who had always uſed them well when her ſubjects. *Shidaſkû* having at length gotten together a conſiderable army, the *Mungl* emperor ſent a body of troops towards *Tangut*; the news of whoſe ſudden approach much ſtartled the revolting king. Thoſe troops ſtopped near *Ezina*, or *Azina*, a city lying ſouth of *Kârakorom*, and 12 days hard journey from *Kampion* (H), where *Shidaſkû* kept his court [t]. *King of* Tangut. *Breaks his engagement.*

THE emperor could not join his troops with the main body of his army before *June* 1225, at what time the hot ſeaſon begins in *Tangut*. His forces conſiſted of 450,000 men, whereof he ſent 100,000 to *Kitay*, where he feared a revolt in caſe fortune ſhould favour *Shidaſkû*. He divided this great army into ten bodies: the princes *Jagatay* (I) and *Hej.* 622. A. D. 1225.

[s] GAUBIL, ubi ſupr. p. 48, & ſeq. [t] DE LA CROIX's hiſt. Gengh. p. 363, & ſeq.

(E) *Gaubil*, in a note, p. 50, ſays, that kingdom laſted near 200 years; but as the year 951 is marked in the hiſtory of the *Si-fan* for the commencement thereof, it muſt have ſubſiſted 76 years longer.

(F) Called *Wa-che* in the *Chineſe* hiſtory.

(G) Called *Shidurkû* in *Abûlghâzi Khân*'s hiſtory; the ſame with *Li-hyen* in the *Chineſe*.

(H) This is a farther proof that *Kampion* muſt be *Ning-hya*, rather than *Kan-chew*. *Abûlghâzi Khân* calls it the city of *Tangut*; meaning no doubt the capital.

(I) According to the *Chineſe* hiſtory, *Jagatay* was left behind in *Great Bukharia*, to take care of the weſtern conqueſts

Oktay

A.D.622. *Oktay* commanded the two firſt; the reſt were under the conduct of *Kâraſhar*, *Ilenku*, *Bela*, *Hubbe*, *Suiday*, and other lords, who had ſignalized themſelves in the paſt wars: but all theſe generals were ſubject to *Tuli*. Beſides, he had a flying camp of broken officers, for the inſtruction of his grandſons *Kublay* and *Hûlakû*.

Etzina *taken.*

AFTER ſeveral weeks march from *Moguleſtân*, the army croſſed a deſart 40 days journey over, in the province lying moſt eaſtward of the *Naymâns*; and arriving on the frontiers of *Tangut*, called alſo *Kaſhin*, ſoon took *Ezina*, which had been cloſely beſieged by the firſt troops. *Jenghîz Khân* choſe this place for his reſidence during his ſtay in *Tangut*; and by preſents won the people of the country to ſerve as ſpies. By them he was informed, that *Shidaſkû* had ſent 30,000 horſe in ſeveral parties, to endeavour to ſurpriſe him. Theſe, at firſt, defeated ſome parties of the *Mungls*, whom they met with on the frontiers; but retired on advice that the emperor was marching with all his forces againſt their maſter.

Vaſt armies.

SHIDASKU had gotten together an army of 500,000 (K) men, the greater part of whom were furniſhed him by the *Chineſe* of *Manji* (or the ſouthern *China*). *Jenghîz Khân* confiding in the bravery of his diſciplined troops, continued his march. *Jagatay* and *Kâraſhar Nevian* had 40,000 men under their command; *Hubbe* and *Suida* 30,000; *Ilenkû* headed 20,000 *Karazmians*, who had ſerved in ſeveral former expeditions. A like number of *Indians* were under *Bela*. *Badro'ddîn*, who had ſerved the Khân againſt Soltân *Mohammed*, becauſe the latter had put his uncle to death, brought 30,000 men from the country of the *Getes*, and borders of *Kipſâk*. A Khân, named *Daniſhmend*, a favourite of the emperor, had under his conduct 30,000 *Karazmians*, new raiſed troops. The Khân of the *Igûrs* led the auxiliary forces, which had, after his example, voluntarily ſubmitted to *Jenghîz Khân*. The veteran bands were commanded by prince *Oktay*, and made a body of reſerve, which attended the emperor's perſon: and in this body was the flying camp of reformed officers.

A bloody battle.

WHEN *Shidaſkû* was within two days march of *Jenghîz Khân*, he ſent 100,000 horſe to ſurpriſe his van-guard: but meeting with a ſtout reſiſtance, they retired with loſs to the main army of the enemy, who at laſt came in ſight, making a

(K) Which was 50,000 more than *Jenghiz Khân* had. But *Abû'ghâzi Khân* ſays, *Shidaſkû* (as he is called in the tranſlation) had an army nearly equal to that of the *Mungls*.

ſplendid

splendid shew, dressed in cloth of gold and silver, as well as the richest silks. The very common soldiers had habits much finer than the *Mungl* officers. For though they were very rich, the Khân had ordered both them and his soldiers not to dress gaudy. The king of *Tangût*'s army took up a great space of ground: but the *Mungls* were obliged to fight upon a frozen lake, which derived its waters by a canal from the river *Kâramûran*. A general battle soon began, and the *Mungls* quickly had the advantage. The troops of *Tangût*, with others on the same line in front, were intirely routed; and all the enemy's army had been at the same time defeated, if the *Chinese*, commanded by *Mayan Khân*, (whom *Jenghîz Khân* had ordered to be seized in the *Chinese* war) and the *Turks*, led by the prince of *Jurjeh*, had not strongly withstood the fury of the *Mungls*: but these two generals charged the two wings of the emperor's army with so much bravery, that it revived the courage of their soldiers, who made a terrible slaughter, killing above 30,000 men. A. D. 1225.

The Tangûts overthrown.

This good success became fatal to the victorious troops, who believing the *Mungls* vanquished, attacked them boldly without keeping their ranks: whereas the *Mungls*, who always kept close and in order, suffered themselves with much difficulty to be broken. At last the resolute resistance which *Mayan Khân* and the prince of *Jurjeh* met with in the center, astonished them; and the corps de reserve, which now came up, falling upon them all at once, made the *Turks* and *Chinese* give back, and take to flight. *Shidaskû* himself, after having shewed an extraordinary bravery, was obliged to fly, and leave the field of battle to the enemy; who cut in pieces all the troops which resisted: and 'tis said that there were killed in all above 300,000 men. How many *Jenghîz Khân* lost the *Mungl* history does not mention: but it speaks of all those, who signalized themselves in this great action; and among the rest of the young princes *Kublay* and *Hûlakû* (R), who gave proofs of an extraordinary courage.

Their king slain.

After this he marched against the *Turks* of *Jurjeh*, who submitted. He likewise secured himself of the countries of *Erghimul*, *Sinqui*, and *Egrikaya*, which were dependent on *Tangût*. *Jenghîz Khân* falling sick not long after, the last orders he gave before his death were, to secure *Shidaskû*, who was hourly expected at court, as soon as he arrived, and put

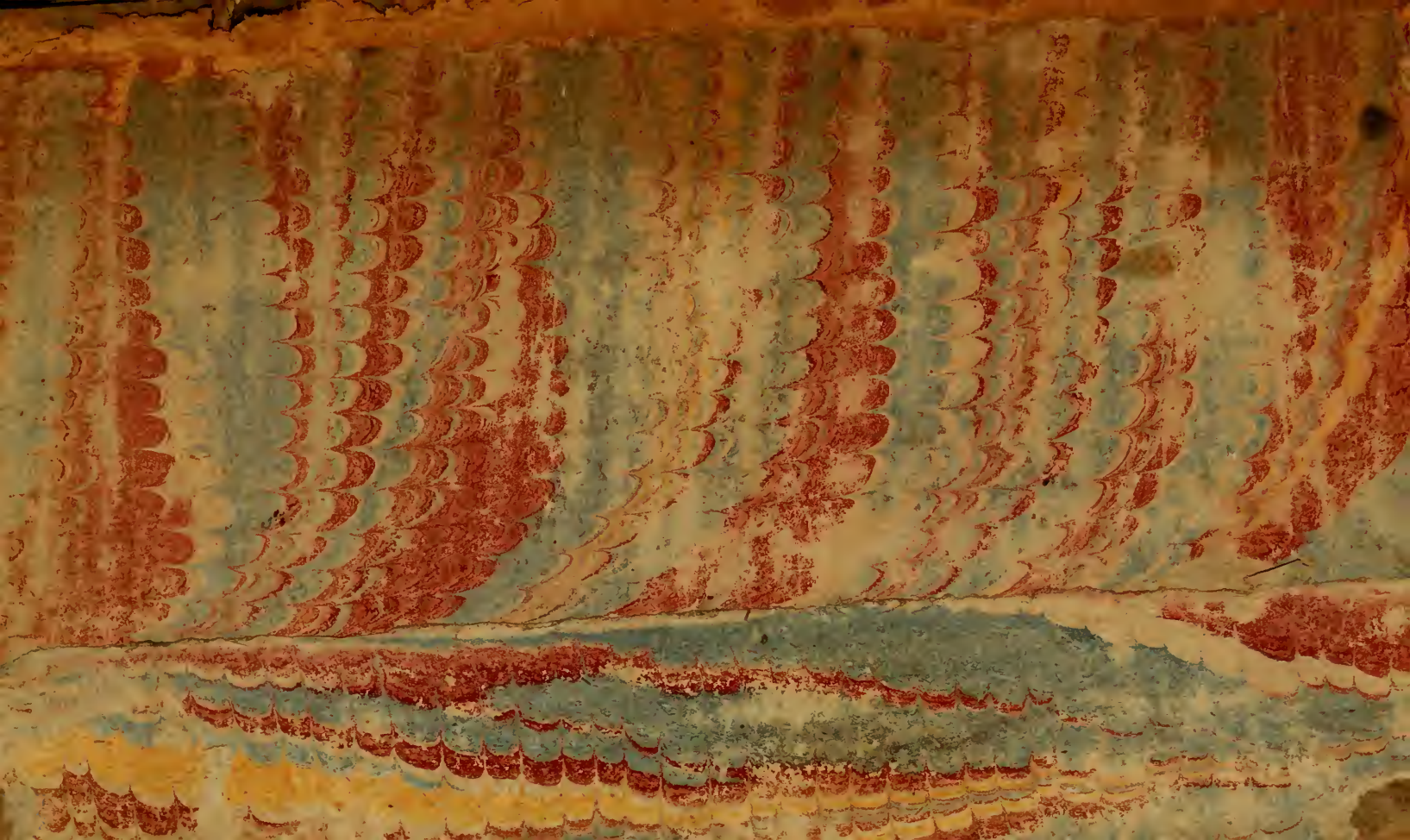
(R) The first was then about 11 years old; the last 10; for they are said to have been one year younger, each in 1224, when *Jenghîz Khân* returned to *Kâra-korom*. See *De la Croix*'s history of *Genghiscan*, p. 363.

A. D. 1225. him to death (S), notwithſtanding the promiſe made to his envoy. To effect this more eaſily, he enjoined them to conceal his departure; ſo that *Shidaſkû*, attended by his ſons, and ſome of his lords, coming to court eight days after, found a great appearance of joy: but they were all ſeized, and immediately deprived of life [t].

Diſagreement of authors.

WITH regard to the diſagreement which there is between the *Chineſe* and other hiſtorians, of the *Mungl* affairs, concerning *Hya* or *Tangût*, we ſhall only obſerve: that the former name four kings of *Hya*, from the time that monarchy was attacked to its extinction; the latter only one, as reigning all that while. They ſpeak indeed of two invaſions by the conqueror; but *Abûlghazi Khân*, the *Tatar* or *Mungl* hiſtorian, makes the king to be ſlain in the firſt; and *Shidurkû* (by others *Shidaſkû*), by whoſe death the dynaſty ended, only as a governor of *Tangût*, who had revolted from *Jenghîz Khân*.

[t] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 370, & ſeq.

(S) According to *Abûlghâzi Khân*, they had orders to put him to death, and deſtroy the city of *Tangût*.

The END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.